Durham E-Theses

Rethinking Resistance: Creativity and potentiality within the UK asylum system

HUGHES, SARAH,MARGARET

How to cite:

Use policy

Rethinking Resistance:
Creativity and potentiality within the UK asylum system

Sarah M. Hughes

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Geography, Durham University

2017

Abstract

This thesis explores the ways in which creativity can produce modes of resistance within the UK asylum system. It argues for a rethinking of resistance across three dimensions: non-linear temporalities; incoherent subjectivities, and lively materialities. The thesis proposes that a focus on creativity allows for a critical engagement with ambiguous moments, materials and subjects that contain the immanent *potential* to disrupt both the practices and premise of the UK asylum system; to imagine, and thus to open up the possibility, that things can become otherwise.

The argument arises from ethnographic research conducted within the multiple spaces of the UK asylum system, working closely with two charities running creative activities in this area: Music in Detention and Crossings. This research produced three main themes which form the focus of the empirical chapters of this thesis. First, the thesis demonstrates how an attention to (non)linear temporalities disrupts the ontologically realist linear time of the state; that music and artwork pulse with discordant rhythms, which bring multiple space-times into the 'present'. It suggests that this has consequences for how resistance is understood for, when situated within a framing of time as polyrhythmic, it is possible to remain open to the multiplicity of directions that these may moments bring. Second, the thesis moves to focus upon an (in)coherent subject. Drawing upon the interactions of staff and immigration detainees, and the wider place of creative charities within UK asylum system, it argues for the fixed coordinates of intention and opposition to be decentred from narratives of resistance, for to delineate resistance *a priori* is miss that moments, subjects and materials contain the potential to trouble the performance of the asylum system. Finally, the thesis examines the lively, agentic materials of resistance. It argues that materials contain the potential to form relations that cannot always be predetermined.

Crucially however, the thesis demonstrates that whilst the potential for resistance is latent within all relations, the possibility for resistance is not evenly distributed; the topography of possibility is undulating, continually shaped by structural inequalities. Together these chapters make the argument for an attention to the potential for resistance as always-already entangled within the exercise of power; found within the messiness, the fractures and the ambiguities that saturate the UK asylum system.

Rethinking Resistance: Creativity and potentiality within the UK asylum system

Sarah M. Hughes

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Geography, Durham University

2017

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Statement of Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Publications from this thesis

Sections of Chapters 4, 5 and 6, and some of the concepts discussed therein, were previously published as:

- *Hughes, Sarah M. (2016) "Beyond Intentionality: Exploring Creativity and Resistance within a UK Immigration Removal Centre." Citizenship Studies, 20(3-4): 427-443.*

- *Hughes, Sarah M., and Forman, Peter. (2017) "A Material Politics of Citizenship: The Potential of Circulating Materials from UK Immigration Removal Centres." Citizenship Studies 21(6): 675–92.*

List of Abbreviations

AVID: Association of Visitors to Immigration Detainees

BID: Bail for Immigration Detainees

COMPASS: Commercial and Operating Managers Procuring Asylum Support

CUBE: Crossings Unorthodox Beat Ensemble

DBS: Disclosure and Barring Service

DCO: Detention Custody Officer

DEPMU: Detainee Escorting and Population Management Unit

DFT: Detained Fast Track

ESRC: Economic and Social Research Council

EU: European Union

EURODAC: European Dactyloscophy

FCC: Five Country Conference

FNP: Foreign National Prisoners

HMIP: Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons

IRC: Immigration Removal Centre

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

NOMS: National Offender Management Service

SH: Initials used to refer to myself in interviews

UK: United Kingdom

UKBA: UK Border Agency

UKVI: UK Visas and Immigration

UNHCR: United Nations Human Rights Committee

USA: United States of America

Acknowledgements

"Our lives are not our own. We are bound to others, past and present, and by each crime and every kindness, we birth our future."

David Mitchell, Cloud Atlas

I have been blessed throughout my PhD with utterly wonderful supervisors. It is truly an understatement to say that the constant support and encouragement of my first supervisor Louise Amoore has been invaluable to the completion of this project. Louise, I honestly cannot thank you enough for your generosity, insight and inspiration over the last three years. I am also indebted to Lauren Martin, for her instrumental advice, astute feedback and thoughtful questions. Lauren, I am so grateful that you joined my supervisor team. Angharad Closs Stephens, thank you for your supervision early in the PhD process, for helping shape the project, and for continuing to be a vital source of help and guidance.

Beyond my supervisors, I am lucky to have received the support of a wider community of academics. Alison Mountz, I am so thankful for your kindness whilst hosting me in Canada, and for your encouraging and incisive comments on my chapter drafts. Thank you. My thanks also go to those who, through questions and conversations, have helped me to develop this thesis: Ben Anderson, Jen Bagelman, Mary Bosworth, Kate Coddington, Jonny Darling, Nick Gill, Engin Isin, Lizzie Richardson, Kim Rygiel, Phil Steinburg, and Sarah Turnbull. Thank you also to the Economic and Social Research Council for funding this PhD project, and in doing so, allowing me to pursue a career in academia.

in Geography and for encouraging me to read. It is this love of reading, which has developed over the years, into a passion for writing.

Finally, Pete, I simply could not have done this without you. Thank you for your unwavering enthusiasm, dedication, patience, kindness and care. You have made the last three years wonderful, and it is to you that I dedicate this thesis.

To Pete,

With all my love,

always

Prologue
Moments that fracture

Moment 1: Zaweel, asylum seeker

Zaweel[1]: So sometimes, I have stress, I have stress. I am sad, so then I start for my music, for our culture for our country, I hear the music and I just sleep … I don't know what the words are, but you can enjoy, you can start a new life. Without music, I think there is no life [laughing] no life [laughing].

Sarah: [laughing] so is it music from home that you like listening to?

Zaweel: …I miss my parents, because I have children but they have parents, but my parents they do not have children - they have no son with them…So my parents miss me too much, and I miss them too much - sometimes my mother's feeling not well, and erm, she talks to me and she cries, and so I cry [pause] so, because for she loves me and I love my mother. So sometimes, 2 o'clock, 3 o'clock I wake up and I feel for, that I'm in my country. Maybe my mum needs my help, so then I call out for my mum [pause, Zaweel starts to cry] so she is very good and she loves, but I am here. I am here, but every time I am there, I am with her.

[Interview, Zaweel, asylum seeker, 17th December 2015]

---

[1] All names of research participants are pseudonyms unless stated otherwise.

Moment 2: Joseph, Officer, Immigration Removal Centre

Joseph [IRC officer] explained that he was going to sing a song from his home country that he had learnt in 5th grade. This was interesting as although Joseph works for Mitie he was making it known that he too was a migrant, directly linking him with many of the detainees present. Joseph then sang a song in his home language, which some of the detainees knew and joined in with shouts of recognition, whilst the rest of us just sat and drummed along with the beat.

[Field-notes Music in Detention Workshop, Campsfield House IRC, 24th June 2014]

Moment 3: Peacock, Unknown nationality
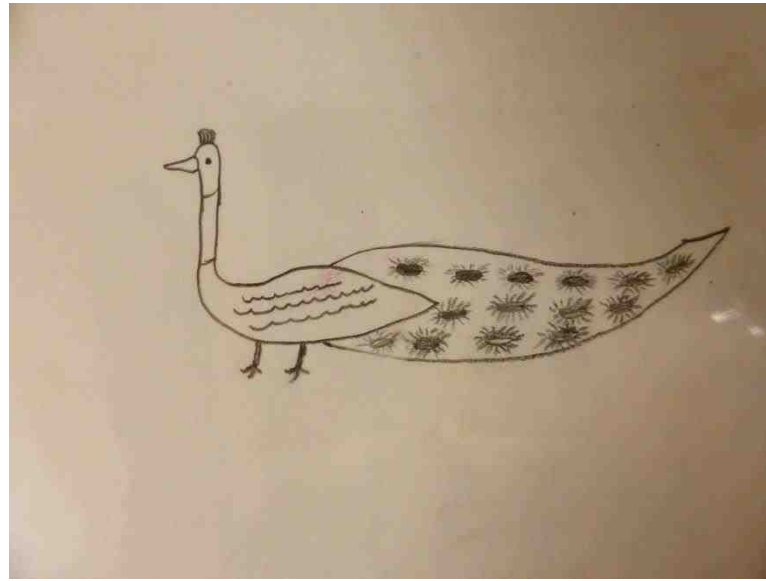
Figure 1: Peacock, Unknown nationality, Campsfield House Immigration Removal Centre. © Oxford University Border Criminologies Unit.

These three moments of creativity serve to illustrate the central concern of my thesis: that understandings of resistance within the UK asylum system can be advanced through a focus upon potentiality; that resistance is splintered, always-already present within the exercise of power and therefore unable to be delineated *a priori*. Moments of fracture produce splinters of resistance; cracks that open up and reveal the entanglements of forces in and through which they take form. For Zaweel, his 'past' memories of his mother are inextricably woven into the 'present', blurring the apparent fixity of these terms. This has implications for theorizing resistance as it disrupts the view of clean lines from the present acting upon an envisaged future. Furthermore, Joseph, an officer within an Immigration Removal Centre (IRC) is simultaneously a non-EU migrant and an IRC officer. He does not fit into the expected oppositional subject identified as the locus of resistance within the UK asylum system. However, in his multiple ambiguous positioning, Joseph is complexly woven into the sovereign assemblage; he escapes from the governing lines of in/exclusion drawn by 'the' state. The artwork of the 'Peacock' by 'Unknown Nationality' does not depict a 'resistant' message, and yet it circulates from IRC; it has a freedom not afforded to its creator(s) to land in unknown places, to form and reform relations as yet unknown. In short, these moments contain the potential to disturb, distort and trouble the performance of the asylum system.

These are therefore moments of *potential* resistance and disruption, but they remain unrecognizable as such from oppositional, intentional theories of resistance. This is important to address, for, as academics, we contribute to the delineation of the political and what counts as resistance. In committing to particular forms of action as resistance we too participate in denying recognition to those within this system. My contention in this thesis is therefore that accounts of resistance should be expanded beyond a coherent, intentional subject acting towards a specific end goal; and that to engage a (non)linear temporality, (in)coherent subjectivity and lively materiality can

bring valuable attention to how creative activities contain the immanent potential to disrupt both the practices and premise of the UK asylum system.

Chapter One
Introduction

1. Resistance to contemporary practices of border control

To bear witness to the contemporary moment of asylum (geo)politics, is to acknowledge both a proliferation and geographical extension of increasingly violent practices of border control. The framing of migration as a 'crisis', and the concomitant discourses of securitization and anti-terrorism continue to fuel anti-immigration sentiment and policies. Across the so-called Global North, national borders have been externalized: pushed offshore through processes of interception and interdiction and moved beyond the edges of traditional state territory into camps, processing and detention centres. Simultaneously the national border has multiplied internally within the state;[2] the fraught lines of in/exclusion emerge in and through everyday sites including schools, workplaces and public transport. The border is further written upon our bodies:[3] in the UK, a child may enter illegally at birth; the border made present in the maternity unit. The material body has also become written into the fabric of the border: biometric technologies have come to characterise contemporary bordering practices (Amoore 2006) and there were at least 40,000 physical deaths at borders between 2006-2015 (Jones et al. 2017)

---

[2] The definite article here for 'the' state and 'the' border, is not to signal a homogeneity, nor a false unity. Instead it is used simply out of linguistic necessity; the thesis will continue to unpack these terms further.

[3] I use the personal pronoun (in the possessive determiner) to signal that we are all impacted by 'the border'. Obviously however, that is not to say that we experience the border in similar ways.

This seeping presence of the border is not unchallenged, for "border controls are and have always been resisted" (King 2016, 2–3). This resistance is commonly recognized as taking multiple forms, including (but not limited to): marches; protests; sit-ins; strikes; hunger-strikes; lip-sewing; solidarity moments; visiting detention or reception centres; support networks and the practices of memorializing, mapping and documenting migrant deaths. As resistance to immigration control expands, a plethora of academic work continues to emerge, commenting, critiquing and attempting to intervene within the multiple practices and policies that attempt to (de)construct the border.[4] These conceptions of resistance to border control are inevitably shaped by the framing of 'the border' within academic and policy discourses. It is now widely acknowledged that the border is no longer simply found at the traditional edges of sovereign territory (if, indeed, it ever was). Instead practices of bordering are multiple, extending within and beyond the nation-state (Amoore 2006; Vaughan-Williams 2008; Balibar 2009; Squire 2011; Amilhat-Szary and Giraut 2015); borders "reach into the heart of political space" (Anderson 2013, 2). Borders have come to be framed as a management issue (Ehrkamp 2016), a security threat (Huysmans 2006; Amoore and Goede 2008; Walters 2010) and the legal intersection between criminality and immigration (termed *crimmigration* by Stumpf 2006) has become intrinsic to the very ontology of contemporary bordering practices.

Furthermore, the border has become integrated into the biology of life itself: "the turn to scientific technologies and managerial expertise in the politics of border management; and the exercise of biopower such that the bodies of migrants and travelers themselves become sites of multiple encoded boundaries" (Amoore 2006, 336). The development of biometric passports

---

[4] For example, within the UK, research evidence by Professor Nick Gill into British asylum procedures "helped secure a High Court judgment that the Detained Fast Track (DFT) appeals process was unfair and unlawful" (ESRC 2016) and Dr. Jonny Darling submitted evidence to the inquiry into Asylum Accommodation by the Home Affairs Select Committee (Manchester University 2016).

and identity cards means that the body is managed through this electronic data (e.g. fingerprints, iris scans, photo recognition) beyond the traditional 'edges' of the state. This then is how 'risky' migrant bodies are constructed and identified, through data mining across multiple sectors of society; joining the dots between patterns of consumption, behaviour and travel (Amoore 2013). Through this integration of biometric technologies, the border has, for Amoore, become "written in and through the mobile life signatures of dividuated people" (2013, 24).[5] As dividuated subjects, therefore, we are all always-already implicated in the setting of the norm and therefore of the identification of the 'anomaly'. This is also important for the border may be re-territorialized wherever this technology emerges, for it is woven through the materiality of our body. Put another way, the technologies of border control have splintered, piercing the most intimate aspects of our lives, families and relationships.

This "creep of biometrics" has also become commonplace within many asylum seeker 'management' systems (Ajana 2013, 576); for example, in the UK fingerprints are taken during Asylum Screenings. This data is uploaded to the EURODAC database, a centralized system containing the fingerprints of all known asylum seekers entering the European Union (EU), in order to enforce Dublin III Regulation which states that "the first Member State in which the application [for asylum] was lodged shall be responsible for examining it" (European Parliament, Council of the European Union 2013). In the wake of the so-called 'refugee crisis', the European Commission has put forward proposals for supplementing fingerprints with facial recognition

---

[5] Here, Amoore (2013) draws upon Delueze's concept of *dividuals*, of fractured subjects with different degrees of inclusion within the nation state (1992): "The numerical language of control is made of codes that mark access to information or reject it. We no longer find ourselves dealing with the mass/individual pair. Individuals have become 'dividuals' and masses, samples, data, markets or 'banks'" (Deleuze 1992, 6). Amoore (2013) uses the example of the refugee un/able to cross the border by providing biometric data to illustrate this integration of biometrics into contemporary border crossings. Discussions of splintered subjectivity will be further taken up in Chapter 5.

through the additional collection of digital photographs (European Commission 2017). Further, the Five Country Conference (FCC) Data-Sharing Protocol agreed in 2009 between the UK, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and United States, means that fingerprints are shared between these countries (together with the EU). This biometric information is considered important for it "may indicate that the applicant was fingerprinted by the FCC partner country before the applicant made an asylum claim in the UK" (Home Office 2016, 13), which would prevent asylum applications in the UK under Non-Dublin Safe Third Country agreements (UK Visas and Immigration 2013).

Therefore 'the' border is neither singular, nor ubiquitous, for as Burridge et al. (2017, 239) caution "empirical studies of border work reveal a much more fragmented and chaotic world of bordering […] representing borders as ubiquitous calls forth the state as coherent, monstrous, omnipotent and omniscient." Indeed Gill (2010, 627) has previously argued that much of the literature on forced migration and refugee scholarship has tended "to see the state as an essential entity, standing apart from society and acting upon it from a distance." Gill (2010) and Darling (2014) have built upon accounts within Political Geography that decentre and deconstruct the state (Jones et al. 2004; Painter 2006) to examine different facets of the UK asylum system, viewing it as a set of practices "enacted through relationships between people, places, and institutions" (Desbiens et al. 2004, 242 cited in Darling 2014, 485). This attention, Gill suggests, may "open up new, fertile grounds for inquiry within the grey, contested and contestable areas between 'state' and 'social' spheres" (2010, 627). Recently, Darling (2017a, 179, 180) has further developed Gill's (2010) work by suggesting that "this focus on the nation-state would be usefully supplemented with a more critically reflective engagement with the city as a space of refugee politics" as "current discussions tend to prioritize the policing of forced migration over the possibilities for contestation that may also emerge through cities."

This move to examining the border as performed through assemblages of biometric technologies, and as emerging differently throughout spaces extending beyond and within the state has had implications for how asylum systems are, and are understood to be, resisted. On the one hand, the dispersal of the border through multiple actors may be perceived to be "ultimately more disturbing because there is no obvious target for resistance" (Gill 2016, 36), yet on the other considered to contain "ambivalent, antagonistic and undecidable moments that make it contestable" (Amoore 2006, 336). In this thesis, my contention is that as border technologies are splintered and dispersed then, so too, are practices of resistance. To remain unambiguously oppositional, is to determine, and therefore to limit, resistance *a priori.* Instead I draw upon these pluralised accounts of the state, to demonstrate how the dispersed state is entangled with distributed modes of resistance.

This introductory chapter continues to outline the empirical and conceptual context for my thesis. I begin by mapping out the legal geographies of the UK asylum system. I explain how the possible sites and spaces of research were intentionally not preassigned; that I understand the multiple spaces comprising the UK asylum system to be immanent, meaning that everyday spaces become woven into an individual's experience of the UK asylum system; the border has shattered (into) the fabric of everyday life. I then briefly outline how resistance has been conceptualised within Political Geography, and in scholarship on contemporary systems of asylum control to demonstrate how this thesis will intervene and develop this literature. From this I move to outline the research agenda of my thesis, detailing the objectives and questions that have driven my work throughout this project. I describe how I have operationalised these questions; looking at the main sites of research that emerged and the methodological approach of the thesis. I then turn to note the problems of terminology in this area, and how I work

to avoid "the normative and political terms of this debate" (Squire 2017, 255). Finally, I outline the thesis ahead, demonstrating how my argument for a rethinking of resistance within the UK asylum system is developed through the chapters that follow.

2. The UK asylum system

Immigration control has become one of the defining features of the modern sovereign state (Huysmans 2006; Squire 2009). States reassert and extend what has been described as a "spectral sovereignty" (De Genova and Peutz, 2010, 2) through the control of the restless bodies of migrants, whose very autonomy in arriving at the border disrupts the established trinity of nation, state and territory (Agamben 2005). Indeed, 'the' sovereign's ability to establish and enact the division between citizen and other through the ubiquitous presence of contemporary practices of border control, is of such importance to the means by which a territorial order is constituted in terms of state governance and national belonging (Kalhan 2010; Flynn 2012; Silverman and Massa 2012) that "one is tempted to say that were there no immigrants knocking at the doors, they would have to be invented" (Bauman 2004, 56).

The asylum seeker is grounded within a specific category in wider systems of immigration control, and is constructed through both national and international legal frameworks. The United Nations 1951 'Convention relating to the Status of Refugees' defines an asylum seeker as an individual who: "As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to wellfounded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his [sic] nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself [sic] of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his [sic]

18   Asylum-seeker: definition

(1)   For the purposes of this Part a person is an "asylum-seeker" if—

    (a)   he is at least 18 years old,

    (b)   he is in the United Kingdom,

    (c)   a claim for asylum has been made by him at a place designated by the Secretary of State,

    (d)   the Secretary of State has recorded the claim, and

    (e)   the claim has not been determined.

(2)   A person shall continue to be treated as an asylum-seeker despite subsection (1)(e) while—

    (a)   his household includes a dependent child who is under 18, and

    (b)   he does not have leave to enter or remain in the United Kingdom.

(3)   A claim for asylum is a claim by a person that to remove him from or require him to leave the United Kingdom would be contrary to the United Kingdom's obligations under—

    (a)   the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees done at Geneva on 28th July 1951 and its Protocol, or

    (b)   Article 3 of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms agreed by the Council of Europe at Rome on 4th November 1950.

Figure 2: Asylum-seeker: definition. Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act (2002)

former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (UNHCR 1951, 14). Correspondingly, in the UK, an asylum seeker is an individual who has applied for refugee status, and is awaiting the outcome of that decision. The UK's 'Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act' (2002) specifically defines an asylum seeker as follows:[6]

To claim asylum therefore, an individual must be on UK territory and actively make a claim for protection. In the UK, the Home Office is responsible for immigration 'management' and is supported by the Border Force, HM Passport Office, Immigration Enforcement and UK Visas and Immigration.[7] However, as previously noted, immigration enforcement extends beyond these departments, for example into schools, public spaces, social media and property rentals. Burridge and Gill (2016, 24) visually summarise the UK asylum system as follows:

---

[6] Despite the use of the masculine pronoun in this legislation, this is applicable to those of all genders, and none (for commentary on the broader implications of sexist pronouns within UK legal systems see Williams 2008).

[7] The *Immigration and Nationality Directorate* was replaced in 2007 by the *Border and Immigration Agency*, which in 2008 became the *UK Border Agency*, and then in 2013 returned to the Home Office under *UK Visas and Immigration* (Gill 2016).

Enter UK → Claim Asylum (at port or in country)

Screening interview

Detained Fast Track ← Substantive interview → Dispersal

Asylum decision

Positive — Negative

Humanitarian protection — Refugee status

Appeal to First Tier Tribunal

Positive decision — Negative decision

Appeal to Upper Tribunal or higher courts

Submit further evidence for fresh claim

Status granted or appealed by Home Office

If appeal rights exhausted likely detained at this point and removal directions given

Figure 3: "The asylum process in the UK" (Figure taken from Burridge and Gill 2016, 24)

The Home Office requires that an individual[8] make a claim as soon as they arrive within the UK (with a Border Force agent), or make an appointment with the asylum screening unit,[9] based at Lunar House, Croydon, as soon as they know that their country of origin is unsafe [Figure 3]. At these initial screenings an individual is photographed, their fingerprints taken, and they are asked to briefly explain their claim; their biometric data is taken. After this screening, an individual is categorized as: general casework; (detained) non-suspensive appeal; Dublin/safe third country or unaccompanied minor (Right to Remain 2017b). If an individual's case is considered to be a non-

---

[8] Due to the time limitations of a three-year project and the additional safeguarding around child asylum seekers, this thesis only engages with adult asylum seekers, and therefore does not outline the specific legislation as it pertains to minors.

[9] Unless the individual has nowhere to live, in this case they can make the case for a 'walk-in' appointment. If an individual is detained on arrival, the screening interview may take place within an IRC (gov.uk 2017a; Right to Remain 2017b)

suspensive appeal, they are detained and their right to appeal is rejected before the full asylum interview takes place.[10]

Following this interview there is another substantive interview [Figure 3] which is longer, more detailed, and with a caseworker expected to probe the nuances of an individual's case. Individuals are told about this by letter, and can request – in writing, with 24hour's notice – that the interview be recorded (Right to Remain 2017a). They can also ask for an interpreter, and may have legal advice (although, with cuts to legal aid, this is increasingly restricted) (Right to Remain 2017a; gov.uk 2017a). These interviews are supposed to provide the evidence basis for an individual's claim. However, in 2009 ex-UK Border Agency caseworker Louise Perrett, revealed the tactics used by staff at a major centre for processing claims, including a 'grant monkey' - a soft toy monkey placed on desk to mark the 'shame' of those who granted too many asylum claims (Taylor and Muir 2010 in Gill 2016).

2.i Dispersal

---

[10] With the exception of those placed within the category of non-suspensive appeal, most asylum seekers have the right to appeal a decision (for asylum, or for asylum support) within three days of receiving the letter detailing the reasons for refusal (for a discussion on the material politics of communication from the Home Office by letter, see Darling 2014). They may appeal the case in a First Tier tribunal [Figure 3], and can generally remain in the UK whilst this is happening unless the Home Office decrees that the appellant is from a country which makes unfounded claims, or under Dublin III legislation; in these cases an individual can only appeal the decision *after they have been deported* from the UK (gov.uk 2017a). Importantly, from the 10th of October 2016, an oral hearing in the First-Tier tribunal costs the appellant £800, and a paper based hearing costs £490, pushing the cost of appeal out of reach of many asylum seekers [The First-tier Tribunal (Immigration and Asylum Chamber) Fees (Amendment) Order 2016]. This is a 500% increase in court fees from 2011 (Travis and Bowcott 2016), and is significant because, in 2016, 41% of Home Office decisions were overturned on appeal (UK Visas and Immigration 2017). If the appeal in the First Tier tribunal is unsuccessful, then the individual can apply to take their case to the Upper Tribunal [Figure 3] only to claim that the First Tier tribunal judge did not apply the law correctly (gov.uk 2017a). If this is also refused, then an individual is considered to be appeal rights exhausted (although, they may submit further evidence). In some circumstances, the appellant may be granted the right to take the case to Judicial Review to argue that the previous courts made an error of law (this does not change a previous decision, but instead returns the case to the Home Office for a decision).

Under Section 95 of the 'Immigration and Asylum Act' (1999), asylum seekers are able to make an application for support[11] whilst they are waiting for their asylum application to be decided and this can be for accommodation and/or subsistence. This act further instigated a dispersal system to spread the so-called "burden" of asylum seeker accommodation across the country (Robinson et al. 2003, 164 in Gill 2016, 49; see Darling 2011 for discussion of the implications of this language). In 2010 this system was privatized, and in March 2012, the Home Office signed six new contracts called COMPASS (Commercial and Operating Managers Procuring Asylum Support), with three providers: G4S [for the North East England, Yorkshire and the Humber; Midlands and East of England], Serco [for Scotland and Northern Ireland; North West England] and Clearel[12] [Wales and South West England; London and South East England] (National Audit Office 2014; Darling 2016; House of Commons 2017). Asylum seekers are assigned no choice accommodation and dispersed to areas predominantly outside of London and the South East of England. In January 2017, the Home Affairs Select Committee published a report into the state of this accommodation, noting that they had "received evidence that people are being placed in accommodation that is unfit for habitation", including: infestations of rats, mice and bedbugs; damp; lack of beds and furniture; no fire alarms; exposed wiring and broken windows (2017, 26).

---

[11] It is important to note that this is different to 'failed' asylum seekers (those who are appeal rights exhausted); these individuals may be detained in an Immigration Removal Centre (IRC) or housed in National Asylum Support Service (NASS) organized Section 4, or Section 95 accommodation where they are regularly monitored using tags, curfews and check-ins at the Police station and live off a cashless payment on an 'Azure' card of £35.39 per week (British Red Cross 2016).

[12] This contract was originally won by 'Clearel', (with the companies Clearsprings and Reliance working together), but Reliance later withdrew so Clearsprings Group now run these contracts.

Asylum seekers are not allowed to vote or work whilst they are waiting for their decision[13] and as well as accommodation they may apply for cash support of £36.95 a week, which is collected from a Post Office with their Application Registration Card (received after an initial screening interview)[14]. Furthermore, they are required to sign-in with the Home Office at regular intervals (these intervals are set by the Home Office, and may be weekly, monthly or 6-monthly). Asylum seekers have a 1-2 hour window allocated to them to sign-in, at either a Home Office building, or a local police station (Burridge 2017). These sign-ins are frequently used to interview asylum seekers further, and to move individuals into detention (without any prior notification or justification). With the closure of many Home Office buildings and Police Stations in recent years, asylum seekers have to travel further to sign-in, and are usually not awarded support for travel (Burridge 2017). One example of this that arose within my research in Newcastle, was the 2015 closure of Northumbria House, the Home Office sign-in centre in North Shields, which means that many individuals now have to travel over 40miles to Middlesbrough to sign-in.

2.ii Detention

An (adult) individual who has been constructed as an asylum seeker may be indefinitely detained within an Immigration Removal Centre (IRC) at any

---

[13] A few asylum seekers have successfully applied for permission to work, but only if they fill roles that are consider to be highly skilled, or where there are few people in the UK able to perform the jobs (e.g. the Shortage Occupation List) (Home Office 2017; Thewliss 2017). One notable exception of this however, is the work offered in detention for security companies for approximately £1 per hour, which Gill (2016) suggests is more like 'pocket money'. This means that asylum seekers can be detained for being found to be working illegally, only to be employed within an IRC for the profit of the security company running the centre.

[14] Small amounts of additional support is provided for: women 8 weeks pregnant (£3), or those with a child (£3 for a child aged 1-3years; £5 for baby under 1 year) (gov.uk 2017a).

point.[15] However, detention is most common at particular moments within the asylum system: on arrival; after the initial screening interview (if categorized as non-substantive, or as covered by Dublin III legislation); if their application is unsuccessful and they are appeal-rights exhausted; or if they do not have an immigration application and are collected by immigration enforcement (Right to Remain 2017a). It is also common for asylum seekers to be detained when they sign-in with the Home Office (Burridge 2017). There is no clearly defined objective to detention, although a broad statement is set out in the Detention Centre Rules:

> 3.—(1) The purpose of detention centres shall be to provide for the secure but humane accommodation of detained persons in a relaxed regime with as much freedom of movement and association as possible, consistent with maintaining a safe and secure environment, and to encourage and assist detained persons to make the most productive use of their time, whilst respecting in particular their dignity and the right to individual expression.

[The Detention Centre Rules 2001, No. 238, Part 2, Rule 3(1)]

That physical, verbal and emotional and sexual abuse is common within these closed institutions is widely reported, as Chapter 6 will continue to explain. For example, since 2000 there have been 40 deaths within UK IRCs (or shortly after release to a hospital) and in 2015 alone there were 393 reported suicide attempts and self-harm incidents across the detention estate (Bosworth 2014; Gill 2016; Channel 4 2015; BBC 2017; Taylor 2017).

---

[15] Asylum seekers are allocated to IRCs by Home Office staff working within the Detainee Escorting and Population Management Unit (DEPMU) "upon receipt of a form known as an IS91 or 'warrant of detention', that must be completed by an immigration officer" (Bosworth 2014, 11).

At the time of writing there are 11 IRCs[16] across the UK, largely concentrated around points of entry to/exit from the state, and containing approximately 3,500 individuals at any given time (The Migration Observatory 2017). Detention is expensive. Gill (2016) explains how in 2007 a Freedom of Information Request determined that it cost £511/week to detain an individual; in 2010, it was revealed that it cost £120 per day and in 2015-2016 the figure was around £100 per day. In 2016, 28,900 individuals entered detention (24,814 males and 4,094 females); approximately 81% of detainees were held for less than 2-months, with 2% held for 6-months to 1-year and 1% over a year (The Migration Observatory 2017). Crucially, not everyone within an IRC is, or has been, seeking asylum. Foreign National Prisoners (FNPs) are also moved to an IRC after their custodial sentence is completed[17] and an IRC may also contain those "awaiting examination by an immigration officer to determine their right to entry; new arrivals who have been refused permission to enter the UK and are awaiting removal […]; those who have either failed to leave the UK on expiry of their visas (so-called overstayers), have not complied with the terms of their visas, or have attained their visas by deception, may be detained; and undocumented persons found in the UK"; in 2016, asylum seekers accounted for about 46% of people entering detention (The Migration Observatory 2017).

Furthermore, as with the dispersal system, IRCs are largely managed by outsourced companies (Morton Hall and The Verne IRCs are managed by

---

[16] In October the Home Office announced that The Verne IRC in Dorset, will be closing in 2018.

[17] In the UK, the Secretary of State has the power, under the Immigration Act (1971), to deport a foreign criminal if the individual is from outside the EU; this is automatic if their sentence is longer than 12months, or discretionary if the Secretary of State deems it beneficial for the public good [exceptions to this may include: Commonwealth citizens who were resident in the UK on 1st January 1973, or if prior to the offence the individual has continually lived in the UK for 5 years or more]. Under new regulations introduced in 2017 the UK government has increased its right to detain and deport those EU citizens who do not have right to reside (including those who do not have comprehensive sickness insurance) (Yeo 2017).

the Prison Service; the smaller centres of Larne House in Northern Ireland and Pennine House in Manchester Airport are run by Police custody contractor Tascar). Within each centre there are "multiple layers of governance", with private contractors (including Mitie, G4S and Serco), or the Prison Service running centres (Bosworth 2014, 14). These contractors are held accountable to an onsite 'immigration manager' whose job is to check that the contract is fulfilled (Bosworth 2014). These contracts are not publically available. Furthermore, a manager oversees local immigration officers who are there to mediate between detainees and their immigration case-workers, and who represent the Home Office within the IRC: "serving removal directions and communicating decisions about bail, temporary admission and asylum" (Bosworth 2014, 15). However, they do not make any decisions on specific cases. This means that, as Chapter 5 continues to explain, the Detention Custody Officers (DCOs) who are largely responsible for the day to day running of the centres, do not work for immigration control, and neither do they know the cases of the individuals who they come into contact with.

2.iii The immanent spaces of the UK asylum system

The previous sections demonstrate the plethora of spaces that form the UK asylum system. These include the expected spaces of First Tier and Upper Tribunals, Lunar House, IRCs, dispersal accommodation and Police Stations. However, understanding the border to be splintered across multiple sites necessitates an acknowledgement that the UK asylum system extends beyond these predetermined sites, and is formed of "multiple, fractured and uneven spaces" (Bissell 2007, 281) that come to be folded into experiences of the everyday. Furthermore, the Immigration Act 2016 has introduced sanctions for employees hiring, or landlords renting to 'illegal' migrants, and has resulted in some homeless charities working with immigration enforcement to facilitate removals (Corporate Watch 2017). Therefore,

carcerality extends beyond the IRC; restrictions upon movement, accommodation and money continue with asylum seekers in society. This means that a friend's sofa, a supermarket aisle, an unknown number calling, a brown enveloped letter arriving or, as Zaweel details in the prologue, unconscious dreaming, can all become woven into an individual's experience of the UK asylum system. In short, my point here is that the relations of the UK asylum system are immanent, meaning that it is not possible to determine in advance what spaces 'count' and 'do not count' within this system.

I therefore draw upon Coddington's exploration of Australian detention centres (2017, 7) to understand the spaces of the UK asylum system to extend beyond "the carceral 'fix' of imprisonment and detention into less tangible forms of enclosure and containment" (see also Gill et al. 2013). This extension of carcerality was referred to at length by many of my interviewees (which will be expanded upon in Chapter 4), for example, in relation to waiting for a decision on their application or the traumatic flashbacks that those now with the right to remain the UK still experienced. This has had implications for the methods undertaken in this project, for as Chapter 3 will expand upon, I did not want to exclude spaces from the research project *a priori*. Extending and pluralizing the possible spaces of research resonates with the approach to resistance in this thesis, for, as I will now turn to examine, an attention to creativity as *poiesis* allows for a framing of resistance as multiple and unable to be predetermined.

3. Framing resistance within the UK asylum system, turning to creativity as poiesis

That a plethora of creative activities happen within the UK asylum system is now widely acknowledged within the academy; scholars have commented upon the artwork, music, theatre and poetry that arises from those found

within this system (see for example Underhill 2011; Conlon and Gill 2013; Tyler and Marciniak 2013; Bosworth 2014; Lewis 2015; Gill 2016; Turnbull 2016; Bosworth and von Zinnenburg Carroll 2017). The role of creativity within the UK asylum system has however, largely been written out of narratives of resistance, with the exception of work created to intentionally disrupt or intervene within a particular configuration of sovereign power, with a particular focus upon mental health, wellbeing and expressions of cultural and religious identity and, in particular, as activities to filling the time of waiting (Wilson and Drozdek 2004; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh 2010; Marciniak and Tyler 2014; Lenette et al. 2015; Back 2016).

Indeed, art and craft workshops within IRCs are included as part of the Detention Centre Rules and Operating Standards within this framework of 'relieving boredom':

> "All detained persons shall be provided with an opportunity to participate in activities to meet, as far as possible, their recreational and intellectual needs and the relief of boredom."

> [The Detention Centre Rules 2001, No. 238, Part 2, Rule 17(1)]

> ---

> "In accordance with Rule 17 of the Detention Centre Rules, activities will be part of a regime which is designed to provide for recreational and intellectual needs and to relieve boredom. Activities must reflect the age, gender, cultural and ethnic needs of a diverse population […] Educational classes must include the following: English language, IT and Arts and Crafts."

Despite this requirement, and an acknowledgement that creative activities take place within IRCs, the *politics* of creative activities within IRCs have received surprisingly little attention from within the academy. Where these activities have been explored, the focus has been upon the patronizing nature of art workshops and the infantilizing of detainees or through a focus upon mental health (Underhill 2011; Bosworth 2014; Gill 2016). For example, Gill (2016, 127) draws upon an interview with an activist who stated that "I can't really explain it but just this, sort of, way you'd make kids do something creative and good for them. They were being friendly but it was very clear that they're working above these people." I do not disagree with this perception of these activities as 'child-like', for this too emerged throughout my research, through ex-detainee comments about activities in art workshops. For example, in one painting from Oxford University's Art Archive the detainees had been given a picture of a dog, and asked to draw what was at the other end of the lead. This form of analysis, I suggest in Chapter 2, further extends into creative activities undertaken by asylum seekers in society (for example Puumala et al. 2011; Lewis 2015; Back 2016). However, I argue that to limit the role of the creative within the UK asylum system to such analyses is to ignore the politics of the circulation, governance and representation of creative activities, and also the potential of the vital, agentic and lively materials that comprise them.

My project emerged out of a recognition that asylum seekers are attributing political significance to these creative activities beyond 'filling time'[18]; that moments of disruption are occurring that cannot be neatly categorised as oppositional and that these activities did not 'fit' with expected resistance within this system. Indeed, as with my earlier example of Joseph, it would be far from clear who the 'opposed' loci of power might be. These observations initially began to emerge during my previous work for charity organisations engaging with the UK's immigration detention system[19] and developed throughout my Masters' research on creativity and resistance within UK IRCs. Throughout this thesis, I will demonstrate that as academics we should not be sanitising, pre-empting or ignoring creativity within asylum systems.

I further demonstrate that this attention to creativity is an important contribution to literature on resistance, for framings of resistance within the UK asylum system have largely been characterised by specific, often extreme acts of defiance; 'acts of resistance' require the *intention* of subjects and/or a recognition of intent by a target or observer. In short, as Chapter 2 will continue to argue, resistance is primarily seen as a purposeful response by an oppressed individual or group to a particular configuration of power relations, and thus requires an intentional action towards a *telos*. Importantly, this thesis does not seek to dispute this work, nor negate the imperative to act to prevent deportation and the importance of supporting campaigns for change to the UK's border control policies. Instead, my contention is that exclusively considering particular forms of resistance increases "the visibility of these modes of politics whilst simultaneously rendering other modes invisible" (Amoore 2005b, 7). This view of resistance

---

[18] For example, whilst I was volunteering as a visitor at Harmondsworth IRC with charity Detention Action (a few years before this project began), I was given a painting by a detainee. I made an offhand comment about whether this helped him pass the time inside, and he (entirely understandably) was frustrated and angry that I had made that assumption, arguing that it meant more to him than that.

[19] For discussions on positionality, see Chapter 3.

as 'versus' sovereign power can mask the ambiguities of thoughts, feelings and actions.

I develop my argument for a rethinking of the fixed coordinates of resistance, including: the focus upon intentionality, linear temporality and a coherent subject that undergird much literature on resistance in both Political Geography and on immigration control. In doing so, I adopt a post-structuralist approach building upon the work of Amoore and Hall (2010, 2013), Darling (2011, 2017b), Puumala et al. (2011), Conlon (2013), Gill et al. (2013) Tazzioli (2015), King (2016), and Squire (2017) to develop the central argument of this thesis: that a rethinking of resistance is important, for it opens up glimpses of what might-be, which may not be politically progressive. Crucially, however, this prevents "politics …[becoming] a lost object, a foregone conclusion, concluded" (Berlant 2011, 232). I make this argument via an exploration of (non)linear temporalities, (in)coherent subjectivities and lively materialities. As will be explored in Chapter 3, these themes arose from my empirical research working with those involved with creative activities within the UK asylum system.

Finally, as will be addressed in Chapter 2, I utilize a post-structural framing of resistance, following Foucault to argue that resistant relations are as "inventive, as mobile" as power relations (1977, 276). It is for this reason that I conceptually engage with creativity as *poiesis*. *Poiesis* is etymologically derived from the Ancient Greek 'poi-eo': "to make or to transform, a process of reconciling thought with matter and time, or man [sic] with his [sic] world" (The Free Dictionary 2012). Aristotle used *poiesis* in his discussions of potentiality, which signifies all relations, including the unknown; in contrast possibility refers to relations that have already been imagined, conceived to occur, actualized. Therefore, as Amoore and Hall explain: "[t]he political capacity lies not in the actualization of an end goal, then, but in potentiality itself" (2010, 98). I explore creativity as *poiesis*, for this allows an attunement

to the inseparability of the process and product of creation, when exploring resistance within the UK asylum system.

My contention is that rethinking resistance through an attention to potentiality and a turn to creativity as *poiesis* can bring ambiguous moments, materials and subjects into narratives of resistance. The role of creativity in this thesis is therefore threefold: first empirically, it responds to the current moment, acknowledging that creative activities are taking place across the UK asylum system (and beyond, for example within refugee camps across Europe); second, conceptually, it demonstrates how creativity can produce modes of resistance within the UK asylum system; and finally, theoretically, I develop creativity as *poiesis*, demonstrating that this can advance how resistance is understood within Political Geography. Therefore, through the chapters that follow, I show how creative moments contain the immanent potential to disrupt both the practices and premise of the UK asylum system. My approach disputes linear narratives of progress underpinning resistance as an intentional movement towards a goal, or *telos*[20] as I argue for an attention to the potentialities of acts, moments or encounters that serve to unsettle the governance of such sites. I am mindful throughout this thesis however, of the constraints around the possibility for resistance. Arguing for an attention to potentiality does not negate an attention to the striated field of possibility for resistance in this area (as Chapter 2 will continue to explain).

In this thesis, I specifically focus upon music and artwork that are undertaken by those who are constructed as asylum seekers. I therefore do not look at artwork or music that is developed around the topic of asylum or

---

[20] *Telos* is an Ancient Greek term meaning *end, purpose* or *end goal*. It has a long legacy within Western philosophy including in the works Aristotle, Hegel and Marx. In the context of this thesis, I use *telos* to refer to end goal, with its relationship with intentionality explained further in Chapter 5.

immigration. I view artwork broadly as incorporating, for example, the paintings, photographs, drawings, craftwork and sculptures that take place within the UK asylum system. My focus upon music and artwork is in recognition that this covers a wide spectrum of creative activities within the UK asylum system, and that these forms of creativity are frequently undertaken as organised activities within it. It is not to negate that other creative activities are organised, or are untaken by individuals within the UK asylum system (including theatre, pottery, gardening and quilting). To summarise: I focus upon creativity because it resonates with the conceptual approach to resistance adopted in this thesis; the idea for this project emerged from an engagement with creativity and in recognition that the politics of creativity and the vitality of materials have been neglected within much scholarship attending to the UK asylum system.

4. Research Questions

In this thesis, I aim to advance understandings of resistance within the UK asylum system. Two objectives arise from this overarching goal: first, that the thesis develops understandings of the relationship between creativity and resistance and second, that it contributes to debates within (and beyond) Political Geography on resistance, creativity and potentiality. With this in mind, the following questions have driven my research agenda over the last three years:

1. How are the creative practices of music and art governed and regulated in the UK asylum system?

2. In what ways can the creative practices of music and art be understood to intervene as resistance within the UK asylum system?

3. How can an attention to potentiality challenge and advance understandings of resistance in the study of Political Geography?

5. Research Methods

This thesis is grounded within a post-structuralist ontology; I view knowledge as a construction, with no singular truth or data in the world to be 'captured'. When exploring resistance within the UK asylum system, I do not aim to provide a singular understanding that can simply be extrapolated to other space-times; instead, I analyse what emerges through the research process at particular sites, moments and encounters. As Chapter 3 will elaborate, I adopted an ethnographic approach to methods, including participant observation, focus groups and semi-structured interviews, with ex-detainees, asylum seekers, refugees and art/music practitioners. I chose this methodological approach to allow for a commitment to an inductive and iterative epistemology[21] and to align with the theoretical approach to creativity as *poiesis,* emergent subjects, lively materials and resistance as unable to be determined *a priori*. Put another way, the methodology, epistemology and ontology of this project are necessarily and inherently entwined.

As previously stated, this study understands the spaces of the UK asylum system to be immanent, and therefore does not dictate in advance what spaces 'count' for research. This project therefore began with a certain paradox: I did not wish to predetermine the spaces, yet the research needed to begin in order to journey somewhere. For my Master's dissertation, I had researched resistance within UK IRCs and this project provided much of the stimulus for my PhD research. For this project, I had worked with the charity Music in Detention and, given the anticipated challenges of research access to IRCs, which will be explained in Chapter 3, I included the spaces of

---

[21] This is not to deny that some scholars do use ethnographic approaches to seek universalizing facts (Bryman 2008), however, as will be further explored in Chapter 3, I am deploying this method to align with the ontological grounding of my thesis, of a world in constant creation, that cannot be fully captured by any analysis.

detention at the beginning of my project. I now turn to detail Music in Detention's work, laying the foundations for the discussions of research with the charity throughout the remainder of the thesis.

5.i Music in Detention

Music in Detention are an independent charity who run music workshops within UK IRCs together with exchange projects between detainees and local community groups. The charity was established in 2005 to "improve the wellbeing of immigration detainees" following a grant from the Helen Tetlow Memorial Trust Fund. This fund was established to continue the legacy of Helen Tetlow (1951-2002), a musician and teacher who had "worked with refugees and loved music" (Interview, John Speyer, 18th April 2016[22]; Daniel 2012; Lukes 2017). Indeed, Sue Lukes, the founding trustee of the charity, wanted to focus upon immigration detainees and music, after hearing a Master's student (Katia Chornik) speak at the Royal Academy of Music, "about her work on 'music in concentration camps and Chilean prisons" (Lukes 2017). Sue Lukes had personal affiliations to both; her grandparents were murdered in Auschwitz and her "daughters' father […] brought music with him into exile after 4 years in Pinochet's prisons" (Lukes 2017). Music in Detention thus emerged from this legacy of music within camp spaces, of people turning to music within extreme situations.

This trajectory meant that Music in Detention initially focused upon their workshops within IRC spaces. At the time of research, they were the only charity who specifically ran music workshops within IRCs and therefore I have named them within this project (with permission from the Director, John Speyer). Importantly, they do not campaign against immigration

---

[22] John Speyer is the Director of Music in Detention, and given how easily an internet search would reveal his identity, he gave permission to name him in this project (see Chapter 3 for more details).

detention, but they do actively assert their independence from the detention system as John Speyer explained:

> It is absolutely vital and we have an ethics framework where that independence, is rightly framed as sort of critical piece, a critical sort of part of what makes our work work, we are outside the system. So, we have to protect that independence and one of the ways we have to protect that independence is continually assert it.

> [Interview, John Speyer, Music in Detention, 18th April 2016]

Their work then developed and "two or three years later we start to develop the community exchange projects […] I think the idea that detainees should be heard outside detention centres was always key to it" [Interview, John Speyer, 18th April 2016]. These community exchange projects are where a community group is linked to a nearby detention centre. The groups cannot meet but Music in Detention staff go between them facilitating the exchange of recorded music, and developing a CD over the course of the project.[23]

Music in Detention are therefore independent from IRCs. However, some IRCs (e.g. Colnbrook, and Dover, before it closed down in 2015) have their own 'in house' musicians who I also interviewed as part of this PhD project. Music in Detention do charge the IRCs to run the workshops although I was not able to find out how much this is. They have a memorandum of understanding with one centre, and are making steps to establish these with other centres, but again I was not able to publish these within my PhD. John Speyer explained their content to me:

---

[23] See Chapter 6

Yeah, well I mean mostly it is standard boring stuff like what are we going to do, what are they going to do and erm, you know we'll have a meeting at this point in the year and let's see […] we will provide them with a poster, and if our artists are there between sessions they will give them a meal and they will supervise the sessions and we will send them security inventories so they know what kit is being bought in and boring logistical stuff. Then there is what we should do if we fall out, and what are the disputes procedures, so 'Janet' [pseudonym, Music in Detention staff] will talk to her opposite number and if we still disagree then we will pass it over to me and I'll chat to my opposite number and it'll go up the chain. All of that is very standard, right?

[Interview, John Speyer, Music in Detention, 18th April 2016]

Music in Detention therefore provided an important partner for my PhD project on resistance and creativity. They work with the IRCs to obtain access, yet assert that they are independent from the IRC management as they are a separate organisation. Music in Detention do not campaign on detention policy, but attempt to increase the visibility of detainees within the local community. Furthermore, they have workshops that focus upon creativity as a process, rather than with the intention to creating a particular end product. Their work is frequently written out of narratives of resistance for as Gill (2016, 172), writing about an unnamed charity who work within IRCs, notes: "close cooperation with the management of centres opens the group to the charge of co-optation" as such activities can "also lead to incorporation into the very system that is being challenged" resulting in them becoming "an apology for existing reality" (Lefebvre 2009, 38 in Gill 2016, 171).

5.ii Crossings

I also searched for organized creative groups that worked locally with music, arts and asylum seekers. I focused upon the North East, partly because I wanted to immerse myself within a charity in order to carry out a detailed ethnographic study, and due to the logistical and financial constraints of a 3-year PhD project, working locally was more practical.[24] I contacted Crossings, a charity who ran music workshops on Monday nights in Jesmond, Newcastle and who permitted me to conduct research with them. Crossings was advertised online as running a craft group on Thursdays, and music sessions on Monday nights together with the Crossings Band who are more established musicians who met separately.

> "Crossings is a community united through music, changing lives by creating opportunities to learn and perform and changing minds by opening up new worlds to the local community. We are a welcoming, fun and safe place to be and to sing, learn and perform music. Crossings is a social space for asylum seekers, refugees and migrants to meet with each other and the local community. We promote multicultural values and place inclusion and respect at the heart of what we do."

> (Crossings 2016)

Crossings was established in 2009 and since then has "worked with over 600 people at weekly drop-in sessions and events"; between 2014-2015 an average of 80 people attended each week [Crossings 2016; Field-notes,

---

[24] Further, at the time of research (2015/2016) the North East had 13.6% more asylum seekers than the national UK average, was also the location of 10.95% of asylum seekers on Section 95 support in England (UK Visas and Immigration 2017). This is largely due to the aforementioned dispersal program with individuals largely clustered in urban areas including Newcastle, Gateshead, Sunderland, Middleborough and Stockton.

Crossings, 14th December 2015]. Furthermore, Crossings musicians have "performed over 80 times to audiences of at least 10,000 people, recorded two CDs and written over 20 songs with asylum seekers, refugees and local people" [Excerpt from email to Crossings mailing list, 7th April 2017].

I got in contact with the founder and then head of Crossings, Lucy Fairley via email. We Skyped on the 10th September 2015, talked through my proposal a few weeks later in person and then the project outline, together with my Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) form was approved by the Trustees. I began attending the Monday night sessions on the 5th October 2015. These sessions took place within Key Change House in Jesmond (a community building used by a number of charities), with the following activities running: 5.00-6.15pm Women's Choir; Junior Crossings 5.00-7.30pm; Introduction to Music Theory 6.00-7.30pm; Writing/Sharing Songs 6.15-7.30pm; Crossings Unorthodox Beat Ensemble (CUBE) 7.30-9.00pm; Instrument tuition for Keyboard, Violin and Trumpet from 7.30-9.00pm). I discovered that the craft/art group had been shut down a few years ago, due to lack of attendance [Field-notes, Crossings, 19th October 2015].

I chose to conduct research at Crossings for it allowed me to explore creativity and resistance in the UK asylum system. Like Music in Detention, attending the sessions allowed me to explore music making as a process, and to observe at first hand the relationships and atmospheres in the room. Yet importantly, these two charities opened up other spaces of the asylum system into the research project including community centres, churches, museums, cafés and people's homes. This is important, I did not intend for the project to only be grounded within predetermined spaces, but instead to explore the spaces of the UK asylum system as they emerged throughout the research processes. Therefore, whilst the multiple spaces of Crossings (e.g. Key Change House, Jesmond; the Discovery Museum, Newcastle) and Music

in Detention (e.g. Campsfield House, Oxford; Base 33 Community Centre, Witney) provided initial sites for research, the project went beyond them.

6. Terminology

As Squire (2017) explains, the terminology used to articulate, describe or analyse different facets of global migration is often indicative of particular political positions. For example, she explains how the terms 'illegal', 'unauthorised' and 'migration crisis' imply an anti-migration standpoint, whilst the terms 'forced', 'clandestine', 'irregular' or 'refugee crisis' suggest a more humanitarian approach (Squire 2017; Allen et al. 2017). In this thesis, I also seek to trouble the "normative" language of the state (Squire 2017, 255), in recognition that the classification, and thus the construction, of individuals underpins much of the violence that characterizes contemporary border control. Indeed, it is widely acknowledged by academics, and immigration Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs), that state categorisations of individuals are "inevitably sullied" (De Genova and Peutz 2010, 52; Walters 2008; Waller 2014; AVID 2016; Bail For Immigration Detainees 2016; Detention Action 2016). Here De Genova is referring to the impossibility of containing a subject within the lines of the state; the fictional nature of the apparent alignment of nation, state and territory. Indeed, the fallacy of the view that the world's population is able to be contained within discrete 'citizen' units in nation-states has long been acknowledged by many scholars and activists.[25]

---

[25] This is not to state that the classification of a migrant is underpinned by any form of stable norm; migrants cannot simply be read as a stable identity that can be opposed to a normative subject (Tazzioli 2015). Even with so-called irregular migrants, it is not that crossing the border is rendered criminal, but that their body is deemed out of place as written by international/national laws. Further, it is not that the migrant can be held in opposition to the citizen, as migrants are themselves often citizens in their 'home' country (Tazzioli 2015).

This pervasive desire of the state to draw lines around an individual's degree of inclusion within its polity is reflected in the plethora of legal categories between the apparent extremes of the 'included' citizen and the 'excluded' deportee (Darling 2009). These categories create, and are created by, a politics that smooths over and obscures the diversity of subjects that fall within such striated, liminal spaces, adding to the conceptualisation of these individuals as 'other'. These individuals find themselves enmeshed within a complex wall of legislation, curtailing their freedom to move, work and obtain an education. As Tazzioli (2015) notes, these migration categories do more than govern by individualisation, they produce "generalizable singularities […] profiles in which the subject is required to fit in order to be granted humanitarian protection." Yet individuals cannot be packaged into a particular category; a person's identity is fluid and dynamic, exceeding the confines of being captured into a classification.

With this in mind, this thesis is caught between rejecting the foundations that underpin the categories of 'asylum seeker' and 'refugee' and the necessity of delineating a PhD project. This concern is elaborated upon throughout the thesis, for in highlighting the fallacy of categorizing (in)coherent subjects, this contributes to my argument for an expansion of understandings of resistance within the UK asylum system. I reject terms that form part of what can broadly be called the 'anti-migration' discourse that pervades throughout much of Western media (for scholarship on the relationship between the media and immigration in the UK see Welch 2005; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Lamb 2014; Blinder and Allen 2016). This is further in recognition that state borders construct illegality and thus that it is not natural for people to be rendered 'illegal'. I therefore use the terms 'asylum seeker' and 'refugee' specifically with regard to national and international legal frameworks and rely upon the term migrant to refer to the movement of all people across borders (I do not use the term forced migration, for this implies a lack of agency; it also can imply that the choice

to move is binary and that those who chose to move are somehow 'less' deserving).

I use the terms 'state' and 'border' out of necessity despite an understanding (and demonstrating) throughout the thesis, that these processes and institutions are more messy, incoherent and expansive than can be captured within a singular term. I also do not use the term 'community' to describe UK asylum seekers who are not waiting in an IRC. This is in recognition that carcerality extends beyond the IRC (Gill et al. 2013; Coddington 2017), and because this implies a false association between individuals. Instead I use the term 'society' to refer to people living and interacting in the world, without necessarily knowing or having a connection to each other. This also allows for an acknowledgement that asylum seekers and refugees in the UK are part of society, and may be part of communities within this, despite (or because of) their exclusion from much of the formal political life of the state.

As my argument is that the term 'resistance' should be expanded to apply to multiple moments beyond its traditional application, it is important to acknowledge at the start of the thesis that this is in recognition of the possible political implications of naming these moments as such (namely that calling a practice 'resistance' may result in it being banned by the state, regardless of the conceptual nuances of the deployment of the term). I have been open and honest with both Music in Detention and Crossings about the focus of the project, and (as detailed in Chapter 3) stated this is a project on resistance clearly upon all my interview consent sheets, and verbally through the questions to my interview and focus group participants. Whilst this will have likely impacted the responses I received, it is crucial that the research is ethical and it was important to me that the research process was transparent to all the participants.

7. *Thesis Outline*

In the following chapter, *Theorising Resistance,* I outline my thesis' grounding within, and contribution to, the literature on resistance within Political Geography, and on contemporary systems of immigration control. I discuss two logics which I consider to have come to animate much scholarly work in this area in the last decade: that resistance 'everywhere' dilutes the political purchase of the term, and that resistance requires intentionality. I then work these logics through the literature on resistance within contemporary systems of immigration control to illustrate the complexities and nuances of understanding resistance in this area. Through these two sections, I develop my argument that resistance cannot be determined *a priori,* and in the conclusions of this chapter, I outline my contention for rethinking resistance through an attention to potentiality and a turn to creativity as *poiesis.* I set up in this chapter, how expanding resistance to include (non)linear temporalities, (in)coherent subjects[26] and lively materials can bring ambiguous moments, materials and subjects into narratives of resistance. This is important, for these moments contain the immanent potential to disrupt the UK asylum system.

Chapter 3: Methods: Researching Resistance builds upon this theoretical framework to detail my methodological approach to this thesis. Here, I outline: my journey through the PhD project; my positionality and how the research 'began'; my application for research access to UK IRCs; the ethnographical methods undertaken, including participant observation and semi-structured interviews; the process of data analysis and the ethical implications of these methods. These discussions extend beyond this chapter into the other chapters of this thesis, for the methodological approach of this

---

[26] I unpack the reasons behind the use of brackets in these terms later in the thesis. In short however, they are used to signal that linear and nonlinear temporalities are not a binary, and that incoherent subjects can still make claims to a coherent subjectivity.

study is grounded within the premise that the process of research cannot be separated from knowledge construction.

The following three chapters bring together and advance my theoretical framework, grounded within the knowledge produced from the methods deployed. The themes for these chapters emerged from my empirical fieldwork, and together they develop the central argument of my thesis: that a focus upon creativity can advance understandings of resistance within the UK asylum system as this allows for attention to the potentiality of multiple, entangled and ambiguous moments. I begin in *Chapter 4: (Non)linear temporalities of resistance,* where I explore the politics of temporality within the UK asylum system, suggesting a need to diverge from accounts of resistance that are grounded within a linear temporality, which mirror the homogenous, empty and teleological time of the state. I start by drawing upon the work of Closs Stephens, who notes "[t]he technique of shackling the future into a particular mode of politics therefore assumes that we can know in advance what liberation must look like, suggesting that there is a timeless ideal that we can arrive at if only we continue to focus on the journey ahead" (2013, 118), moving instead to examine the implications of understanding the temporalities of resistance as polyrhythmic.

Through an attention to creativity as *poiesis*, my contention in this chapter is to utilise a different understanding of the temporality of waiting as multiple and polyrhythmic "to explore and critique the notion of purposeful activity" (Bissell 2007, 294). To this end, I examine five constellations of moments that arose during my research when the linear temporality of the state was disrupted: Metrics: experiencing 'the same' time differently; Memory and the multiple temporalities of the 'present'; Improvisation and polyrhythmic resistance; The immanent spaces of the asylum system; *Poiesis*, potentiality and resistance. Across these sections, I build my argument that waiting can be understood to be folded through with multiple temporalities and that this

has implications for understanding resistance as, when situated within an understanding of time as polyrhythmic, where actions are unable to be directly linked to future events, it is possible to remain open to the multiplicity of future directions that these moments bring.

In *Chapter 5: (In)coherent subjects of resistance,* I develop this argument for (non)linear temporalities, moving to splinter the apparent coherent *subject* of resistance and contending that viewing the temporalities of resistance as polyrhythmic, together with decentering a stable subject, allows for a conceptualization of resistance as open to multiple possibilities. This destabilises the necessity of intentional (in)action towards a *telos*, and acknowledges the political potential of focusing upon how dissent is always already present in the exercise of power relations. Here, I build upon the work of Ní Mhurchú (2014), Tazzioli (2015) and Squire (2017) who also work in the context of immigration, and move to disrupt a coherent subject of resistance. I first critically interrogate the notion of intentionality in relation to subject formation, before moving to examine how the state's lines of classification are always-already incomplete. I argue that subjects cannot be easily tidied into state classifications and that an acknowledgment of this can reveal new possibilities and relationships with these lines as contingent.

I then explore resistance beyond a volitional subject, focusing upon staff-detainee relationships at Campsfield House IRC and interrogating moments where subjects exceeded their positions through uncontrollable encounters and entangled relations. Here I focus upon Joseph, an officer who has relocated to the UK, and how his shared history, nationality and language with the detainees exceeds the confines of his role. As outlined in the Prologue, Moment 2, I show how Joseph's irreducible multiplicity highlights the importance of framing both the subject and resistance as plural, as his ambiguity escapes the inside/outside confines of the state. The final section of this chapter turns to argue for an expansion of resistance beyond

oppositional groups. Crucially, this section does not dispute or discourage the work of activist groups, but instead argues that those creative charities who do work with the system should not be readily dismissed. The entanglements of forces that their work facilitates, may not be revolutionary, but they are political and can be considered resistant through their disruption of the premise of state categories and opening up the possibility that things can be otherwise. I further note that as academics, we too participate in the delineation of the political and what counts as resistance. As (predominantly) citizens and authorized migrants, we cannot fully know or predict what political actions might look like in the UK asylum system, and in committing to particular forms of political action as resistance we too participate in denying recognition of those within this system.

In my final empirically focused chapter, *Chapter 6: Lively materials of resistance,* I turn to examine the of lively materials circulating from IRCs, to show how materials have the immanent potential to destabilise, disrupt and reaffirm entanglements of power and resistance (Bennett, 2010). I draw upon the turn to the more-than-human within Human Geography to view these materials as agentic. Through an attention to this vital materialism I argue for an understanding of materials as potentially political beyond their interactions with the human. Such a framing builds upon the previous two chapters, for it decentres human agency to show the political potential of materials to disrupt both the practices and premise of the UK asylum system; to imagine that things can become otherwise.

I make this argument by first exploring the governance of materials circulating from IRCs, looking at copyright and identifying a logic of paranoia which I consider to have come to underpin activity in this area. I then work the argument for excessive, lively materials through three circulating materials: a .MIDI file; artwork from Campsfield House IRC and a CD from a community exchange project run by Music in Detention.

Through these examples, I highlight that materials have the capacity to form relations beyond any apparent human intention or authorship. Materials may gather a community, and in circulating beyond the IRC can land in unexpected places, forming relations that are as-yet unknown. I argue that accounts of resistance within the UK's system should include an understanding of the potentiality of materials, beyond the expectant resistant material containing a message of discontent, for the potential impacts that their circulation may (or may not) have cannot be fully known. In their ambiguity, these circulating materials contain the potential to trouble the performance of the asylum system, revealing its contingencies.

I conclude the thesis by collating and condensing the arguments made throughout. I detail how the research questions were addressed, before moving to distil the key theoretical and methodological contributions of the thesis. I then comment on the wider implications of the thesis argument, including through its dissemination beyond the academy. I acknowledge and reflect on some of the possible limits to the theoretical and methodological approach to my work, and outline three of the avenues for future research that emerged from this project. Finally, I end the thesis reflecting again on the violence intrinsic to border control, on the increasing difficulty of seeking asylum and the need for critically engaged scholarship to address what it might mean to think, recognize and assert resistance, otherwise.

Chapter Two
Theorising Resistance

1. Introduction

In this chapter I detail my thesis' grounding within, and contribution to, literature on resistance. The chapter has two distinct, and yet interrelated sections: *Resistance within Political Geography* and *Resistance within contemporary systems of asylum control*. These sections are held separately, for whilst these bodies of literature are not discrete, they do have their own specificities. In the first section, I trace academic attention to resistance within Political Geography and identify two interrelated logics which I consider to undergird much scholarly attention in this area: that resistance as distributed or 'everywhere' reduces the political purchase of the term, and that resistance requires intentional (in)action. In the second section, I weave these logics through accounts of resistance to asylum systems, including migrant activism, solidarity movements and the role of the creative arts, to unpack the nuances and complexities of understanding resistance within this field.

The chapter then concludes by outlining the approach of my thesis, exploring what an attention to potentiality, and a turn to creativity as *poiesis* can bring to these debates. In doing so, I take up the conceptual threads from the previous sections, and fray them to destabilise the seemingly fixed coordinates of resistance that I argue, emerge through these logics. My contention is that a constrained understanding of resistance forecloses the potentiality of particular temporalities, subjects and materials, and that through an attention to this potentiality, we can come to reimagine what might come to be recognised as resistance. This is important because acknowledging a (non)linear temporality, (in)coherent subjectivity and lively

materiality allows for a critical engagement with ambiguous moments, materials and subjects that contain the immanent potential to disrupt both the practices and premise of the UK asylum system.

2. Resistance within Political Geography

Tracing the development of the concept of 'resistance' within Political Geography reveals a paradox: resistance is everywhere, and yet, surprisingly, elusive. Whilst numerous authors explore specific empirical manifestations of resistance (for recent examples see Jones 2012; Martin and Pierce 2013; Joronen 2017, 2011; Bagelman and Wiebe 2017), two strands of thought (resistant as counter-conduct, or post-structural accounts) dominate and dictate understandings of resistance within the sub-discipline.[27] Furthermore, within post-structural framings of resistance, concerns that an attention to a multiplicity of resistant relations will negate the conceptual purchase of the term have, arguably, brought Political Geography to an impasse within the last decade (for previous work see Staeheli 1994; Pile 1997; Cresswell 2000; Routledge 1996, 1997; Rose 2002; Amoore 2005a; Sparke 2008). In many accounts positing resistance as counter-conduct,

---

[27] This claim is based upon a systematic literature review of the term 'resistance' in the title and/or key words or abstract, over the period 2007-2017 and within the following journals: Political Geography; Progress in Human Geography; Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers; Antipode; Environment and Planning D: Society and Space; Annals of the Association of American Geographers and Geopolitics. I examined whether the articles that emerged focussed upon an in-depth interrogation of the term or ideas around resistance; this was done by reading the titles and abstracts of the articles that emerged before narrowing to read some in further depth. From this literature review, 16 papers emerged that critically discussed resistance in depth e.g. had a section of the paper dedicated to the term (Sparke 2007; 2008; Cadman 2010; Jeffrey 2012; Philo 2012; Crossa 2013; Martin and Pierce 2013; Gill et al. 2014; Crane 2015; Giudice and Giubilaro 2015; de Vries and Rosenow 2015; Cloke et al. 2016; Nicholls 2016; Bagelman and Wiebe 2017; Halvorsen 2017; Joronen 2017). This review is limited, for it focusses upon the term resistance, rather than the plethora of other words that are used to explain particular nuances of the power/resistance relationship (e.g. counter-conduct, refusal, defiance, resilience). It does however, provide an initial indication of the state of the sub-discipline's engagement with the concept within the last decade.

resistance to power is rare or even impossible; for example, in dialectical Marxist frameworks of power versus resistance (Cox 1983; Polanyi 2005). Indeed, Martin and Pearce (2013) suggest that much work in Geography more broadly has focused on resistance as "challenging hegemonies, be they political-economic, cultural, or some combination" (see Cresswell 1996, 2000; Routledge 1996; Pile and Keith 1997; DeFilippis 2001; Boyer 2006). Alternatively, and following the post-structural turn, resistance is considered to be always-already *entangled* with power; resistance is everywhere, resulting in the aforementioned critique that analysis is becoming "increasingly meaningless because it fails to consider whether the resistance actually produces any changes to the power relationship or whether it was even intentional, a decision often left to the researcher, not the individual" (Jones 2012, 687; Cresswell 1996, 2000; Pile and Keith 1997; Rose 2002).[28]

Indeed, Sparke (2008, 424) comments that "writing on the geography of resistance is especially indicative of the widened field of political geography". This can be seen through the rise of post-structural ontologies within the sub-discipline since the turn of the century, and the resultant traction of accounts that posit resistance to be inherently entangled with power relations. The sub-discipline of Political Geography centres around power; there is a large and widely acknowledged body of work which conceives power to be dispersed through multiple actors; a "tangled array of forces" (Allen and Cochrane 2010, 1073; see for example Agnew 1999; Allen 2004, 2006; Hyndman 2004; Allen and Cochrane 2007; Crampton and Elden 2007; Sharp 2009). Furthermore, there is significant attention to discussions over sovereignty as multiple and diffuse (see Connolly 2007; Painter 2006;

---

[28] The two edited collections in Geography to arise on resistance over the last decade are broadly indicative of this tension: Pile and Keith's (1997) volume *Geographies of Resistance* whilst not premised upon binary accounts, does aim to untangle the forces of power/resistance. Sharp et al. (2000)'s *Entanglements of power: geographies of domination/resistance* in contrast is however, based upon an understanding of resistance as irrevocably enmeshed within power relations.

Gill 2010; McConnell 2009; Mountz 2013b; Amoore 2013). As a consequence of the development and intersection of these bodies of literature, sovereignty is now widely considered to have migrated "from states to a loosely assembled global system" (Connolly 2007, 36). This attention to the multiplicity of power relations has resulted in, as Chatterton and Pickerill (2010, 482) argue "resistance…not usually articulated against a clear figure of oppression, be it the state, capital or the global corporation."

Yet whilst the 'target' of resistance has been interrogated and splintered, far less attention has been given to the multiplicity of the term itself beyond the two strands of analysis outlined previously: binary and entangled accounts. Cultural Geographer Mitch Rose (2002, 383) expands upon this conceptual schism:

> "[T]he challenge for geographers has been to develop theories that recognize and categorize 'resistant' practice. Despite the interest that this new subfield has garnered, the challenge has created a theoretical crossroad. If we choose criteria narrowly, we risk ignoring certain forms of contradictory practice, yet, if we accept every moment of contradictory practice as an example of resistance, our concepts of resistance become devoid of any practical use"

This "theoretical crossroad" (Rose 2002, 383) is important for, as Amoore (2005b, 7) notes "we tend to recognise resistances to take a particular form, and that in doing this we increase the visibility of these modes of politics whilst simultaneously rendering other modes invisible." In limiting our understanding of resistance, Geographers constrain opportunities for the recognition of alternative forms of politics.

This concern that resistance has become "devoid of any practical use" (Rose 2002, 383) may have contributed to alternative terminology used to explore

particular manifestations of power and resistance. For example, Geographers have explored: counter conduct (Cadman 2010; Conlon 2013; Rosol 2014); resilience (Munt 2012; Pugh 2014; Weichselgartner and Kelman 2015) and refusal (Jones 2012) to conceptualise the nuances of these entanglements. Most notably, Katz (2004) has outlined an alternative framework between reworking, resilience and resistance. Katz offers a "contemporary critique of the literature on resistance" (2004, x) and distinguishes between, "full-fledged resistance – active contestation that attempts to produce emancipatory change" (Jones 2012, 687) and other activities that are in relation to power but not 'overtly contesting it' which she sees as reworking and resilience. As Sparke (2008, 424 emphasis as original) explains, Katz "contrasts *resistance* that involves oppositional consciousness and achieves emancipatory change, with forms of *reworking* that alter the organization but not the polarization of power relations". These reclassifications of the term have emerged to (re)define, delineate and capture particular manifestations of the relationship between power and resistance. These may also be partly due to the further problematic of understanding resistance as both practice, and theoretical concept; whilst practice and theory are entwined, the realities of organizing resistance 'on the ground' and theorizing within academic writing remain frequently bifurcated within discussions of resistance (Gill et al. 2014).

I remain with the term *resistance* for three main reasons, in recognition that naming these relations such raises particular politics. As Chapter 3 will continue to explore, my argument for advancing resistance arose from my fieldwork with creative activities within the UK asylum system; I noted that those within the system were attributing political significance to their actions beyond the traditional understandings of what would 'count' as resistance.[29] Firstly therefore, this intervention arises from a recognition that a sole focus

---

[29] See Chapter 3

upon romantic and heroic resistance reinforces with the victim/perpetrator binary that infiltrates many representations of asylum seekers (Bleiker 2000; Tyler 2013). Secondly, bringing alternative temporalities, subjectivities and materials into narratives of resistance, expands the capacity and political purchase of the term, rather than to replace it with alternative(s). Finally, whilst I draw upon other terms (e.g. counter-conduct, resilience, reworking) that have arisen to examine specific facets of resistance, I do not neologise, for this would risk determining the specificities of particular resistant relations *a priori*.

I therefore do not seek a universal understanding of resistance, and neither do I claim to move Political Geography past this impasse. Instead I take up two central, and interrelated, logics that I consider to undergird much scholarly work in this area: First, that the potential for resistance to be present within every power relation negates the political purchase of the term; Second, that resistance is premised upon an action that is *intended* to be, or recognized as, *intentionally* disputing or disrupting power relations. This is not to dispute the nuance of work in this area, but instead to build a conceptual framework to expand understandings of resistance through an attention to (non)linear temporalities, (in)coherent subjects and lively materials in order to demonstrate how moving away from a foreclosure of what counts as resistance can expand our capacities to imagine otherwise.

2.i Resistance as counter movement: dialectics and dualisms.

Resistance has traditionally been viewed as an oppositional binary to power: a "central dialectic of opposing forces" (Sharp et al. 2000, 9). Such structural accounts, whereby society is understood in relation to an overarching system or framework, posit power as something possessed and deployed by those who control the institutions comprising the sovereign state. These, often (neo) Marxist accounts, focus upon the hegemony of state and society, and

link power with domination, control and coercion. When resistance is articulated thus, it is primarily understood to be mass mobilisations against a top-down, hierarchical manifestation of sovereign power.[30] Indeed, traditional notions of resistance, as Cresswell (2000, 261) notes, pivot on this idea that power, "through force or persuasion, diverts people from pursuing their 'real interests.'" Power and resistance are thus conceptualised as a dualism; resistance is emancipatory and acts against the seemingly totalising force of hegemonic state power (Hoy 2005). This is important for my argument because, in the wider Social Sciences, work on resistance has its origins in this structural shared sense of counter-movement from below, double movement, or an identity orientated approach to resistance, looking at how "collective actors strive to create the identities and solidarities that they defend" (Sharp et al. 2000, 9; see Laclau and Mouffe 1985; de Certeau 1988; Polanyi 2001; Gramsci 2007). More specifically, as Rose (2002) notes, work within Geography has also traditionally been focused upon theorizing organized opposition (see Brown 1997; Peters 1998; Routledge 1996, 1997; Martin and Pierce 2013).

I follow recent work within Political Geography which moves away from such binary accounts of resistance that posit it as oppositional to power, and instead build upon accounts that view power and resistance as entangled forces which cannot be easily delineated. In doing so I draw on Massey's (2000, 280) comments that power is far more "fraught, unstable and contingent, as well as multiple" than binaries that overstate the "coherence of the powerful" purport, agreeing with de Goede, that understanding resistance in terms of a coherent programme "entails a limited definition of

---

[30] It is important to note here that there is no singular 'Marxist' conceptualisation of resistance as oppositional; Marx and Engels in *The Communist Manifesto* explicitly state that "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they *also* represent and take care of the future of that movement" (2008, 97 emphasis added). They therefore, as Caygill (2013, 31) notes, link current resistance with a "care for the future of the movement".

contemporary politics of dissent" (2005, 379). Crucially the conceptualisation of resistance furthered here does not reject, nor require, an overt, hidden or underlying association with a larger framework of dissent, but instead examines the contradictory fissures between (and within) the apparent 'strong' and 'weak' (Bleiker 2000). This differs from Polanyi (2001) and Gramsci's (2007) work on collective resistance and de Certeau's (1988) argument that tactics are used when strategies are not available, as it asserts a need to see resistance as multiple, shifting and mobile, a complex and contradictory phenomenon which may arise in unexpected places (Amoore 2005a).

2.ii Entangled forces[31]: power relations, resistant relations.

> "[A]nd if I don't ever say what must be done, it isn't because
> I believe that there's nothing to be done; on the contrary, it is
> because I think that there are a thousand things to do, to
> invent, to forge, on the part of those who, recognising the
> relations of power in which they're implicated, have decided
> to resist or escape them."
>
> (Foucault 1991b, 174)

The influence of Michel Foucault's work on power and resistance within Political Geography cannot be underestimated, for it has shaped the contours of the sub-discipline itself. Foucault conceptualised power and resistance as multiple and relational, produced by certain forms of social relationship and therefore unable to be possessed, contained or localised (1978; Allen and Cochrane 2010). In doing so Foucault troubles what he terms the "binary skeleton" of sovereignty; the framing of the state as power

---

[31] I use 'entangled' here to refer to Sharp et al. (2000)'s work on the *entanglements* of power and resistance, this term will be unpacked further throughout this chapter.

versus resistance, famously arguing that traditional understandings of sovereignty were no longer appropriate in the modern political order, and stating that political theorists needed to "cut off the king's head" and view sovereign power as relational and circulatory between bodies (1980, 121). Here, life itself becomes the referential object of governance, and governmentality becomes a "dispersed operation of power that works through multiple organisations, individuals and relationships" (Hall 2012, 7).

My understanding of resistance emerges from the work of Foucault, for I conceptualise it to be an inseparable part of power relations, an irreducible opposite: "the binary division between resistance and non-resistance is an unreal one" (Gordon 1972, 256-257 in Easterling 2016, 213). Relations of power entail resistance, as they would not count as relations of power if resistance were not possible; "where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (Foucault 1978, 95). Consequently, resistance does not entail escaping power relations[32] as the "strictly relational character of power relationships [whose] existence depends on a multiplicity of powers of resistance…present everywhere in the power network" (Foucault 1978, 95). Neither is resistance hegemonic, but instead there are a "plurality of resistances, each of them a special case: resistances that are possible, necessary, improbable; others that are spontaneous, savage…the points, knots or focuses of resistance are spread over time and space at varying densities, at times mobilising groups or individuals in a definitive way, inflaming certain points of the body, certain moments in life, certain types of behaviour" (Foucault 1978, 96).

---

[32] It is important to note here that Foucault does not focus upon power as negative, and resistance as positive: "We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him [sic] belong to this production" (Foucault 1991a, 1:194).

Therefore, these resistant relations may not mobilise individuals or groups in any definitive way but, crucially, this does not disqualify these (in)actions as resistance, rather it changes the way in which resistance is recognized. This is because, for Foucault, unlike the aforementioned accounts of resistance as counter-movement: "no matter how terrible a given situation may be, there always remain the possibilities of resistance, disobedience, and oppositional groupings" (2002, 354). This is interesting, for here Foucault distinguishes between different 'types' of resistance, implying that resistance is possible within pre-determined categories. I build upon Foucault, turning instead to look at the *potentiality* for resistance within power relations; which may or may not emerge as a possibility for disobedience or oppositional groupings.[33]

---

[33] Yet this optimism of the potentiality of resistance, grounded within the work of Foucault is in contrast with claims made by Thrift that Foucault, in his reliance upon discourse, does not leave space for lively, agentic subjects, resulting in "a certain rather gloomy outlook" (2007, 53). Such claims of futility are important to address when thinking about the limitations of this approach to resistance, as for Thrift (despite an acknowledgement that Foucault does leave some space for resistance) argues that resistance is always trapped within a "totalising play of power where all outcomes are pre-determined in advance" (Philo 2012, 499), thus "the overwhelming impression is, too often, of a world that has given up the ghost" (Thrift 2000, 269). However, for Foucault, resistances are not "always passive, doomed to perpetual defeat" they are not "only a reaction or rebound" and neither do they "derive from a few heterogeneous principles; but neither are they a lure or a promise that is of necessity betrayed. They are the odd term in relations of power; they are inscribed in the latter as an irreducible opposite" (1990, 88).

Furthermore, as with Philo (2012), Nealon (2008, 96) refutes this view that Foucault does not leave space for resistance: "to say that resistance functions as a mantra for Foucault criticism is perhaps even to understate the case – it's really that ubiquitous a topic." Nealon argues instead that Foucault posits that power must always work alongside resistance, and that his focus upon studying practices, enactments and examples, means that resistance, like power is all over his work (2008). Perhaps then the question is not one about identifying agency, but about attempts to find a subject agency that is *free* from power relations, when there is "no such thing as unconstrained subjective action in Foucault" (Nealon 2008, 102). As Butler (2006, xxviii) further elucidates: "there is no political position purified of power, and perhaps that impurity is what produces agency as the potential interruption and reversal of regular regimes." The quest for unconstrained agency needed to resist has implications for the need to find "authentic, resistant political action" (Nealon 2008, 103; Philo 2012).

Resistance therefore comes first for Foucault; when asked in an interview for clarification of the phrase 'where there is power, there is resistance' he responded:

> "Look, if there was no resistance there would be no relations of power. Because everything would be simply a question of obedience...Resistance thus comes first, it remains above all the forces of the process, under its effect it obliges relations of power to change. I thus consider the term 'resistance', to be the most important word, the key word of this dynamic"
>
> (Foucault 2001, 1559-1560 in Caygill 2013, 8)

Drawing on this framework, Sharp et al. (2000) put forward an argument for deploying the term 'entanglements' to refute the frequent separations of power and resistance for analysis. Conceptualising this relationship through the discourse of 'entanglements', they argue, brings forward a new spatial metaphor of "knotted thoughts" (Sharp et al. 2000, 1), or as Massey frames it "a ball of wool after the cat has been at it" (2000, 283). This is intended to bring out alternative ways of thinking about resistance beyond the metaphorical, looking practically at how these 'knots' of forces become grounded in the materialities of space. Yet basing this spatial metaphor in writing becomes difficult as the terms 'power' and 'resistance' imply a dualism, and entanglements of power/resistance require the naming of a particular force. This concern with acknowledging the entanglement of forces is useful in the context of my argument however, when thinking about the spatialities of power and resistance beyond the often-implied view that power implies a permanent occupation of space (de Certeau 1988), a "static block of power", whereas a focus upon potentiality opens up resistance to a multiplicity of temporalities, spatialities and materialities (Massey 2000, 282).

It is worth briefly noting here that Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben's work, which emerges from an engagement with Foucault, has also had significant traction (and extensive critique) within Political Geography (Gregory 2004; Pratt 2005; Edkins and Pin-Fat 2004, 2005; Mitchell 2006; Belcher et al. 2008; Mountz 2011; Ramadan 2013). Whereas Foucault maintained that the "threshold of modernity" (1978, 143) was reached with the transition from sovereign power to biopower, Agamben claims that biopower and sovereign power are necessarily integrated, to the extent that "the production of a biopolitical body is the original activity of sovereign power" (1998, 6). The power of the modern sovereign is therefore founded upon, and "comes into being" in the decision on which lives count as political, and which lives are "abandoned by it, that is, exposed and threatened on the threshold in which life and law, outside and inside, become indistinguishable" (Agamben 1998, 28). However, many have criticized Agamben's work for leaving no space for resistance, arguing instead that there is resistance precisely because sovereignty turns to life itself; that the apparent void of exceptional abandonment is a space, "teeming with life, technique, art, technology, violence, resistance and potentiality" (Amoore 2013, 3).

Logic 1: That resistance 'everywhere' dilutes the political purchase of the term.

> "As resistance became an issue on the research agenda of human geographers, social theorists, anthropologists, literary critics and others, it began to turn up everywhere. Just as Foucault's lesson is that power is everywhere and inescapable, this new concern with resistance sees it in the most mundane activities. The discourse on resistance moved from strikes, protests, riots and the production of alternative cultures through the resistance of carnival, having fun and telling jokes to a whole plethora of unremarkable activities

such as walking, eating, shopping and taking shortcuts. I do not wish to offer any definitive statement on resistance here but I will suggest a difficulty with defining certain kinds of activities, which seem to lack a crucial element of choice, as resistance."

(Cresswell 1996, 422)

Whilst the move away from binary accounts of resistance as counter movement towards a pluralized and relational understanding has (somewhat) displaced accounts of heroic acts of opposition, it has also led to concerns that resistance is becoming romanticized in its multiplicity. In short, the argument is made that if resistance is everywhere it becomes "increasingly meaningless" (Jones 2012, 687; Cresswell 1996, 2000; Ferguson and Golding 1997;). As Cresswell further explains: "It is fair to say that human geography, and cultural studies even more so, have been guilty of romanticising resistance" (2000, 258). Whilst for Pile, resistance as ubiquitous, does not mean that that "resistance becomes 'anything' or 'everywhere', but precisely that resistance is understood where it takes place" (1997, 3), Cresswell raises particular concerns that "there is a danger that no area of social life will not be described as resistance" and any act that is not definitively linked to dominant structures is held up as an example of 'resistance' (2000, 259). There is therefore a need, he argues, to distinguish between "different levels [of resistance], visible and invisible, intentional and unintentional, active and passive" (Cresswell 2000, 259). Massey echoes some of these concerns, noting that a recognition of resistance as everywhere should not mean that structural inequalities of power become lost and "dissipated in a plethora of multiplicities" (2000, 280). It is important, she cautions, not to "trivialise resistance, nor to underestimate what real resistance costs" (Massey 2000, 281).

This concern that "resistance seems to be pointless" when considered to be everywhere (Hoy 2005, 9) is pervasive throughout much work on resistance within Political Geography and this is therefore important to address in this thesis (Routledge 1996; Pile and Keith 1997; Cresswell 2000; Sparke 2008; Jones 2012; Martin and Pierce 2013; for exceptions see Sharp et al. 2000; Amoore 2005b, 2005a; Chatterton and Pickerill 2010). I do not disagree with, nor wish to place false groupings around this diverse body of literature and nor do I claim that these authors fail to recognize or engage with the complexities of resistance. Instead I acknowledge, that the 'danger' of asserting that resistance is everywhere continues to haunt the sub-discipline.

A notable exception to this viewpoint can however be found in the work of Chatterton and Pickerill (2010, 479) who, writing about the activist subject in relation to post-capitalist worlds, highlight:

> "This revolutionary agent of history, the god-man (Deleuze 1983), seeks truth and revenge against oppression…What drives this subject is the possibility of political completion. However, rather than this kind of pure, romantic figure of resistance, what our findings point to is an altogether more complex and often contradictory process of activist-becoming-activist through trends that include the rejection of binaries between activists and their other, an embracing of a plurality of values, a pragmatic goal orientation and a growing professionalism."

In splintering the "assumed unified activist subject" to reveal "messy impurities" Chatterton and Pickerill's work[34] (2010, 479) contributes to critiques of what, for Nealon (2008, 105), is the predominant "old-fashioned, gold-standard thinking of resistance." This is the view that "if it's not scarce

---

[34] This critique of romanticized, pure resistance, premised upon binary distinctions will be explored further in Chapter 5.

and it doesn't refer to some grounding version of a 'real thing', then it's not valuable'. It's not actual resistance, it's just a programmed product of power" (Nealon 2008, 105). This perspective is in sharp contrast with Jones' claims that resistance risks becoming "increasingly meaningless because it fails to consider whether the resistance actually produces any changes to the power relationship or whether it was even intentional" (2012, 687).

However, understanding resistance as percolating everywhere, has led to concerns that 'true' resistance is futile, for resistance cannot be necessarily linked to observable change (Hoy 2005; Jones 2012, 687). Should every disruption be theorized as resistance? This is by no means to suggest that challenging inequalities should not be a driving force behind scholarly attention to resistance. Yet, is an explicit causal link to change *required* for an action to be considered resistance? Can the critique that "resistance goes nowhere in particular, has no inherent attachments, and hails no particular vision" (Brown 1995, 49) be turned on its head? Hoy's (2005, 229) reading of Derrida is useful here, for it resonates with my argument for understanding resistance through potentiality as it critiques "the sense of direction suggested by any line of criticism proffered with the tacit implication that it knows the true picture and the best solution, even if it never fully articulates this knowledge."[35] A growing body of work on resistance as opening other possible futures has been examined in diverse spaces: for example Joronen (2017) discusses play, potentiality and form-of-life in Palestine; Bagelman and Wiebe (2017) look to political acts of resistance where "other possibilities may be glimpsed" in their work on the intimacies of global toxins in the Aamjiwnaang First Nation's reserve (Anderson 2014 cited in Bagelman and Wiebe 2017, 83) and even Jones (2012, 698) who articulates concern over the multiplicities of resistance explains that "[b]y emphasizing nuance, fragmentation, and process, the possible remains."

---

[35] See Chapter 4.

I utilize the work of those Political Geographers who assume a post-structural approach to resistance grounded within the work of Michel Foucault. This is because it addresses the critiques raised above, concerning fears of the futility of a multiplicity of resistant relations. I argue that to recognise a pluralization of negotiations of entangled forces beyond an association with a *telos*, is to acknowledge that there are multiple points of resistance; that emergent forces are always-already composed of resistant relations. There are, of course, moments when the strands of the entanglement become visible; there are times and spaces where it is clearly possible to identify particular forces of power and of resistance (which will be expanded upon in this thesis), but importantly, they are not 'pure' and their entanglement remains. The Foucauldian argument that resistance is necessarily imbued within power relations, does not result in a diffusal of the conceptual purchase the term, for a recognition of multiplicity is a catalyst for - not a dilution of - the *potential* for resistance.

Crucially however, *this potentiality does not mean the plane of possibility for resistance is evenly distributed.* Structural inequalities are not redundant in these entanglements, for they shape the topography of the continually evolving landscape of resistance. Resistance is an always present potential within relations of power, but the capacity to negotiate, (re)configure and challenge is not evenly distributed. Multiplying the possible points of resistance, is not a romanticizing of resistance, and neither is it, I argue, to render it meaningless. First, in refusing to predetermine the form of resistance *a priori* alternative temporalities, subjectivities and materialities can be woven into narratives of resistance. This can open up glimpses of alternative possible futures. These futures may not be politically progressive, and yet they can serve to reconfigure and negotiate power-resistance entanglements. Secondly, an attention to the multiplicity of entanglements of resistance forces a focus on how an act, encounter or thought can be both

resistant and compliant, and therefore how settling on it as 'resistance' can ignore the very potentialities and ambiguities that serve to unsettle any definitive sense of what the future might bring and the opening up of new possibilities for political claims (Squire 2017). Indeed, just as there is no singularity of resistance, this study does not settle on a specific definition of resistance, for this risks excluding and ignoring the "pluralities of resistance" (Foucault 1978, 95). This chapter now turns to explore a second, and related, logic underpinning many accounts of resistance within Political Geography.

Logic 2: That resistance requires intentionality

> "I use the term 'resistance' to refer to any action imbued with intent that attempts to challenge, change or retain particular circumstances relating to societal relations, processes and/or institutions"
>
> (Routledge 1997, 360)

Many conceptualisations of resistance within and beyond Political Geography have been framed by the view that 'acts of resistance' require the intention of subjects and/or a recognition of intent by a target or observer (see Cresswell 1996, 2000, Routledge 1996, 1997; Pile 1997; Jones 2012; Martin and Pierce 2013; Crane 2015; Nicholls 2016). Resistance is thus seen as a conscious practice, that overcomes, or crucially *intends* to overcome, a particular configuration of power relations: "the person engaging in resistant acts must do so consciously and be able to relate that consciousness and intent" (Leblanc 1999, 18). For example, in their work on radical democracy Martin and Peace (2013, 77 emphasis added) argue that "[r]esistance…needs to *intentionally and deliberately* employ the state to sow greater lines of contradiction within the state's neoliberal project." Indeed, this view that resistance necessitates conscious intent is, Hollander and Einwohner (2004)

argue, central to debates over whether an act constitutes resistance within the Social Sciences.

The word 'intent' is derived from the Latin *intendere* (verb), or *intentus* (adjective). It means 'to stretch out, to strain' (tendere) 'towards' (in), to direct action towards a purpose (Ainsworth et al. 1823). Importantly therefore, the notion of *telos*, an end goal, is therefore bound up with the idea of a subject acting with intent.[36] This understanding of intent as being associated with the idea of an end goal is therefore crucial when thinking about how resistance has been conceptualised as intentional, as future orientated actions are directed by a subject to resolve, at least in part, some problem of the present moment. This is not to say however, that intention is itself a binary; whilst the confines of language frame intentional as oppositional to *un*intentional, as Chapter 5 shall continue to explore, subject coherence is far more complex than this simple delineation of terms suggests. A destabilization of intent is further tied up within the danger of romanticizing resistance; the concern that multiplying the possible points of resistance away from the (seemingly) fixed coordinates of (e.g. intent, *telos* and opposition) results in a dilution of the political utility and potential of the term.

Furthermore, recognition of intention within action is frequently linked to scalar analysis of resistance. Hollander and Einwohner (2004, 542) note that discussion about intent is often focused upon smaller, everyday acts of resistance, as there is a general consensus that "massed-based movements and revolutions clearly represent resistance" so the issue of intent becomes effectively, a nonissue. For Cresswell (2000), the local act is intentional, but the global impact of that act cannot be intentional nor orchestrated. In attempting to move beyond traditional accounts of resistance as counter

---

[36] Chapter 5 will continue to explore the relationship between intentionality and an (in)coherent subject in relation to resistance.

movement, he asks "How can we think resistance in a way that is not opposed to power?" (Cresswell 2000, 264), and answers that one way is by a focus upon intentionality, implying that this is a requirement for resistant subjects.

Furthermore, Scott's work on local scale intentional actions, the "hidden transcripts of subordinate groups," has influenced much work on resistance within Political Geography (1990, 15). Scott privileges intent as a better indicator of resistance than the outcome of actions, because acts of resistance do not always achieve the desired effect (1990). However, Scott's (1990) argument that it is reasonable to read intent in actions has been criticised by those who note that assessing intent is difficult, if not impossible (Hollander and Einwohner 2004). Such a view is further premised upon the idea that there is a binary between intentional and unintentional actions, which relies upon the problematic assumption of a coherent subject able to determine when, how or why they are acting with intent.

Pile also critiques accounts of resistance that prioritise intentional actions, arguing that determining intent is not straightforward (1997). Pile suggests however that resistance may be unintentional but not accidental; rather than acting against perceived oppression, other motives may inspire resistant subjects. This continues to resonate with intention as a binary, that can be located within a coherent subject. This aligns with the work of Cresswell (1996) who also acknowledges this, pointing to the unintended impacts of resistance, and the need to decouple intention from action. Pile looks at the strategic spaces of resistance, co-existing with spatialities of power, acting "in the face of" (1997, 16) authority rather than delineating spaces of resistance as different from spaces of power. Yet Rose reads in Pile's argument an underlying assumption that resistance is still *reacting:* how reacting takes form shapes the debate, but "that resistance is a responsive act, however, is an assumed part of the equation" (2002, 387). Rose refutes

this claim, arguing against the view (present throughout the work of Polyani, Gramsci, Scott and de Certeau) that a system of power exists *a priori* to resistance.

Throughout the thesis, I further Rose's (2002) critique of Pile (1997) as I argue against this conceptualization of resistance which is still premised upon the idea of a stable subject, imbued with intent, and that acts in opposition to authority. I therefore utilize the work of Squire (2017) who also draws upon a Foucauldian philosophy, to argue that there are no subjects free from power or resistant relations. Squire urges scholars to go beyond the "liberal intentionalist position" for a focus upon "questions of intentionality risks reproducing assumptions about subjects whose decision to migrate is more or less free from constraint" (2017, 257). This approach involves the "framing of subjects in simplistic terms as more or less intentional, rather than as constituted through processes of subjectification that are embedded in dynamics of power-resistance" (Squire 2017, 256). Instead, Squire focusses upon acts, which she suggests are more attuned to the dynamic interplay of power and resistance, for they focus upon "how far interventions by bodies in action effect a transformation in being through producing new subjects and scripts" (Squire 2017; see also Darling 2017b).[37] I develop Squire's work through an attention to potentiality, woven through (non)linear temporalities, (in)coherent subjects and lively materialities.

2.iii In Summary

I follow Caygill's (2013, 7 emphasis as original) comments that "[a] philosophy of resistance has itself to resist the pressure of concept-formation, of reducing the practices of resistance to a single concept" and therefore avoid the "conceptual unification of '*a* Resistance.'" In this section I have

---

[37] Chapter 5 develops this further.

interrogated two logics which, I suggest, have come to underpin much work on resistance within Political Geography. Through these logics, I have illustrated how resistance has come to be a totemic concept within the sub-discipline, which over the last decade, has rarely been systematically engaged. I now develop this argument, drawing on Caygill (2013) to see resistance as multiple and open-ended; as unable to be determined *a priori*. I identify and interrogate these logics within the literature addressing resistance within systems of asylum control before turning to argue how, through an attention to creativity, an attention to a multiplicity of resistances beyond intentionality can serve to intervene within and – hopefully – progress, discussions of resistance within the sub-discipline.

3. Resistance within contemporary systems of asylum control.

In this section I develop the previous discussions, recognizing that the logics underpinning much work on resistance in Political Geography continue to resonate across a lot of literature within the wider Social Sciences dealing with questions of resistance within/to[38] contemporary practices of asylum control. This diverse, conceptually and empirically rich body of academic work cuts across disciplinary boundaries. In many ways this is unsurprising, as theories and concepts resonate across disciplines: for examples, a focus upon post-structuralism can be traced (albeit in different manifestations) through many disciplines (e.g. Geography, Anthropology and Criminology; for exceptions see Psychology and Law). As shown in the previous section however, conceptualisations of resistance are not homogenous within disciplines, for they are intertwined with broader conversations regarding power, agency and 'the political'. This section does not therefore frame

---

[38] The use of the '/' here is to indicate the conceptual schism between accounts of resistance that see it as entwined with power relations, and those which focus upon 'opposition to' power relations. I use *within* in this thesis to reflecting the post-structuralist framing of this thesis.

discussions of resistance to contemporary practices of immigration control through a disciplinary lens. Instead, in this section I group academic attention to accounts of resistance into three 'types': migrant activism and solidarity movements; everyday tactics and strategies and the role of the creative within accounts of migrant resistance. These categories are inevitably limited and they are not discrete. They emerged however from detailed attention to academic work on asylum systems and therefore provide a fruitful path through this literature, illuminating recurrent forms and logics that ripple throughout.

I begin by taking inspiration from Tazzioli (2015), who notes that in critical migration studies "migrant struggles are often narrowed to direct and deliberate challenges of the border regime" which means that the scene of the political is already "posited as a bordered space given in advance." This section provides the foundations for the thesis' advancement of Tazzioli's comments (2015), focusing upon literature concerning resistance to asylum systems, whilst acknowledging and drawing upon work on practices of resistance to other forms of immigration control that inevitably intersect with this. Within this diverse body of literature, I note again how these logics continue to resurface throughout multiple accounts, theorisations and practices of resistance, resulting in particular accepted coordinates of resistance being determined *a priori*.

3.i Migrant Activism and Solidarity Movements

Ataç et al. (2016, 528), argue that with the development of many migrant protests and solidarity movements which demand forms of public action, the world has entered into a "new era of protests". Marciniak and Tyler (2014, 5) also observe that the last decade has witnessed "a global explosion of 'immigrant protests', political mobilisations by irregular migrants and pro-migrant activists" in response to the intensification of global bordering

practices. Examples of this include the *San Papiers* movement in France (McNevin 2006), together with organized protests, marches, strikes, legal challenges and occupations and "local actions against detention, deportation, and other border controls; campaigns for regularization and status; the revival of sanctuary cities; and global struggles for freedom of movement" (Nyers 2015, 23, see also Anderson et al. 2011; Loyd et al. 2012; Stierl 2012; Bagelman 2013; 2016; Gill et al. 2014).

Indeed, within the context of literature on resistance to asylum systems, resistance is frequently conflated with activism. Activism can be broadly understood to be a "practice of political action by individuals or collectives in the form of social movements, non-government organizations" (Routledge 2009, 5) and is commonly understood as actions directed as oppositional to particular configurations of power relations. This resonates with the aforementioned accounts of resistance as counter movement for it is associated with "challenging oppressive power relations" (Routledge 2009, 6). Yet the term activist is not easily defined, for not all those taking part in protests would necessarily identify as activist, and as King (2016) notes, the term is often exclusive to non-migrants. However, valuable attention has also been given to the diversity of activist organisations in pro-migrant politics, who define their cause in multiple terms: "the first types of organisations tend to act in support of migrants, while the other groups act on behalf of migrants or as migrants" (Monforte 2016, 413). This sub-section continues by engaging with broadly three aspects of literature on migrant activism to examine further how resistance is framed within this literature: firstly, I examine responses to Agamben; secondly, I explore work that has examined the migrant subject as resistant, and finally I turn to unpack the solidarity movements that have emerged alongside. This again is not to claim that these two 'groupings' are discrete, for movements and individuals intersect multiple groups. Furthermore, these groups are diverse, and may not share the same intended outcome; for example, a campaign group

against a local immigration detention centre may not necessarily support the *No Borders* movement.

(a) Responses to Agamben: Agency and Intentionality

I return to Agamben here because his conceptualisation of the camp (1998, 2005) has haunted much theorising of resistance within the asylum systems, with numerous scholars turning to analyse how asylum seekers challenge their depiction of 'bare life'. This work has been the starting point for analysis and critique of resistance within the multiple spaces of the border, for example: advocating the complexity and agency of the lived experiences of migrants (McNevin 2006, 2011; Squire 2009; Andrijasevic 2010; De Genova 2010; Tyler 2013); the nuances of migrant detention beyond depictions of 'bare life' (Perera 2002; Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2004; Bailey 2009; Hall 2010, 2012, Amoore and Hall 2010, 2013; Mountz 2011; Campesi 2015); lip-sewing and hunger striking in detention centres (Edkins and Pin-Fat 2004, 2005; Owens 2009; Puggioni 2014; Montange 2017); critiquing bare life within in/formal refugee camps (Turner 2016; Lee et al. 2014) including locations as diverse as Calais (Rygiel 2011; Millner 2011), Palestine (Ramadan 2013) and Lampedusa (Dines et al. 2015). These accounts are varied in their theoretical approaches, yet they are broadly united by a common concern with the limitations of Agamben's approach to subjects as passive 'bare life', and instead advocate for agentic, political subjects who act intentionality to

oppose particular manifestations of sovereign power.[39] Indeed, in arguing for resistant-relations within the camp what these authors also illustrate is that spaces open up for "ruptures, resistance and alternative spatialities" (Montange 2017, 2; see also Darling 2009; McNevin 2011; Giaccaria and Minca 2016).

This is significant for the argument that I make within this thesis, for attention to resistance in response to Agamben's work on 'bare life' and the camp, is often grounded within assertions of political agency. In these accounts, what is mobilised is an understanding of resistance as both oppositional and intentional and yet without refuting the brutality of life within these spaces. Intentionality is closely coupled with political agency; migrants' hunger-striking, lip-sewing, mass mobilisations and micro-navigations of the borderzone are all coupled (whether implicitly or explicitly) with an assumption that this is a deliberate challenge of sovereign

---

[39] For example, Edkins and Pin-Fat's work provides a particularly valuable insight into questions of power and resistance in the systems of asylum control, and has been taken up by other scholars to highlight the complexities of resistance within these spaces (2004, 2005; e.g. Amoore and Hall 2013; Montange 2017). They position their work between Foucault and Agamben (see Edkins and Pin-Fat 2004, 4–11), and acknowledge that resistance is always inevitable where they are relations of power, arguing that the possibility of resistance does not rely on an "emancipation of power relations" (2004, 12). Edkins and Pin-Fat's work (2004, 2005) is therefore grounded within poststructural understandings of entangled forces of resistance. Yet they too imply an intentional, coherent, oppositional subject for they argue that resistance is only possible through an individual refusing the sovereign decision to draw the line, and taking on the assumption of bare life: "only through a refusal to draw and lines at all between forms of life…that sovereign power as a form of violence can be contested" and a properly political power relation reinstated (Edkins and Pin-Fat 2005, 14). Further, Squire queries Edkins and Pin-Fat's work on resistance within the context of immigration control and the camp, arguing that in their emphasis of sovereign power over resistance they "fail to recognise the multitude of cracks of resistance and contestation" within such spaces (2009, 158). Squire maintains that resistance needs to be taken as the starting point for analysis, as only then is it possible to move beyond a territorial framing of asylum and look at the political processes that emerge within these abject spaces (2009, 152): "[A] more complex and contested reading of the exclusionary politics of asylum can be developed by taking as a starting point resistance rather than sovereign-bio-power" (Squire 2009, 148). Squire further criticises Edkins and Pin-Fat's focus on bodily resistance rather than "wider mobilisations" that are so crucial to the "politicisations of such resistances" (Squire 2009, 197), suggesting that resistance requires incorporation into wider frames of dissent.

power, assertion of identity beyond that assigned by the state, or statement of agency (see Edkins and Pin-Fat 2004, 2005; Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2004; Nyers 2006; Owens 2009; Puggioni 2014; Montange 2017; Ramadan and Fregonese 2017). In short, a logic of intentionality can be seen to resonate across many accounts of resistance within/to Agamben's camp, grounded in the assertion of agentic migrant-subjects.

(b) The resisting asylum seeker

There is significant scholarly attention on conceptualizing asylum seeker and detainee activism from marginal spaces (see Walters 2008; Rygiel 2011; Squire 2011; Nyers and Rygiel 2012; Oliveri 2012; McNevin 2013; Ataç 2016; Turner 2016). Indeed, the field dedicated to Autonomous Migration developed out of this concern for imbuing the migrant with agency (Mezzadra and Neilson 2003; Mezzadra 2011; Papadopoulos et al. 2008; Papadopoulos and Tsianos 2013). This work focusses upon resistance preceding power, using migrant agency as a lens through which to understand border controls, which are seen as a response to the potential power of the migrant: "it approaches the border first and foremost as a site of social and political struggles" (Nyers 2015, 24).[40]

Furthermore, across global asylum systems, attention has also been given to protests beyond detention through which migrants demand rights and become visible (see McNevin 2011, 2013; Tyler and Marciniak 2014; Ataç

---

[40] For example, in the context of immigration detention in Italy, Campesi (2015, 427) notes that "detained migrants possess an extraordinary ability to resist and undermine the deportation machine." In this way, detention facilities are frequently understood, not just sites of confinement and control, but also of political action, for "dramatic acts of protest are not uncommon" (Nyers and Rygiel 2012, 8). These protests, McGregor (2011, 599) notes commonly "take the form of hunger strikes, self harm and attempted suicide"; similarly, Tyler (2013, 212) comments "since Britain began arbitrarily to detain asylum seekers and other nondocumented migrants in the early 1990s, hunger strikes, fires and riots, self-harm, suicides and escape attempts have become regular features of life within a rapidly expanding immigrant prison estate."

2016; Sigvardsdotter 2013; Mountz 2013a; Mountz et al. 2013), making their voices heard through protests and the occupation of buildings (see Walters 2002; 2008, 2010; Nyers 2008) and enacting themselves as citizens (see Isin and Nielsen 2008; Anderson et al. 2011; Erensu 2016). This is of relevance to the argument I continue to make in this thesis, as these theorisations of migrant resistance focus upon concern over the relative success or failure of activist movements to achieve an intended outcome (Lynn and Lea 2003; Gill 2016). What can be seen here is that attention to resistance within and beyond detention, is commonly recognized to take the form of protests, riots, hunger-strikes, romantic and heroic moments of defiance, whereby action can be grounded within a coherent, agentic subject who acts with the intention of challenging a particular configuration of power relations. Again, this is not to critique this body of literature but, extending Tazzioli (2015)'s comments, I argue that that this results in the scene of the political already "posited as a bordered space given in advance."

The body as a site of protest

Particularly dominant within this narrative are accounts of migrant resistance examining the use of the *body* as a site of protest. Scholars have argued that conditions, particularly within immigration detention, are often such that the body becomes the only political space remaining for resistance and have examined: hunger-striking (McGregor 2011; Conlon 2013; Bosworth 2014; Puggioni 2014; Montange 2017); lip-sewing (Edkins and Pin-Fat 2005; Bailey 2009; Owens 2009); naked protests (Tyler 2013) and 'rioting' (Griffiths 2013; Bosworth 2014). Further to this, Tyler examines the media attention awarded to naked protests at Yarl's Wood IRC in response to treatment of women in detention, citing detainee Mercy Guobadia (2013, 211) who made visible the violence of her situation: "I took my clothes off because they treat us like animals. We are claiming asylum, we're not animals." These examples of naked protests, rioting and hunger striking are considered to be intentional and "media-orientated" tactics to draw attention

68

to the conditions in which the detainees were in (Tyler 2013, 212; McGregor 2011).

In contrast to accounts focusing upon hunger striking as a form of resistance, Conlon (2013) argues that it should not be seen as a form of resistance or agency, but instead as a political practice of 'counter-conduct' for this form of critique is always-already entangled with governmentality. Conlon draws upon Walters' calls to attend to the multiple ways that change occurs, arguing for "great openness and sensitivity to the diverse and often relatively minor ways in which migrants are constituted, and constitute themselves […] as political subjects" (2008, 191 cited in Conlon 2013, 145). Taking inspiration from Walters (2008), Conlon reads hunger striking through Foucault's lens of governmentality, specifically framing it through counter-conduct, "a practice that enacts a right to question how subjects are governed, and that is wholly consonant with and immanent to the liberal government of society" (2013, 135). This is important for my argument, as Conlon positions counter-conduct not as a discrete act of agency but as "contingent and continuous political practices that are embedded with the rationality and technologies of government" (2013, 145). I share Conlon's commitment to the contingent and multiple forms of critique, breaking with the aforementioned oppositional narratives of grand refusal which have come to dominate discussions of resistance within asylums systems. However, I depart from her argument that *resistance* aims to improve the situation, whereas with counter-conduct you cannot dictate what will happen if/when they "expose, problematize, and interrupt technologies of government" (Conlon 2013, 142).

I therefore draw upon the work of Puumala et al. (2011, 95) who, examining the dancing bodies of asylum seekers, argue that:

> "Relations of power always entail resistance and, furthermore, leave space for interrupting and contesting the

working of that power and protesting against it. This resistance, or more correctly these resistances and forms of protest, do not follow a certain strategy but the body's gestural choreographies imply the openness of 'the political'.

In this reading 'the political' is understood as a temporal spatiality of coming and closing, which means that it is always subject to change in space and time as a result of bodies' movement and their coming together with multiple others, in various ways."

I draw upon elements of Puumala et al. (2011)'s argument, whilst unlike them, I do not take a Nancian reading of the body and resistance, I align with their understanding of the political and their implied understanding of an incoherent subject, shot through with multiple and discordant space-times and without being focused upon a particular strategy.

(c) Solidarity Movements

The work of migrant activists is intimately entwined with the efforts of solidarity movements and advocacy groups. Solidarity is generally associated with collective action, social moments and other forms of "concerted, counter-hegemonic social and political action, in which differently positioned participants come together to challenge dominant systems of authority, in order to promote and enact alternative imaginaries" (Leitner et al. 2008, 159). This may include advocacy groups, charities and involve visiting immigration detainees, campaign groups against detention and improvements to asylum seeker accommodation. The concept of movements, is relevant to my argument for they are frequently encompassed within oppositional (binary) accounts of organized resistance intentionally challenging the system. These may be comprised of citizens (McNevin 2006) or subjects written out of the political life of the state (Nyers 2015; Depraetere and Oosterlynck 2017). As will be explored further in the next chapter, it is

through my involvement with solidarity and support groups that this project on resistance developed.

One movement that has gained significant political traction is that of the Sanctuary Movement (termed City of Sanctuary in the UK and Place of Sanctuary in Ireland), which has emerged as one of the largest solidarity movements with undocumented migrants, refugee and asylum seekers within the 'West'. This movement has received academic attention, for example Squire and Darling (2013, 59; see also Darling 2010) have explored hospitality within Sheffield's City of Sanctuary movement, suggesting that an attention to the minor politics of a "rightful presence" can trouble the binary logics of in/exclusion and guest/host that a focus upon hospitality can mute. This focus upon politics and the possibility for resistance beyond oppositional binaries is echoed by Bagelman who argues "that sovereignty can operate precisely through unpredictability, the deferral of a decision or knowable future, and that the City of Sanctuary certainly does not escape this expression of sovereignty and actually makes such a sovereign deferral possible" (2013, 50). The Sanctuary Movement, she argues, though promising hope whilst waiting, does not mitigate (and indeed may ameliorate) the politics of deferral through which sovereign power operates (Bagelman 2013; 2016). In short, sanctuary does "very little to change the fundamental precariousness of their situation" (Ehrkamp and Nagel 2014, 321 cited in Darling 2017a, 186; Bagelman 2013; 2016). When viewed in this way, it would appear that the City of Sanctuary movement would not likely be framed as resistant, for its co-option into state temporalities is seen to limit its potential for change.

Academic attention has also been given to other solidarity practices including: visiting detention centres (Bosworth 2014); counter-mapping journeys, counting and locating migrants offshore (Burridge 2009; Weber and Pickering 2013; Williams and Mountz 2016); organizing protests (Hodge

2015; Vickers 2014); charities advocating housing, work and legal support (Tyler et al. 2014; Mayblin 2016); the relationship between charities and hospitality (Darling 2009), mobile commons and 'getting by' without the state (Papadopoulos and Tsianos 2013; Trimikliniotis et al. 2016; Nordling et al. 2017) and the specific work of No Border's activists (Millner 2011; King 2016; Gill 2016). Coddington and Mountz (2014) have also explored the role of social media in building solidarity networks with advocacy groups beyond detention, a claim echoed by Marciniak and Tyler (2014) who argue that in the UK social media has strengthened migrant protests, for videos, photos can be circulated, so that even smaller scale protests like detainee riots, fires and hunger strikes can resonate internationally. Huysmans (2002) goes as far to say that migrant protests only have political significance if acted upon by the media.

Furthermore, feminist scholars have "begun to expand the category of activism to include modest, quotidian acts of kindness and creativity" (Pottinger 2017, 215). Through this lens activism does not need to be revolutionary, and is also conceptualised beyond a romantic, revolutionary overthrowing of power. This attention to activism "beyond the militant subject" (Chatterton and Pickerill 2010, 478; see Larner and Craig 2005; Horton and Kraftl 2009; Pottinger 2017) has also been taken up within immigration literature "partly in response to the machismo that besets notions of wholesale revolution, giving rise to a need to understand post-heroic forms of activism more clearly" (Gill 2016, 168). Yet, again these quiet actions at the level of the everyday are purposeful; they are action on behalf of a cause; deliberate actions with political orientations (Pottinger 2017).

Read together these accounts provide a rich and diverse slice into the multiple solidarity and advocacy movements that have arisen to support, in various ways, those who find themselves caught within the violence that is intrinsic to systems of asylum control. This body of literature, although not

homogenous, can be broadly seen to chime with accounts of resistance that focus upon oppositional, intentional narratives. Whilst the authors here generally articulate clearly the nuances of their relationship with the various actors comprising 'the' state (e.g. Darling 2009; Gill 2010; Mountz 2011; King 2016), they focus upon movements that have already become recognizable as dissenting, and therefore conformed to oppositional, intentional notions of resistance.

3.ii Everyday tactics and strategies

A significant body of literature has also developed discussing the myriad of tactics, strategies and minor politics that percolate through the *everyday lives* of refugees and asylum seekers. Here, I agree with Walters (2008, 190) who argues that, an attention only to manifold expressions of agency, or activism misses a "whole range of practices and acts on the grounds that they are not sufficiently radical" and suggests that "[w]hat is needed…is a great openness and sensitivity to the diverse, but often relatively minor ways in which migrants are constituted, and constitute themselves not just as subjects capable of acting, but as political subjects."

The philosophy of de Certeau has frequently been utilized to examine the tactics and strategies of asylum seekers. For example: Jewkes (2013, 128; see also Michalon 2013) looks at resistance within UK IRCs to show how detainees are creative and flexible as "the weak create their own spaces within these places; making them temporarily their own as they occupy and move through them"; Allsopp et al. (2015, 163) further explore how young people subject to immigration control "perceive and respond to time as a tactic of immigration control" examining how they "strive to counter such tactics of immigration control with tactics of their own" and Gill et al. (2014, 378) deploy the concept of tactics, drawing on de Certeau to argue that even within the increasingly "bleak neoliberal landscape" of immigration control

there are opportunities to resist. Instead they draw upon de Certeau's notion of tactics that work within or close to, and yet *against* these systems of control (1988; Gill et al. 2014). Such marginal tactics (e.g. using the video link to court rooms to provide more evidence for a case, or using the paper trail of a case to challenge the state in court) are not included within the literature on activist groups, yet "do strive towards system change", even if this change is comparatively minor (Gill et al. 2014, 379). These accounts of 'weapons of the weak', of hidden tactics and strategies within immigration detention are underpinned by a post-structural ontology, yet one that is explicitly grounded within an intentional agentic subject, or a recognition of intention by an observer.

Beyond detention, King (2016) explores the refugee camps in Calais and Athens using the work of Holloway (2002, 159 cited in King 2016) to argue that paying attention solely to activities that are organized and visible is "to see only the smoke rising from the volcano" instead, beneath this smoke she argues are all the quiet, everyday acts of non-subordination (Anderson et al. 2012; Mezzadra 2011; Papadopoulos et al. 2008). King's work is particularly relevant to my thesis, for, like Squire (2017) she actively engages with intentionality, arguing that: "[g]enerally people think of politics as an *intentional* and *collective power play* in the public realm. But the autonomy of migration is rarely collective or public. It does not rest on intent, so much as on the practice of escape, regardless of intent" (2016, 130 emphasis added). King refutes the idea that anti-state activism is a singular thing, and that everything engaging with the state is contaminated for this "reflects fixed and absolute ideas about resistance" (2016, 143). I draw upon many elements of King's work as I argue for alternative narratives of resistance beyond intentionality, however I diverge slightly from her account of some forms of migrant activism constituting 'refusal' rather than resistance for King argues these small moments work together to mount a grand refusal "by which I mean collective practices that engage in a power play or dialogue with the

state and that express a different point of view through protest, grassroots and often direct action" (2016, 19). Therefore, I welcome and utilise King's (2016) disruption of intentionality, yet differ from her account which narrows to a particular framing of resistance (as refusal) to collective moments merging to overthrow a system.

3.iii Creativity, resistance and asylum control

Another strand of resistance to immigration control has been through creative endeavors including art, music, poetry and dance. The role of creativity for asylum seekers has predominantly been explored by psychologists and anthropologists with regard to concerns around mental health (Dokter 1998; Wilson and Drozdek 2004; Underhill 2011), wellbeing (Lenette and Procopis 2015; Lenette et al. 2015; Sunderland et al. 2015) and viewed as transformative spaces for practices of belonging (O'Neill and Hubbard 2010; O'Neill 2011).

Furthermore, music and artwork have been explored as expressions of cultural and religious identity: Back (2016, 17) uses CDs produced by asylum seekers in Kent, England, to show how "art and music can also constitute a space where alternative claims to belonging can be made within particular localities and it is in the cultural domain that a politics of presence is also contested"; similarly, Lewis (2015, 42) argues that for UK asylum seekers "dancing, music and clothing provide vital modes of identification and freedom" in the context of lives marked by little choice (see also Lebrun 2006; Sporton et al. 2006; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh 2010; Ní Mhurchú 2016). Attention to the creative is also frequently present in the background of work on everyday realities of asylum seekers as activities that help to pass the time of waiting (Bosworth 2014; Turnbull 2016), as Back (2016, 4) puts it asylum seekers "are stuck in dead time…they have all the time in the world and yet time for them is running out. Creativity for people in this situation is

not a choice but rather a matter of survival." This bracketing of music and artwork as passing the time of waiting, becoming resistant when it takes a particular form is expanded upon in Chapter 6.

Indeed, despite art and craft workshops being part of the contractual obligations of the private management of UK IRCs[41], the creative practices that take place within the centres have attracted little attention from academics. Bosworth's ethnographic study provides some of the most detailed discussions of the complex role of art in the centre regime. She notes how detainees came together in the 'art and craft room', and that this provided a focal point for activities, but that some of the detainees found the activities "infantalising" (2014, 125). Furthermore, Bosworth (2012) utilises the example of a detainee at Yarl's Wood IRC painting a t-shirt during an art workshop, stating '100% BRITISH'. The custody officer in charge of the workshop sought permission from the Center Management before allowing her to do this. The detainee explained that this t-shirt was aspirational; her hope for the future. This articulation of this aspect of her identity exposes citizenship as an affective category, more than simply a legal status: the state can control the latter, but they cannot insist on the former, they can only try to manage it. Bosworth (2012, 131) argues how this t-shirt, despite its "legal impotence" was not able to resist detention, but instead can be considered a powerful statement of the detainee's identity. This reading of the encounter as unable to be resistant is premised upon an understanding of resistance counter-state. Further, such a constrained framing of resistance also forecloses the potentiality of this moment to become something else, or even to become recognizable as oppositional resistance. Instead, I argue for the contradictory nature of resistance to be celebrated, for in its very ambiguity it disturbs the normality of the UK asylum system and opens up the possibility that things might be otherwise.

---

[41] See Introduction

(a) 'Art-activism' and immigrant protests

This relationship between creativity and resistance has also been explored in the broader context of immigrant protests. Marciniak and Tyler (2014, 287) argue that 'art-activism' concerns creating alternative forms of visibility, disrupting the prevailing norms of representation and that "documenting resistance and protest involves the creation of new aesthetics of migration which, in turn, can be used to question the inclusive/exclusive logic of citizenship and the language and economics of illegality". Tyler and Marciniak's statement provides an interesting insight into the role of art activism in the context of immigrant protests, yet when read alongside the aims of this study, it draws upon discrete 'acts' of resistance against the striated labelling of, and potential exclusion by, the state. For example, artist Azra Akšamija, in response to challenges to her Muslim faith in the UK, explains how she created wearable mosques, intending to explore and exploit this tension between the "purported secular and rights based framework" of the West, and the place of Islam within this (2014, 142). These wearable mosques contained the 'tools' required to combat 'Western' stereotypes, including earplugs for insults, and a copy of the American constitution to prove she has the right to practice her faith. In doing so Akšamija aims to use art to re-empower alienated migrants, through making visible that which was written as invisible by the state. However, whilst not disputing the valuable insights that this study brings to understandings of creativity and migrant activism, this approach differs from this study as it draws on acts that are understood to be characterised by intention.

This conceptualisation of art utilised to express discontent, art in the service of power, art that is explicitly political, has resonance with Mesch's view of political art, that seeks to comment on a situation and to elicit a reaction (2013). The work of these artists and their complex, contested and on-going

implications for political thought is based upon a conceptualisation of 'political art' that is able to be utilised as a form of resistance to perceived problems with the dominant articulations of sovereign power, be this through the form or content of the art or through making marginalised voices visible. This perception of art explores political art as a separate genre of art, art that is in the service of power (Luke 1992). Here art is directed towards a particular purpose, intentionally created or later deployed to make visible new ways of political thought and disrupt an established order (Mesch, 2013; Luke, 1992). Whilst in this study I do not wish to oversimplify nor essentialise the resistance displayed in these examples, I argue instead for a more pluralised understanding of resistance within these spaces, away from arts/acts against the state.

Therefore, this thesis is more closely aligned with the work of Conlon and Gill (2013) who examine the work of Polish-born artist Krzysztof Wodiczko who is based in the United States. They use Wodiczko's work *Mouthpiece*[42] to read the pressures on detainees to enact the ideal liberal subject and to highlight "the potential for moments of interruption that can alter how each one of us is governed through citizenship in liberal society" (Conlon and Gill 2013, 245). In the same vein, Giudice and Giubilaro (2015, 79) argue that "artistic practices and interventions can interrupt and alterate the logic of the border, opening up a space of resistance and critical imagination, where the transparent, immutable and essentialist representation of the border is constantly challenged." This view of entanglements of power and resistance is also present within Amoore and Hall's (2013, 95) work on the clown at the gates of immigration removal centre, as part of a No Borders' protest, suggesting that the "clown does not turn to face a locus of power as though

---

[42] This artwork takes the form of a machine covering an individual's mouth, "designed to replace the hesitations and fearful silence of an immigrant's personal voice with a fully formed version of the immigrant's story. It functions both as a conduit of one's voice and image as well as a gag that blocks the mouth and prevents the individual from speaking freely" (Wodiczko 1996 cited Conlon and Gill 2013, 243).

it could be countered or overturned. Rather, he is the example par excellence of the resistance always already present within the exercise of power: standing not inside or outside the gates, but looking through, the clown dwells within the court but is not of its making." What these accounts show is that artwork and music are conceptualised within accounts of resistance in multiple and diverse ways, aligning with the framing of resistance within these accounts.

3.iv In Summary

In this section, I took up the logics from the literature on Political Geography and looked at how they resonated with accounts of resistance to asylum systems. This work is frequently characterized by the aforementioned logic of resistance necessitating a recognition of intentionality and requiring opposition to particular configurations of power relations (although, for exception see Puumala et al. 2011; Askins 2014, 2016; Tazzioli 2015, Squire 2017). This has, I suggest, often manifested in particular coordinates of resistance emerging: intentionality, aiming towards a *telos*, oppositional narratives, coherent subjects and resistant materials defined in advance. To restate however, this work is diverse and crucially important for understanding and developing resistance to asylum systems.

My work builds upon these accounts bringing (non)linear temporalities, (in)coherent subjects and lively materials into these narratives of resistance, and aims to be an *addition to*, not a rebuttal of, existing accounts of resistance with contemporary systems of asylum control. Yet is it possible to simultaneously think resistance-as-oppositional or intentional actions and resistance as in-determinant disruption, able to be determined *a priori*? In arguing for accounts of resistance to be expanded, I am not refuting others accounts of resistance, but as I demonstrate throughout this thesis, I am arguing for an alternative way of theorizing resistance. With this in mind,

this chapter now moves to outline the contribution of this thesis to this literature, and wider debates within Political Geography.

4. Conclusions: Rethinking resistance, potentiality and a turn to creativity as poiesis

In this thesis I aim to utilize, build upon and also intervene within, these debates within Political Geography and literature on resistance to asylum control. Through an attention to resistance within the UK asylum system, I move to unsettle the prevailing view within this literature that resistance is characterized by intent, and address the related concern that if resistance is potentially everywhere it becomes diluted politically. I show that this is important politically, because expanding the accepted purchase of the term resistance results in critical engagement with ambiguous moments, materials and subjects that contain the potential to disrupt the UK asylum system; to imagine things otherwise.

To explore this, I follow a Foucauldian understanding of resistance, conceptualized as plural, and not exterior to power, but rather "coextensive and absolutely contemporaneous" to power (Bleiker 2000; Foucault 2009, xx). Resistance arises from the strategic field of relations of power, and these relations of power only exist relative to a multiplicity of points of resistance. Resistance therefore is also a relation, and is not a passive underside, nor is it a reactive phenomenon. As previously explained in the thesis introduction, Foucault argues that to resist something is to activate something, as "inventive, as mobile" as power itself (1977, 276). To restate, this is why I conceptually engage with creativity as *poiesis,* to engage with the world in its continual becoming. Aristotle used *poiesis* in his discussions of potentiality, which have been elaborated and developed in contemporary philosophy including through Agamben's (2014) reading of Deleuze. In comparison, creativity derives from the Latin *creō*, "to bring into being, to cause to exist" suggesting a deliberate act of human creation (Barnhart and Steinmetz 1988,

1134). It is this association with human intent that I avoid by exploring creativity as *poiesis*, and as this allows for an attunement to the inseparability of the process and product of creation, when exploring resistance within the UK asylum system.

This view of creativity as *poiesis*, as without requiring intent or direction at *telos*, can be further expanded upon through the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze, as his work sees a world in constant creation. Deleuze's plural, empiricist philosophy is underpinned by the view that the state of things are "neither unities nor totalities but multiplicities" (Deleuze in Deleuze and Parnet 2006, vi). For Deleuze every 'thing' is made up of a set of lines or dimensions that are "irreducible to one another", multiple parts that relate but constantly work through their separation (Deleuze in Deleuze and Parnet 2006; Richardson 2015). Deleuze therefore offers a rejection of representation as a way of understanding difference, arguing that representation is orientated around an idea of sameness (1994; see Bleiker, 2012). Through this lens, creativity is not about representation but *variation*, as many heterogeneous materials work together to form a never stable 'whole' - a multiplicity (Deleuze 1994). Difference as creativity therefore relates "not to the production of goods but rather to a precise state of intermingling" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 99), and as a result of this precarious performance between interrelated yet inseparable parts, the difference between the product and process of creativity becomes untenable. As Amoore and Hall explain: "The political capacity lies not in the actualization of an end goal, then, but in potentiality itself. As Connolly (2011: 43) succinctly puts it, "there is more to reality than actuality'" (2010, 98). Jororen (2017, 98) also uses Agamben and potentialities looking at how "destituent play always holds the capacity to hamper attempts to strip life naked: it cannot be reduced to a mere target of colonial exceptionalism and hence does not let sovereign power capture potentiality and action its ban,

but rather directs potentiality and action to maintain the everyday forms-of-life."

Indeed, this conceptualisation of creativity as *poiesis* was explored by Agamben (2014), who engaged with Deleuze's (1987) lecture *On Cinema: What is the creative act?* where he discussed an act of creativity as an act of resistance, arguing that in any creative act, or *poiesis*, there is something that resists creation and counters explanation. This power that hinders and arrests potentiality[43] in its movement to the act is what Agamben, through his reading of Aristotole, calls impotentiality - the power not to be, so potentiality contains within itself an ambivalence: it can contain in itself an irreducible resistance (2014). Agamben (1999) therefore argues for an attention to potentiality in acts, or processes of creation, that is he argues that if creativity were only a potentiality to do something that can only pass into the act, then it would be the production of an order that has ignored the potentiality not to be, which is not an adequate conception of creativity as it presupposes the multiple, contradictory aspects of creativity as both product and process.

Agamben therefore challenges the assumed link between potentiality and actuality that underpins so much of the previously discussed literature on resistance: the view that resistance needs to be directed at a *telos*, an end goal where a potential outcome is attempted to be realised, or actualised (1999). Instead, in focusing on the potentiality of something to be, or do, not be or not do, the assumed temporal linearity between potentiality to actuality is

---

[43] Given the breadth of philosophical engagement with 'potentiality' (originating in Aristotelian metaphysics and since woven throughout much of continental philosophy: most pertinently in Hegel, Marx, Heidegger, Benjamin, Derrida, Deleuze and Agamben), this thesis specifically utilises Agamben's reading of Deleuze to engage with *poiesis* and potentiality (2014). Such a reading of potentiality therefore aligns with Deleuze's conception of pure becoming, which (through his reading of Nietzsche) he articulates as the 'enveloping' rather than an exhaustion of actuality, thereby removing any association with 'telos' (Ikoniadou 2014, 18; Deleuze 2001).

disrupted. Creativity as *poiesis* encompasses the potentiality not to be, which is not simply another potentiality besides the potentiality to be: if, as Agamben citing Aristotle, writes "potentiality to not-be originally belongs to all potentiality, then there is truly potentiality only where the potentiality to not-be does not lag behind actuality but passes fully into it as such" (Aristotle 1050, in Agamben 1999, 183). This does not mean that it "disappears in actuality; instead, it preserves itself as such in actuality" (Agamben 1999, 183). Therefore, in Agamben's formulation, actuality is no longer simply the using-up of potentiality; it is the full realization of impotentiality, the potential to not-be (2014). Actuality is therefore about the potential to *not* not be, meaning that pure potentiality and pure actuality are as two sides of the same plane.

Put another way, potentiality refers to all relations; it is an immanent force. Indeed, potential comes from the Latin *potentia* meaning force, power or might. The word refers to that which is not yet distinct, known or able to be grasped. Potentials are the dancing, shapeless shadows that simultaneously delineate and construct the edges of what might-be. Possibility refers to those relations that have occurred, been glimpsed, or imagined and that therefore have been actualized, for they have been woven in to an envisaged possible future. This distinction is crucial for an understanding of resistance beyond intentionality that does not over-extend the term, for in focusing upon the *potential* for resistance an attention to the conditions of possibility is not negated; rather these relations come into relief. It is important to clarify here, that this is not, as I demonstrate throughout the thesis, a further romanticizing of resistance, for in focusing upon the potential for resistance within power relationships I highlight and expand upon the material and social constraints for the possibility of resistance; further, as I emphasize throughout, an attention to resistance through potentiality, does not mean progressive politics. Instead, in the context of resistance in the UK asylum system, this focus upon potentiality forces us to reimagine what might come

to be recognized as resistance, the norms governing what currently is written into narratives of resistance and, crucially, how resistance can appear otherwise.

Chapter Three
Methods: Researching Resistance

Journey: verb. [no object, with adverbial of direction]
"Travel Somewhere"
(Oxford English Dictionary 2017)

1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodological underpinnings of my thesis, reflecting upon the methods chosen, data produced, my own positionality and the practical and ethical implications of my project. This chapter can be considered to be emergent from, and entangled with, the previous discussions around *poiesis*, intentionality and creativity. Similarly, comments about method extend into the following discussion chapters, as the methodological approach of this study is grounded in the premise that the process of doing research, and the data produced are, far from being separate entities "reflectively interdependent and interconnected" (Mauthner and Doucet 2003, 414).

What follows then is an account of a journey; my journey through this PhD project. It is, like many accounts of journeys, partial, non-linear and difficult to determine a definitive 'beginning' or 'end'. There are paths that could not be travelled, paths that were rejected; delays, detours and confusion and some events to navigate that could not have been foreseen. The use of the verb *journey* to frame this chapter is carefully chosen, for it names an attempt

to refute the assumption that this research process was linear, that the paths taken, and end point of this research could have been 'mapped out' or known in advance. To "travel *somewhere*" (Oxford English Dictionary 2017 emphasis added), both literally and conceptually is to be open to the multiple possibilities that movement through a research project can bring and to the unspecified, unknown, and yet specific (as distinct from *any*where) locations in space and time. This therefore resonates with the conceptual framework of this PhD, as the research process too is not considered to be pre-determined or complete. Highlighting that everyone moves on journeys, is not to suggest that journeys are equal or comparative, but instead it is to place emphasis upon movement as a norm. To discuss my research journey here, to explore the decisions and reasoning behind my travels to 'somewhere' is not intended to privilege this account, nor to render it complete, for it is but one story from the multiple possible interpretations that could have emerged. Instead in this chapter I reflect, explain and justify the choices that I made/am making through this project, exploring my work with the charities Music in Detention and Crossings, the ethnographic methods used, together with the implications that this has for the data supporting this thesis and the conclusions drawn.

1.i A beginning

Ideas are fragments, as-yet unknown seed-becomings; they may exist in shadows, planted, yet lying dormant, before potentially germinating and bearing fruit. It is therefore hard, if not impossible, to assign a definitive *beginning* to idea(s). The origins of this PhD project, whilst unable to be clearly pinned down, cannot be separated from my previous work for charities in the UK asylum system. Growing up close to Dover, the UK's border with France has always been visible, made present through the

infrastructures of the port, Channel Tunnel and 'Operation Stack'.[44] Following my undergraduate degree in Geography, I volunteered part-time as an assistant caseworker for the charity Kent Refugee Help, supporting detainees within Dover IRC, trying to find sureties and bail for those held inside, together with campaigning for fairer immigration controls (Kent Refugee Help 2017).[45] I left to work in London and whilst there began to volunteer for Detention Action who support detainees at Harmondsworth and Colnbrook IRCs next to Heathrow airport, and campaign for change to the UK's detention system (Detention Action 2017). I volunteered here for a year as a visitor, going out to Heathrow Airport once a week to visit an individual until their release, movement to another centre, or deportation. Through these varying volunteer positions, I became interested – and incensed – at the injustices that underpin, and are rife within, the UK asylum system (including, but not limited to, lack of legal access, detention, indefinite detention, family separation and deportation). This journey through a few of the numerous UK based campaign groups around immigration, asylum and detention continues to influence my work, whether this be through contacts, information and advice, or through the political viewpoint that underpins this project: that the chance happening of where you are born should not be the marker of rights; that everyone and everything moves and should have the right to move, and that the UK asylum system, as with border regimes throughout the world, is violent and fundamentally unjust.

These reflections serve to reiterate that my work cannot be separated from the "distinct positionality" of myself as researcher, and I utilise ethnographic

---

[44] Operation Stack is the name given to the procedure of Kent Police and the Port of Dover to park all the freight traffic for the port on the M20 motorway when there is disruption to either the Port or Eurotunnel (e.g. French fishermen on strike, refugee activity on the train tracks in France or poor weather conditions) (Kent Police 2017).

[45] Dover IRC closed in Autumn 2015, and the charity has since moved to focus upon providing "emotional and practical support" to refugees and migrants in London and Kent prisons (Kent Refugee Help, 2017).

methods to reflect upon the positioned production of knowledge arising from the relationships I have forged within this project (Hall 2012, 24). This inseparability of researcher from the research project is rooted within feminist methodologies (see McDowell 1992; Rose 1997; Pratt 2004; Sharp 2005) which argue for an attention to positionality in the context of the embodied and messy process of conducting research. Feminist geographers have also called for attention to how the researcher engages "ethically, politically, emotionally" in their research (Sharp 2005, 305). Similarly, Mandel (2003) and Mountz et al. (2003) have argued for greater attention to the embodied experiences of fieldwork, as potentially disorientating, draining and distressing. This chapter, and the wider thesis, therefore utilizes the first person, to share both my experiences and emotions, reflecting this study's aim to provide a detailed and empirically informed analysis, and acknowledging that my work cannot be separated from my background working for charities, supporting detainees and campaigning against detention. It is important to state however, that despite my own positioning, Music in Detention do not campaign against detention. Instead they are an independent UK charity that, "works through music to give voice to immigration detainees and create channels of communication between them, immigration and detention staff, local communities and the wider public" (Speyer 2008, 1). Consequently, whilst the research for this study is motivated by my experiences working for charities, any views that I express do not reflect the policies of Music in Detention, nor their individual staff. Crossings on the other hand, are actively involved in campaigning for improved support for asylum seekers.

Furthermore, this work is inevitably tied to my position as a dual British and Irish citizen, conducting research within the UK. I have never been categorized as an asylum seeker or refugee. This is not to say that I am a coherent subject, but that my construction as citizen reinforces the 'othering' and 'lack' of formal citizenship of many of the research participants. This

position became visible at multiple times throughout the research process, from having to produce my passport to enter an IRC or the Home Office, to asylum seekers in Newcastle stating (correctly) in interviews that I could never fully understand what they were talking about. In addition, I identify as 'white' and 'female' and am based within a higher education institution. This alignment of citizenship, race and gender, which I understand to all be constructed and fluid concepts, nonetheless holds a performative charge. This was something that I struggled with both practically (in interviews and whilst conducting ethnographic fieldwork) and emotionally throughout the research process; I feel guilty about the privilege of occupying of these positions. This guilt itself is an uncomfortable privilege, and became particularly acute when 'leaving' the field. Yet positionality is intrinsic to all research, for an individual cannot step outside of themselves. My own positionality is worked throughout this thesis, for it infiltrates all aspects of my work.

1.ii Approach to methods

This origin and positioning of the project have had implications for the methodological approach of the study, which is grounded within the discipline of Human Geography. Furthermore, my thesis is necessarily engaged with discussions of power, representation and politics, with knowledge considered to be socially constructed; not neutral but partial, positional and subjective (Bryman 2008). I assume a constructivist epistemological position which arises from an idealist ontology, whereby reality is constructed by our actions and consequently links to understandings of the world as in a constant state of becoming. Social phenomena and meanings are constantly being accomplished, performed and created by social actors, resulting in "reality" as a constantly constructed experience. Consequently, I do not aim to provide a singular understanding

of resistance within the UK asylum system but rather explore the creativity and resistance within particular sites, moments and encounters.

As a result of this approach, ethnographic methods were chosen, including participant observation, focus groups and semi-structured interviews because they allow for explorations of the process of creation and in-depth discussions with detainees and staff as to their thoughts on these creative practices. I expand upon the nuances of each of these methods later in the chapter, however it is worth briefly outlining what I mean by *ethnography* here, for the term is ascribed a variety of meanings, particularly across disciplinary boundaries (for example, in Anthropology, ethnography is typically a long-term immersion in the daily life of a society). I understand ethnography to encompass a variety of methods; ethnography is an approach; an epistemological commitment to research as inductive and iterative for data is not simply waiting in the world to be collected, but instead is constructed by the methods that we as researchers (with our own ever-changing positionalities) deploy. Whilst ethnographic methods broadly aim "to understand parts of the world as they are experienced and understood in the everyday lives of the people who actually 'live them out'" (Crang and Cook 1995, 4; Megoran 2006), this does not mean that there is a 'truth' waiting to be discovered, or that researchers can read the meanings that individuals ascribe to aspects of their lives (whether this be through participant observation or through interviewing), for knowledge construction is always-already partial, positioned and political.

Some scholars (see Denzin 2001; Mason 2002; Rubin and Rubin 2005) therefore argue that from a constructivist epistemological positioning, ethnographic methods, particularly interviewing can only make knowledge claims that are specific to the encounter of the interview, and cannot be used to add to wider understandings of social complexity. This raises important questions regarding the utility of ethnographic methods as a tool for

understanding resistance within the UK asylum system, as knowledge claims may be limited to the fieldwork encounter (Mason 2002). I consider the knowledge produced from my fieldwork to be positioned within the space-time of encounters and unable to be separated from it. Thus, this research cannot necessarily be extrapolated to other situations beyond the examples that I draw upon. What then, is the utility of this study? I attempt to address these concerns by utilising the example as a device, reflecting Agamben's discussion of the example as neither inductive nor deductive but instead as playing alongside the 'universal' as "it is never possible to separate its exemplarity from its singularity" (2009, 31).[46] The examples that I draw upon, are not intended to be reflection of a general picture, yet neither are they limited to their own particularities; instead the example dances between the apparent 'singular' and the 'universal', as a device to "signal something about the world", and "make intelligible" a broader political context (Amoore and Hall 2013, 97; Agamben 2009, 9).

As previously outlined in the introduction, I did not pre-assign the spaces of research, for this would be to delimit the spaces of resistance *a priori*. I did however, begin with two charities: Music in Detention and Crossings (Newcastle). I aimed to conduct ethnographic research with Music in Detention's sessions within IRCs, and my initial plan was to research with Crossings for a year. The situation at Crossings, changed significantly however, on the 7th December 2015:

> [In the Kitchen] Rhianna asks if I've heard the news. I
> haven't, so I ask what has happened and she explains that
> Lucy, who set up and runs Crossings has been diagnosed
> with terminal cancer – 'we don't know how long she has
> got'. I can't believe what she has said, and I'm crying as I

---

[46] Indeed, the German for example is 'beispiel', literally meaning to play (spiel) – with (bei).

write this now. Lucy has been my main contact at Crossings, and I think she is an incredible woman. Peter [my partner] and I spent time with a friend of hers in Chile as well, so I know her personally. She is the lifeblood of the charity, and for so many initiatives in the North East with asylum seekers. I ask if anyone else knows about Lucy, and she explains that some people do – but not everyone. There was an advisory board meeting last week, and Lucy had just found out then. Rhianna has now got very upset, and Katie comes into ask us to come in for choir - but leaves again quickly when she sees her. A trustee enters, which is very unusual, I don't think I've seen one on a Monday session before. He is less aware of Rhianna and starts to make some tea, ignoring the fact that she is crying. The atmosphere is excruciating, and we step outside and go for a quick walk before heading into choir.

[Field-notes, Crossings, 7th December 2015]

Lucy's illness deteriorated; she was unable to come to Crossings for much of the next year and she passed away on the 16th September 2016.[47] The shadow of Lucy's illness spread throughout the Crossings community, and whilst when she was able to attend she was positive and upbeat, the visual indicators of her condition were clear. The atmosphere of Crossings changed as it became known that Lucy was not going to survive and in May 2016 I made the decision to stop attending Crossings as a researcher. It simply did not feel 'right' to continue conducting research in this context. I returned to the charity over the summer relatively frequently to keep in touch with

---

[47] I have named Lucy in my thesis, for she was publically named as head of Crossings. Lucy was awarded a Lord Mayor's Award in Newcastle for her work with Crossings, just weeks before her death. This obituary testifies to her inspirational life: http://platformlondon.org/2016/09/30/for-lucy-fairley/

people I'd met there, and ceased completely following Lucy's death, partly as I began to write my thesis' empirical chapters at this time. Since my research, Crossings has stopped Monday night sessions due to funding cuts, particularly from The Newcastle Fund which was hit by budget cuts in the context of austerity (Email correspondence with Crossings' Trustee, 10th April 2017).[48] At the time of writing a group of Crossings' members have reformed the charity and are attempting to find funding for Monday night sessions.

This chapter now continues to explore the practicalities of research in this area, justify the choice of methods, explain the details of the operationalization of these methods and engage with the potential ethical implications of this work. Throughout these sections I have woven my field-notes, translating my experiences in the field and framing them in this chapter. However, as will be discussed later, I understand writing to be an interpretative process, which means that my narration of the journey also constructs the journey itself.

2. Access 'denied'

I intended to go into IRCs specifically to conduct ethnographic research in the Music in Detention workshops to research the detailed workings of these spaces; following my framing of *poiesis*, looking at creativity as a *process* rather than apparent 'end product' was important. I have therefore made the decision to include within this chapter my unsuccessful attempt to conduct

---

[48]Newcastle City Council's budget for 2016/2017 was about "£30m less" than its previous annual budget due "to government spending cuts, new burdens and unfunded cost pressures." (Newcastle City Council 2016). For the 2017/2018 budget the: "Government-imposed budget reductions and cost pressures require the council to save £30 million next year and a total of £70 million by 2020, while demand for services is rising" (Newcastle City Council 2017). These cuts have hit the Newcastle Fund, which is the Council's grant programme for community and voluntary activities in the city and it was a reduction in funding from this fund that caused Crossings' closure [Email correspondence with Crossings' Trustee, 10th April 2017].

research within Music in Detention's music sessions within IRCs. This is not because I consider my lack of access to have muted this research project, and I am not intending to privilege this site over the others that emerged throughout the research process. Instead I include these observations because the process of attempting and failing to obtain access resonates with the conceptual approach of this thesis for it is necessarily imbued with entanglements of power and resistance. Specifically, these discussions continue with Chapter 6's engagement with the regulations surrounding what can circulate from IRCs. This lack of access has broader implications for understanding the role of academic research within state institutions, and I agree with Belcher and Martin who argue that "[a]s researchers, our access to state institutions and agencies is embedded in – and productive of – this larger discursive struggle over the boundaries of state and public knowledge about the state" (2013, 405). In short, questions about 'access' raise important epistemological, ethical and political concerns about the place of academic research on IRCs and the UK asylum system more broadly. Importantly, access in this chapter is not understood dichotomously - in/out - as simply an open door, or the view that 'going in' would in some way illuminate understandings - but the term is used here to encapsulate the multiple processes, (uneasy) alignments and outcomes of what it means to have institutional approval of your research - either by physically entering these spaces, or by having access to interview staff in the institution.

Attempting to obtain access to a space where people are confined poses important ethical considerations.[49] Throughout the course of my PhD, and at conferences, I have been asked whether I should work with 'the system' in

---

[49] Access is a sensitive subject when working with immigration detention, as it opens up questions as to the politics working with 'the state' to obtain entry. Indeed, Maillet et al. (2016, 5) importantly point out that "[r]elying solely on 'getting in' risks reliance on masculinist stances which parallel earlier 'muddy boots' principles of geographic field research: the notion that researchers take risks to work in 'risky' areas." In contrast Bosworth and Kellezi (2017, 122) argue that: "as we have witnessed elsewhere in regard to prisons, when research access declines, so too does critical commentary."

this context to do institutional research? Why am I working with those in the system to try and get 'access'? In doing so am I not perpetuating a system I know to be unjust? Do I understand that Music in Detention's work might be used by the government to 'keep detainees happy' and why am I not looking at a charity that is 'against' the system? Access is bound up in all of these questions, as are the associated accusations of compliancy with the detention system. These are therefore critically important questions to engage with throughout the research process, including write up and dissemination. This is in part a question of methods, and the perceived need for ethnographic data on these spaces. Do we need more descriptions of IRCs? What can this be mobilised for? Is this disengagement from ethnographic methods what the government would like, a dearth of particular kinds of research on and in these sites? These are also questions about resistance – tied up in my positionality, of what it means to critically engage with, and research, a system. Is there any position that is outside of power? Is a refusal to work with government institutions you perceive as unjust going to change anything? How does this view risk positing power/resistance as binaries? As essentialising a particular *form* that research or resistance *should* take within these spaces?

I do not prescribe what form research in or on IRCs should take for I think we need many types of research, taking multiple forms, using different slices into these spaces, but at the centre of research needs to be the detainees; an ethics of protecting this population over the state. Here I follow Mountz' comments on the "principle of 'first do no harm' in engaging with 'vulnerable' populations" (2011, 384) and I agree with Maillet et al. (2016) who argue that research should not be premised on getting access, for this does not refute ethnographic research, or interviews with state officials, or detention centre staff. What I do suggest though is that these questions need to be at the forefront of discussions – access, lack of access, some 'access' –

reveal nuances of state power as dispersed and distributed, with multiple inconsistencies.

[This section of the thesis has been removed prior to publication due to ethical responsibilities to my participants]

This encounter is revealing for it is both interesting and inconsistent that the same authorities who state that immigration detention is not punitive ('merely' administrative), and resist comparisons with prisons use prison forms as a way of accessing these sites for research. Furthermore, the Ministry of Justice is a different government department to the UKVI and prison research forms are hard to bend to IRC access, as they contain questions that simply do not work as the two systems cannot be conflated.[50] I submitted the form, and following this John Speyer and I emailed Dolores' secretary for a few months, with no response [Appendix 1]. I then had to stop chasing in the Autumn of my second year for the time constraints of a PhD required me to readdress my project's methods. My application is still apparently 'pending' and neither myself nor Music in Detention have received any further information.

Whilst it is tempting to read this series of encounters as deliberately obscuring research access, Belcher and Martin comment that "to do so is afford the state a level of intentionality and coherence that conceals what is very often a non-event, a deferred decision, a question ignored in the hopes

---

[50] For example, the Ministry of Justice state that they are particularly interested in "research identifying cost-effective ways of: delivering the sentences and orders of the court; establishing positive, safe, secure and decent environments for managing offenders and delivering offender services; reducing reoffending and protecting the public" (National Offender Management Service 2017).

of its disappearance" (2013, 409). I think, but I cannot know, that this is what happened here, a politics of deferral; a lack of response because this would have had to include a reason for refusal. This is interesting when reflecting upon 'state' power for it reveals the expected paranoia around research, but also a lack of accountability; the politics of the non-decision. The Home Office does have the power to say 'no' but to do so would in part reveal the paradox that these are, as Belcher and Martin (2013, 403) note, "illiberal processes in nominally liberal states."

This chimes with the need to bring discussions of access out of the Method's chapter and to critically reflect upon what the implications of this are for researchers.

[This section of the thesis has been removed prior to publication due to ethical responsibilities to my participants]

Despite this however, as Hyndman (2001, 265) notes "there is value in working through the messiness, engaging in fieldwork in a careful manner, rather than writing it off as too fraught with difficulties and dangers." This inconsistent and fragmented journey of 'pending access' highlights both my positioning as a researcher and also the contradictions and power of the state (viewed as multiple, intersecting actors). It also indicates that access is multifaceted; it is not simply about gaining entry, whatever form that may take, it percolates throughout research process. As the next sections continue to explore, working on an institution that has not 'approved' me working on it impacts other aspects of data production, what I am able to do with the data, who speaks and what they say.

3. Ethnographic Methods

Ethnographic methods, as previously mentioned, can be considered more of an approach to research rather than a specific set of methodological practices. A post-structuralist approach to ethnographic methods intends "to look beneath the surface to understand the underlying conditions, social relations and discourses that brought such material relations into existence" (Billo and Mountz 2016, 201). The methods usually associated with ethnography include participant observation and semi-structured interviews including taking detailed field-notes (Emerson et al. 2011; Billo and Mountz 2016). These methods allow for an attention to the world as it is produced; how people engage with and negotiate situations as they emerge.

This detailed attention to the specifics of a given situation, allows for an attention to power relations, which makes ethnography a valuable tool for building upon, and contributing to, understandings of resistance within the UK asylum system; these immersive methods allow for an attention to the plurality, ambiguity and contradictions of creative practices of resistance. Further to this, ethnographic methods allow the process of creating, *poiesis*, to be explored; given the attention this study gives to the ongoing process of creativity, deploying methods that only discussed the apparent 'end products' of the creative process (e.g. discourse analysis or retrospective interviews) would result in abstracting meaning in a way that counters with both the research questions, and the approach to creativity that underpins this project. This chapter now continues to unpack the specifics of the methods used in detail. It is important to note that methods are not discrete, for participant observation involves talking to people and interviews involve the observation of body language. Throughout these sub-sections I have woven the ethical considerations associated with particular methods, which are then expanded upon further in the final section of this chapter.

3.i Participant Observation

I use the term participant observation here to refer to a "method based upon participating and observing in which field-notes, sketches, photographs or video are used as a method of data collection" (Laurier 2010, 116). Importantly however, I diverge slightly from Laurier's (2010) account to trouble the term participant observation as an action conducted by, and on coherent, singular subjects. How can we ever fully know how, and within what, we are participating? How would one enter any research domain and avoid, even in the smallest way, a form of participation within the space? Indeed, as will be eluded to throughout the thesis, there are no pre-set boundaries of participant observation, for the researcher focusses on dealing with the situations that emerge. Despite this, Megoran (2006, 622) argues "that ethnographic participant observation, [is] a method largely neglected by political geographers." This is surprising, for this methodological approach is premised on the recognition that knowledge is constructed through the research process, which resonates with the prevailing post-structuralist and post-pheonomological ontologies of the sub-discipline. Yet, whilst anthropologists focus upon participant observation and ethnographic data as immersion in the daily life of research participants and tend to conduct longer term projects 'in the field' (Watson and Till 2009), this was not an option in this project. This 'lack' of full immersion however, is not detrimental to this project, for music and art are not ongoing activities and, as previously mentioned, the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of this PhD do not consider the amount of data to correspond to a 'true' extrapolation.

(a) Music in Detention workshop: Campsfield House IRC, 24th June 2014 [51]

I conducted participant observation in Campsfield House IRC located just outside of Oxford, for my Master's dissertation project. As this was a Master's project, and I was not spending a significant period of time within the IRC, I was informed that I did not need to contact the Home Office for permission. The centre manager at Campsfield House permitted me to visit and conduct my research in one of Music in Detention's workshops. I am able to use the data collected here to contribute to the overall research for my PhD, for the centre agreed to me using the data in future publications and research. I engaged with the workshop, playing drums, singing, informally talking to detainees in the room and interviewing the organisers of the workshop afterwards.

The workshop took place in a room allocated to Music in Detention by the IRC management and began when detainees started walking into the room after lunch. Michael from Music in Detention was leading the workshop and he sat at the front, drumming and singing and as the detainees entered they picked up drums and played along, or sat along the edges of the room. Throughout the afternoon detainees wandered in and out of the workshop, which meant that the group was constantly changing. The music was characterised by fluidity and a deliberate lack of structure, which contrasted with the security procedures required to enter the centre, constant gates and formalities. Furthermore, the workshop did not really have a clear beginning, or structure and Michael allowed the detainees the freedom to play their own music and use the time and space available to do what they wanted to do. I alternated between playing and moving around to chat to the detainees who were sat around the room. I took notes using a pen and my

---

[51] Although this means that the Detained Fast Track (DFT) was in place whilst I was conducting my initial research in 2014, it operated in Harmondsworth and Yarl's Wood IRCs, rather than in Campsfield House IRC where I was based (Algers and Phelps 2011).

notebook. The Mitie officer, Joseph, who was present, was aware that I was doing research but did not come over to listen to the conversations. I explained to everyone I conversed with what I was doing, and did not speak to anyone who did not understand English. I went back into Oxford, and immediately typed up my notes and observations from the workshop (using pseudonyms) as I wanted to keep everything fresh in my mind for I was mindful that Emerson et al. (2011) emphasize the importance of taking notes as soon as possible.

(b) Workshops at Base 33, Witney, Oxfordshire: 10th February - 4th March 2016

Music in Detention organise exchange projects whereby a community group[52] is linked to a local IRC. Despite not being able to meet due to restrictions on their movement in and out of the IRC[53] the groups communicate via musical exchange which is recorded by Music in Detention and taken in and out of the two locations. As part of my focus upon the regulation of music and art in the UK asylum system, I aimed to observe this process of music making across the IRC boundary.[54] Taking part and observing a community exchange project allowed me to examine why people took part, the process of creation and what materials circulated from the IRC.

I participated in an exchange project between Campsfield House IRC and youth group Base 33 in Witney, Oxfordshire. This project involved the facilitation of a number of encounters between Base 33 and detainees from the nearby Campsfield House IRC, which is run by outsourcing company, Mitie. The project took place over a three-week period, totalling 12 sessions across both locations with additional focus groups [Appendix 2]. The number of young people changed each session, but approximately 12

---

[52] I use the term *community* here as this is how Music in Detention refer to these groups.
[53] See Chapter 6
[54] Understanding of course that the edges of the IRC, are not simply a wall or fence, but an assemblage of diverse actors including staff, legislation and regulations.

individuals took place throughout [Field-notes, Base 33, 24th February 2016]. Music in Detention staff and their equipment moved between these two groups, recording music, playing it back, and facilitating the writing of songs. At the start of the community session I was introduced as a PhD student doing research on IRCs, and the consent forms detailed this further. However, none of the young people seemed particularly interested in my project, and my initial concerns that my presence would impact upon what they composed, appeared to be unfounded (although of course, my impact in the sessions cannot be fully known).

> During the break, I went around and collected signatures of consent for the workshop, and gave out forms to those under 16 to sign and return. This did give me an insight into how old the group was (generally around 15/16 with some in their young 20s, and some early teens). I was chatting to a group of them outside the front door whilst they smoked and they wanted to know what was going on with the people inside, and whether they were criminals. I explained the legalities of the system, in probably too much detail, but I was pleased that these conversations had left the room upstairs and come outside to be discussed.
>
> [Field-notes, Base 33, 10th February 2016]

As Bryman (2008) notes, researchers have a choice when undertaking participant observation whether to join in or to take notes. I valued building my relationships with the young people and so participated fully and took notes when there was a quiet moment. I took part in the activities, working with groups of young people on keyboards, helping with song lyrics and playing the bass guitar during some of the recordings. I therefore found that a notepad kept getting misplaced or confused for a space to try out song lyrics, and as many of the young people spent a large portion of the

workshops on their phones, typing onto my phone did not appear unusual. I made my notes anonymous as I took them. I supplemented these notes with photos of the room and activities as they took place.

After the workshops ended, I would return to Oxford and type up my jotted notes from the day. In addition to this, and because I could not enter the IRC to conduct research, I found different methods of slicing into the workshops taking place in Campsfield House IRC: researching from an oblique angle for I could not approach the space 'directly'. These methods were not a substitute for the rich detail of ethnographic note taking, but I wanted an insight into what took place in the workshops. I interviewed Music in Detention volunteer Emily on the buses from Campsfield House IRC to Witney or I would talk to her the following morning. I asked her to describe what had taken place in the workshop and recorded the interview onto a Dictaphone. I also interviewed her over Skype after the workshops, when we were unable to talk on the bus. I talked to James and Simon who were running the workshop for Music in Detention informally during the community exchange projects and then interviewed James over Skype after the workshops had finished.

In addition to this, Music in Detention send out online questionnaires after each workshop to all the volunteers and staff who took part. I was also asked to fill these in and then at the end of the workshops, I was given access to them all [for example, see Appendix 3].[55] This again gave me further information on the workshops, both in Campsfield House IRC and Base 33 which allowed me to place them in further context. Furthermore, I took part in a post-project focus group at Base 33, which was run by Music in Detention to obtain feedback, but I was also able to take detailed notes and ask questions [Appendix 4] and was given a copy of the transcript. The focus

---

[55] James, Simon and Emily were all aware that I would have access to these after the course of the workshops. This is likely to have influenced what they wrote.

group consisted of 8 members of Base 33, 2 Music in Detention staff members, and 2 members of Base 33/OYAP staff. The group was dominated by a few individuals, which Puchta and Potter (2004) note is relatively common in interactions in group situations. Music in Detention also run a focus group inside Campsfield House IRC; I was not able to attend this, but was kindly given access to the transcript. Focus groups facilitate formation in a group setting, and therefore can produce very different interactions as group dynamics impact upon what is said. These additional methods allowed me to research aspects of the exchange that I would not otherwise have been able to access.

(c) Crossings: 5th October 2015 – 16th May 2016

I attended Crossings sessions on Monday nights [Appendix 5], regularly taking part in women's choir, a song-writing workshop and CUBE drumming group. As multiple activities ran at the same time on Monday nights, I chose to immerse myself within the main sessions, which anyone could attend. I did however teach the flute for a few weeks until the individual I was teaching decided to return to Iran. It was through Crossings that I got to know people to approach for interviews. As previously discussed, I joined Crossings as a researcher to better understand the processes of creating music within the UK asylum system. Whilst I was drawn to Crossings, because of the musical activities there, there was much more than music making taking place. At times, there was a palpable sense of community with people sharing food, mending bikes and helping with upcoming asylum cases. Crossings, whilst set up for refugees and asylum seekers, does not turn anybody away and therefore many other people from the surrounding area turned up to the Monday night sessions.[56] This is interesting, for it is not possible to know who will gather in a space

---

[56] See Chapter 4

designated for refugees and asylum seekers, and also it was not possible for me to know who was constructed as, or identified with being an 'asylum seeker'. I endeavored to introduce myself at the start of each session as the people who attended Crossings changed every week. I also explained who I was to anyone I spoke with directly. Inevitably however, there were people who attended Crossings who did not speak English, so I looked to their friends to translate, and did not make notes on anyone who I was aware did not understand me. In the sections that follow I introduce how I conducted research within particular spaces at Crossings, for this frames the accounts that will emerge throughout the thesis.

Figure 4: Main room before women's choir. This photo is taken from the entrance doorway. Image taken 11th January 2016.

At women's choir, we sat or stood in a circle with Katie who led the group in our singing. This group was smaller than the other two sessions I attended (approximately 5-10 people) and it felt closer knit, although there were clear divides that emerged:

> Katie splits off a section (the strongest singers) of the choir into a group, and teaches them. It seems quite tricky, as many women are getting phone calls and walking out – or going upstairs to drop off and pick up children. This doesn't seem to be a problem for Katie, who just keeps everything going. We sing through this song a few times, and then learn a new one 'Hanging Johnny'. I reflect on how a large proportion of the choir do not speak English, and don't understand what is going on. The Pakistani women sit as a group, and talk amongst themselves; they are not really engaging with the rest of the choir.
>
> [Field-notes, Crossings, 19th October 2015]

As the above excerpt from my field-notes attest to, the choir was marked by significant divisions, which rose to the surface at particular moments (for

example during performances, where the tension between those who were here to improve their singing, and those who were here to take part, came to the fore). The group was united though, in policing the boundary of the main room as a 'man free zone' during the 5.00-6.15pm session.

> Muhammed arrives, and can see the food on the table [we were having a pre-Christmas 'party']. He stops at the threshold, pointing at the area where the carpet changes colour, indicating the boundary between the hallway and the activity room, and asks if he can come and take some food. Many of the women shout him down, saying that this is the women's choir and that no men can come in. He laughs and says he'll eat the leftovers. Saskia comments that we need to be careful to keep all the food in here and not in the kitchen, otherwise "30 men will descend on it and there won't be any left!" I think again about the gender divide here, how Muhammed has stopped at the entrance to the room (something he probably wouldn't have thought about after the end of choir). This space is calved out for women; we always ensure that the door is shut, talk about 'womanly' things like the best places in Newcastle for eyebrow threading and problems with men, and quite fiercely police entry to the space.
>
> [Field-notes, Crossings, 14th December 2015]

During choir I took part, and did not make any notes until after the session had ended, for the group was small and intimate and it would have been disruptive to sit in the circle and write into my notepad. I also did not take any photos during choir, with the exception of images of song sheets or the flipchart board where the lyrics were sometimes written.

Kitchen

After choir, I would make some jotted notes on my notepad before 'hanging out' in the kitchen, chatting to people there and making copious cups of tea. I expand upon the kitchen here, for it became an important space for within research, for it was in the kitchen that a lot of conversations took place, and where I organized many of my interviews.

> I go into the kitchen to make tea, and end up chatting to Goitom, who had attempted to joined the choir by accident - the women had unceremoniously told him to leave. It is his first time at Crossings, and he has only been in the UK a few weeks. He explains his journey to me, even though I haven't asked him. He left Eritrea and came through Libya and got on a tiny boat to go across the sea. He motions water coming through the boat and it filling with water, then the boat sank and they all had to swim he says. They were praying to Jesus and then a Spanish Navy boat came and picked them up. No one died he says. The Spanish Navy took them to an Italian ship, and then he came through Italy to England. He didn't want to stay in Italy, he explains, as he speaks more English than Italian. I pass him a cup of tea and tell him is English is very good, and he shows me his Newcastle College card, as proof he is learning. I say that we can practice talking about certain topics if he wants, and Chris sticks his head around the door to say that the song writing workshop is starting.
>
> [Field-notes, Crossings, 12th October 2015]
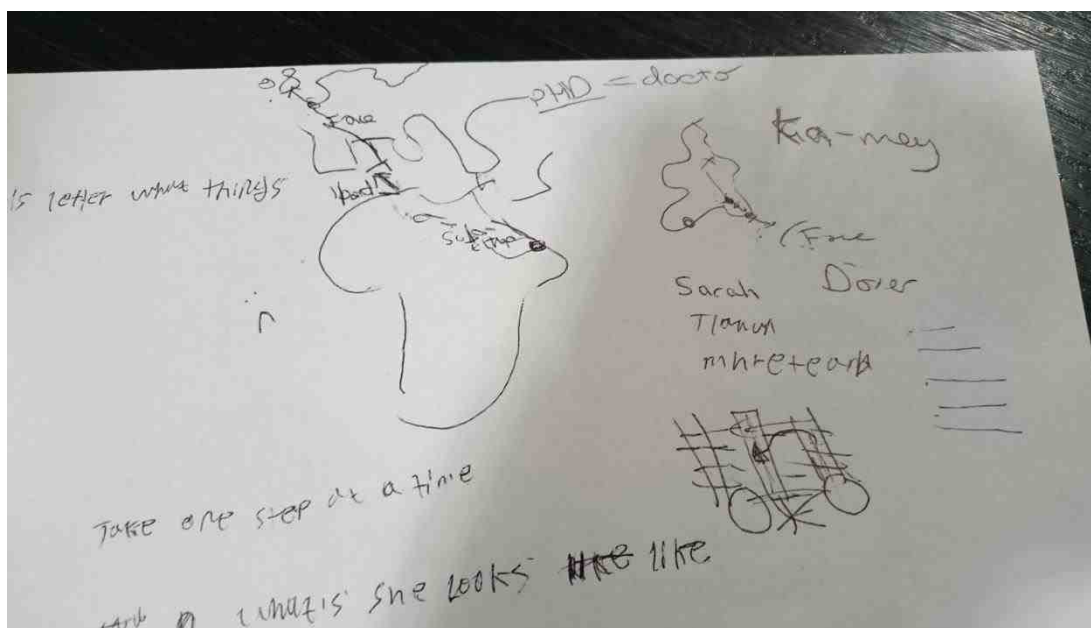
Figure 5: Notes from conversation with Abel in the kitchen. Image taken 11th January 2016.

These encounters in the kitchen were relatively typical; it was the space within Crossings where the border, and individual stories became most visible. Figure 5 shows a map that was drawn by Abel, following a conversation about my research project. I explained what a PhD was, and he explained his journey from Eritera, and wanted to know where I was from in the UK. As Goitom's story also illuminates, people gathered together here to talk about trying to reach their families or the situation with their asylum case. In explaining my research project, I too bought the asylum system into this space, which was something I felt deeply uncomfortable about.[57] Indeed, multiple space-times became folded into the kitchen, as border crossings, detention and immigration advice became present through the conversations that took place here, far more so indeed, than in the main music room.[58]

---

[57] This is discussed further in Chapter 5

[58] See Chapter 4

Song Writing Workshop and CUBE: Crossings Unorthodox Beat Ensemble

The song writing workshop took place after choir in the same room, yet the gender balance here shifted significantly, with the group almost all men. A few women attended (approximately 5), but they were generally those who were not asylum seekers. Many of the women who did attend left half way through to collect their children from Junior Crossings[59]. The women from Pakistan who came to Crossings did not come along to the song writing workshop; their husbands came to this space. During this session we would play games, sing and write songs and these were always the sessions that were most dominated by laughter. The CUBE session took place after the song writing workshop, and many people arrived specifically for this group. Those who attended CUBE were often very skilled drummers and percussion players. We alternated between learning, playing pieces, improvising and developing drumming skills. This session had the least talking; people would be fully absorbed in the music-making.

During these sessions, I took notes on my notebook for it was less of an intimate setting than the women's choir and also because, unlike choir, this group changed members frequently and I wanted an additional signal that I was conducting research. This differs from much of the literature on note taking (Agar 2006; Watson and Till 2009; Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011) which indicates the need to be discrete. After these sessions, I would often ask Chris who led the session if I could take photos of the work we had produced. This became the 'norm' and frequently people began to keep their work back at the end of the song writing sessions for me to photograph for my project. Attending these workshops allowed me to be present at the process of creating new song/lyrics, working through different rhythms, together with the issues with translation and group dynamics.

---

[59] Junior Crossings held musical activities for children, and took place at the same time as Women's Choir, ending half way through the Song Writing workshop.

Crossings exhibition at Discovery Museum: 7th December 2015; 12th December 2015

Crossings, as previously mentioned, opened up other spaces into the UK asylum system. Prior to my research, Lucy Fairley, head of Crossings, had been looking for an alternative way to communicate about the lives of refugees and asylum seekers in Newcastle beyond the Crossings music sessions. This culminated in an exhibition 'People Like Us' in the Discovery Museum in Newcastle. The exhibition took the form of photographs of certain Crossings members with accompanying words about their situations.

I went to the exhibition to take ethnographic notes, and also attended Crossings' launch of the exhibition, where I took notes and photographs on the day [Figure 6]. I wanted to explore how artwork created in society was created, represented and circulated.
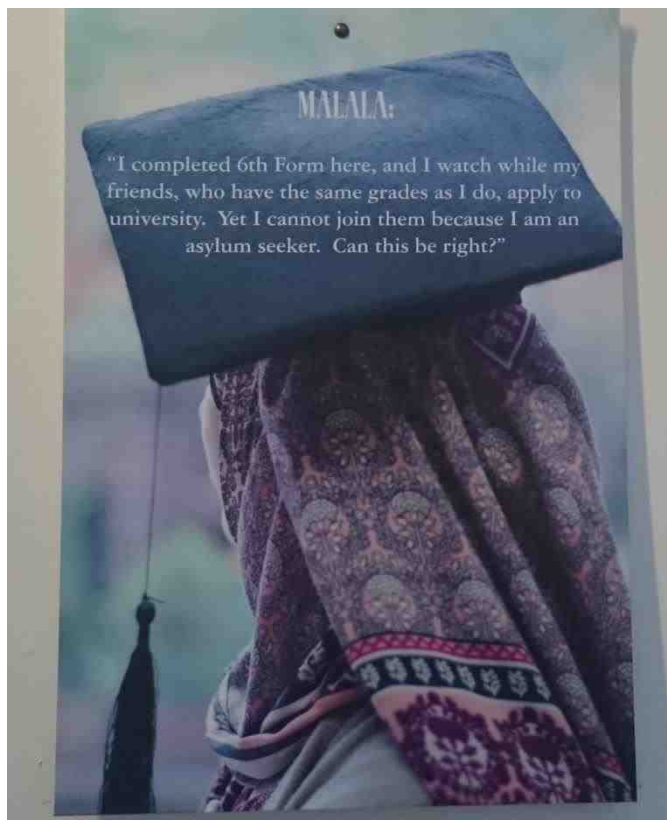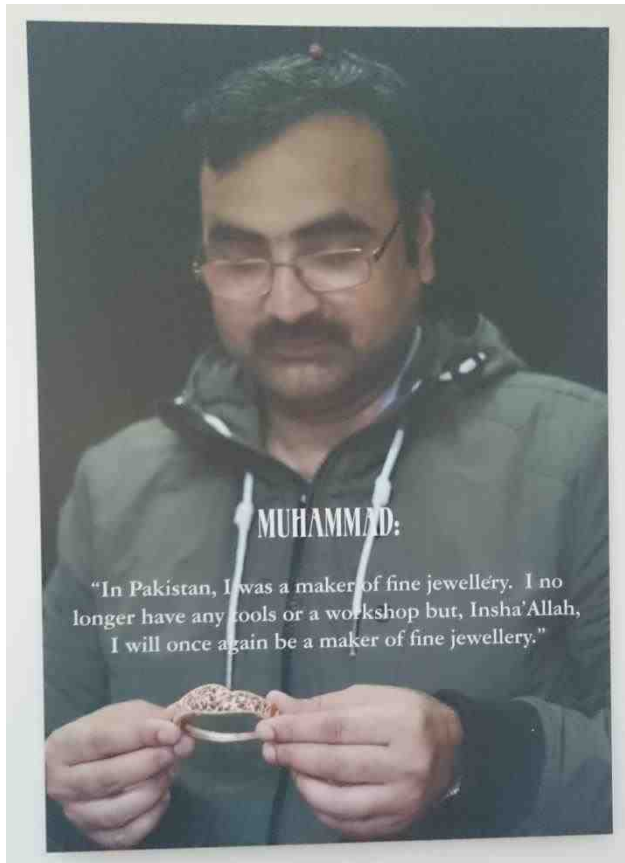
Figure 6: Images from the 'People Like Us' exhibition, Discovery Museum, Newcastle. Images taken: 7th December 2015.

Enid explains that the project was originally Lucy's idea, as she wanted to show these people in a positive light – as so often in the news you hear about asylum seekers as different, and in a negative way. They had a meeting, where people were invited to come and come up with a sentence or two to have on their pictures, and then a second meeting where they took the photos. It was very quick, she explains!

[Interview, Enid, Discovery Museum curator/photographer,
12th December 2015]

Examining the role of creativity in spaces beyond Crossings (although not disconnected from it) expanded the places of creativity within the UK asylum system that I was able to access during this project. Throughout my research here, I talked to people involved about their experiences of taking part in the project, observed people interacting with the exhibit and, as detailed above, spoke to those involved in producing it.

3.ii Semi-Structured Interviews

There are however, clear limitations to participant observation, for whilst I spoke to people throughout the periods of observation, I was less able to ask deeper questions about the reasons behind people's decisions or (in)actions (Bryman 2008). For example, the aforementioned informal interview with Enid[60] took place during a period of participant observation, and highlights the impossibility of fully separating these methods. To do this, I supplemented participant observation with semi-structured interviews with

---

[60] Although, of course, I did obtain verbal consent from Enid before making notes on our discussion. As Enid had attended Crossings a number of times, she was aware of my wider research project.

asylum seekers, ex-detainees and (both current and ex-) music/art practitioners within the UK asylum system.

Interviewing can be taken as simply a conversation with a purpose (Valentine 1997) and has grown into an "immensely popular" method within Human Geography and the wider Social Sciences (Arksley and Knight 1999, 1). Semi-structured interviews are interviews with a predetermined set of questions, but ones where the questions are allowed to flow to give the participants the chance to focus on the topics that are important to them (Longhurst 2010; Dunn 2000). Semi-structured interviews have been re-examined within Human Geography following the cultural turn, as the traditional binary between insider/outsider, researcher/researched has been challenged (Crang 2002; Crang and Cook 2007). The aim of an interview is to access the perspective of the person being interviewed, through the medium of conversation (Arksley and Knight 1999). Consequently, the use of interviewing as a method is founded on the basic premise that people can, and will, meaningfully articulate aspects of their experiences or attitudes through the form of spoken word (Hughes 1990). I did not use interviews to be representative of a population, but instead to look at the meanings people attribute to their relationships with music and artwork, and the UK asylum system. Semi-structured interviews can therefore be considered to take a constructivist epistemological positioning where meaning is constructed through the conversation (Bryman 2008). Indeed, different cultures, individuals and societies will have different interpretations of social reality; there is no objective truth to be 'discovered' by the interviewer.

Over the course of this project, I conducted 25 interviews (with 20 people in total, for I interviewed one individual 6 times) [Appendix 6]. I could not interview IRC staff; my lack of access prevented me from doing so, for I needed Home Office permission. I therefore conducted semi-structured interviews with ex-detainees, asylum seekers, artists and musicians with the

intention of exploring in further detail: why people take part in creative activities? What (if anything) do they get from attending/facilitating them? How do they think about this in relation to 'resistance'? Drawing on the work of Dunn (2000), I asked a selection of story-telling, descriptive and opinion-based open questions, to better understand the diversity of attitudes towards creativity within the UK asylum system [Appendix 7]. In short, the use of interviews as a method supplemented the participant observation, to allow for further information on relationships that individuals had to creativity and resistance. Interviews with these 'groups'[61] could allow for a fuller explanation, an opportunity to explore some of the reasons behind their actions. This is not to suggest that an individual is a coherent subject who can always fully identify a reason behind an (in)action (Crang and Cook 2007; see Chapter 5), but asking open-ended questions allowed for a more detailed understanding of an individual's relationship with creativity within the UK asylum system. Indeed, as Billo and Mountz (2016, 204) note with regard to feminist approaches to ethnography: "the interview process includes not just a focus on the 'subjective state' of the interviewee, but a means to move onto next steps in an ongoing process of inquiry". Here, the use of semi-structured interviewing was enmeshed within the wider ethnographical approach to methods.

I recruited the art and music practitioners to interview initially through contacts I previously had with charities who passed across email addresses and phone numbers of those I might be interested in talking to. There were some people who I contacted who were contracted by the IRC management, and who did not want to be interviewed, and some who never replied to my emails. This is interesting, for it provides another moment in the research journey, where the absence of access to the IRC became visible; although I was not asking to physically enter the centre, my lack of Home Office

---

[61] It is with reluctance that I 'group' participants in this manner, for I understand categorisation to be frequently violent, and always-already be incomplete. (Chapter 4)

approval percolated throughout the project. This is not to say that those I contacted would necessarily have spoken to me if I did have permission, but it provides another situation whereby the absence of permission to conduct research in IRCs came to the fore. I interviewed some previous practitioners to avoid this situation, two of whom were now working in Australia. The Music in Detention staff and volunteers agreed to be interviewed regarding the Base 33 project, and I also interviewed the director, John Speyer. John agreed to be named in the project, for as director, he could have been identified easily even with a pseudonym. John carefully checked through and edited the transcript of the interview that I sent him; another indication of the (justifiable) concern around what is published about Music in Detention's work.[62]

Establishing possible interviews with asylum seekers and refugees was particularly challenging. I was acutely aware of the violence of interviewing as a method in this context, for many of the participants had experienced the trauma of Home Office interviews (for information on Home Office interviews see Gill 2009a, 2016). Crossings is a charity where the realities of the UK asylum system are attempted to be negated through the focus on music, and this was not something that I wanted to disrupt by bringing this to the fore.[63] Given the aforementioned concern of 'doing no harm' (Mountz 2011) I wanted to have built up relationships with the individuals that I spoke to before asking them if they would be prepared to be interviewed. Here, I follow Coddington (2016b) who rejects the implicit assumption undergirding much qualitative research, that giving voice is a reflection of empowerment and authenticity.

---

[62] See Chapter 6
[63] See Chapter 5

In total, I interviewed 6 people from Crossings, with one person withdrawing consent after the interview due to a change in his asylum case, and another I have made the decision not to include, for I was not convinced that he was sufficiently able to give informed consent.[64] Out of those who agreed to be interviewed, around half changed their minds or simply did not turn up. At Crossings, once I had interviewed someone, they often suggested other people for me to speak to, so I recruited people in this manner. On one occasion, someone sent a (British) friend in their place. I therefore draw upon detailed interviews with 4 men from Crossings. This is a comparatively small number of the interviews, yet I am not extrapolating their information into a 'true' situation, and I also include details of many informal conversations through the Participant Observation on Monday nights. The constructivist epistemology underpinning this method does not mean that more interviews would result in 'more accurate' data that could be attributed to a coherent subject (Coddington 2016b), and I would not allow for my PhD project to come before the possible implications of interviewing someone who did not want to be interviewed (Dunn 2000).

I contacted ex-detainees who I was still in touch with through my previous work with Detention Action, who as a result were all men (for the centres I visited were male only). The gender balance here is something that I was acutely aware of, and tried to address by asking the women at Crossings' choir to be interviewed during Spring 2016. None of them consented, apart from one who I arranged to meet, but on arrival found her husband instead. I also contacted a number of charities who worked at Yarl's Wood (the IRC for women), asking them to pass out my contact details to anyone who might

---

[64] Deciding to not include someone in the research project is a significantly unequal power relationship. This individual was someone who was referred to me by someone else at Crossings (I had met him a few times previously in group situations), and when he turned up, his level of English was not adequate to understand the information sheet or the questions I was asking. I informed him that I unfortunately could not include him.

be interested in participating, but no one came forward. Whilst I utilize my detailed field-notes from the women's choir, is absence of women's voices is an unavoidable and frustrating limitation of the interviews conducted, for women's voices are already marginalized in the UK asylum system (Innes 2014). It is also indicative of many other forms of inequality, for example the women generally spoke poorer English; they were often at home with the children whilst their husbands went to educational class [Field-notes, Crossings, 1st February 2016].

I gave everyone who participated in the interviews an information sheet prior to meeting up, and also a consent form for them to read over [Appendix 8]. At the start of the interview, I talked through the form and we both signed both forms. I kept one, and gave the other to the participant for it contained my and my supervisor's contact details. For the Crossings' interviews, it also included a line explaining that they could also talk to Lucy. Two of my participants from Crossings and one ex-detainee did not want to sign anything with their real name, so I collected verbal consent. The form explains, and I reiterated, that they could withdraw from the research project up until my funding deadline in October 2017 for I understand consent to be continually negotiated and not something that ends with the signing of a form. The interviews for Crossings took place in a Starbucks coffee shop in Newcastle city centre. This location was suggested to me by my first interviewee and as the downstairs room there was generally quiet, and the coffee shop setting made for a relatively relaxed environment this worked well. I offered all the respondents the opportunity to meet somewhere more private (a room in Newcastle University's Robinson Library), but they all opted for Starbucks. I interviewed a few ex-detainees in coffee shops of their choice, and one who was currently a PhD student at a local University in a room booked on their campus. I bought the respondents coffee and food, and also paid their transport costs to and from the interview.

I also interviewed a number of participants over Skype or over the phone, which Hanna (2012) notes is an increasing method of conducting interviews in the Social Sciences. Deakin and Wakefield (2014, 604) note that Skype can be an answer to the "time and financial constraints" faced by PhD researchers when attempting to arrange face to face interviews. Whilst there are potential limitations to building rapport over Skype or the phone (O'Connor and Madge 2016), particularly without a video image, I found this method to be useful for navigating the logistics of conducting interviews around the UK (and of course, in Australia) with a limited budget. It also enabled a number of participants to show me items of interest over the call and on one occasion, play me some music. For Skype and phone calls, I emailed the information sheet and consent form in advance, or took verbal consent. I conducted face-to-face interviews with John Speyer (which took place in a meeting room the Music in Detention Offices in London) and with Music in Detention volunteer Emily on the bus, which whilst containing a lot of background noise, it did allow us to discuss the workshops in Campsfield House IRC within a relatively short period of time after they occurred. Lucy initially wanted to be interviewed, but after her diagnosis I did not interview her for she was too ill.

From the constructivist positioning, interviews are usually treated as ethnographic encounters as the researcher participates in (as well as observing) the interactions involved, that is the situational dynamics, the surroundings and the physical and non-verbal elements of the encounter (Mason 2002). I therefore attempted in the first interview to note down the body language of the respondent, together with my own thoughts on the interview. This was challenging as making eye contact, actively listening and engaging, together with thinking of the next question and note-taking meant that I struggled to be fully engaged in the encounter. Furthermore, as the respondent was sitting close to me, it felt uncomfortable to be noting down

their body language. Thus, for the remainder of the interviews I wrote down my observations from the encounter immediately afterwards and whilst this will inevitably mean that some level of detail was lost (Bernard 1994), it allowed me to be actively engaged in the interview itself. I gave all the participants the option to record the interview, both in face-to-face encounters and over Skype (I took notes on phone calls). Many of them agreed, and for the few who did not, I took notes throughout on a notepad and paper. I recorded the interviews either on a Dictaphone, or, following a request from a participant early on, on my mobile phone for this was less threatening a device for the interviewees. If I did record the interview on my phone, I removed it as soon as possible after the interview, transferring it to my password protected computer for transcription and deleting it from the device. The interviews lasted varying lengths of time; with asylum seekers and ex-detainees they lasted around 2-3hours, with practitioners around an hour. After the first few open questions, I let the interviewee lead the conversation, providing prompts from my question sheet where necessary [See Appendix 7] and ensuring at the end of the interview that we had covered all I wanted to discuss.

As I was researching 'resistance' in a manner that does not necessarily always fit with the expected understanding of the term, I used other questions [Appendix 7] to examine an interviewee's relationship with creativity within the UK asylum system. For example: How did you come to be participating in [Activity]? Why do you take part? How does doing [Activity] make you feel? Why do you put on this activity? Have you ever had any problems with running [Activity]? As the process of research was iterative, the interview questions developed throughout the research period. I did however ask directly about resistance at the end of the interview, to be transparent about the research focus (although, this was indicated in the information sheet), and because I was interested in what the term meant to them:

Sarah: so would you then see poetry as a form of resistance?

Amir: yeah definitely, because that is the way I can speak out, I can pass my message and show who I am. I can demonstrate me.

[Interview, Amir, ex-detainee, 28th July 2015]

…

Sarah: I have one other question, a bit different - do you think of music as a form of resistance?

Adonay: yeah it can be, let's say for example those peoples that face the difficulties for asylum seekers for a long period of time this is a way of coping, using music as part of their lives to cope with this issue. Not only is it an encouragement for any difficulties, it makes you enthusiastic about the future, even though it doesn't matter what level you are, it will give you the emotions and intelligence that can push you forwards.

[Interview, Adonay, asylum seeker, 19th November 2015]

What is important to note, and will be explored throughout the thesis is that many of the respondents attributed or signaled a political significance to the creative activities that they were involved in, beyond simply a means of getting through the period of waiting. It was this understanding that arose in my Master's research that lead my initial thoughts and framing around resistance.

After the interviews had taken place, I transferred the data to my University computer which is password protected and transcribed the recordings using

the software F4, which allowed me to timestamp the interviews for future reference. I transcribed the recordings in full, and tried to do so within a few days of the interview taking place so that it was fresh in my mind. I then printed out and gave copies of the transcripts to some participants (e.g. at Crossings) or emailed it to them to check over. A number of practitioners came back to me with significant edits to what they had said, so I amended the accounts accordingly. I assigned everyone a pseudonym based upon their nationality (with the exception of John and Lucy), often using baby name websites for different regions and, as names come in and out of fashion, I supplemented this with names of famous sports people from the area.[65]

3.iii Artwork

For this project, I was interested in the circulation of artwork through the UK asylum system (and beyond), how it was governed, regulated and represented.[66] I asked those at Crossings repeatedly about any art activity going on in the local area, but did not find anything that I was able to attend to conduct research. As previously noted, the art group at Crossings had been shut down due to lack of attendance. I did interview one participant about his experiences in the 'People Like Us' exhibition and I conducted ethnographic research at the Discovery museum in Newcastle and informally interviewed the photographer of the 'People Like Us exhibition'.

To examine artwork produced in IRCs, I was generously given permission to access the art 'archive' at Oxford Border Criminologies Unit, for I could not

---

[65] I am grateful for advice on this matter from Sarah Turnbull during a presentation I gave at Oxford University in 2015.

[66] My emphasis upon the practices and processes of creation, together with how artwork is governed within the UK asylum system, meant that I did not conduct a full visual or critical artistic analysis. As Chapter 6 will continue to detail, this project was not focussed upon the visual aesthetics of the artwork.

enter the IRCs. Despite being termed an archive by Oxford University's Criminology Unit however, at the time of my research this collection of artwork and associated artefacts from Campsfield House IRC took the form of a series of unsorted piles and boxes.[67] I have therefore made the decision not to interrogate this artwork *as an archive* in this thesis for it did not present itself to me as such. I am aware that Oxford University's Border Criminologies Unit term the artwork an archive, and intend for it to take the form of an archive in the future.[68]

This artwork was collected and given to Mary Bosworth and Khadija von Zinnenburg Carroll by the art teacher at Campsfield House IRC (Bosworth and von Zinnenburg Carroll 2017). I was allowed to take photos of the artwork and objects in this store (which included newsletters, posters, CDs etc); Oxford Border Criminologies have copyright over this work. I attended a conference 'Border Control: Artist's responses to incarceration' at Oxford University on the 23rd May 2016 where this artwork was discussed. Furthermore, I visited The Koestler Trust's[69] annual exhibition at the Southbank centre in London on the 28th October 2016. I took detailed notes of the exhibits from IRCs and spoke to staff their and on the phone afterwards about how they were procured. Although I did examine the content of the artwork, as I had no access to those who had conducted the projects, I did not want to infer any intended meaning.[70] The artwork selected for the thesis (see Chapter 6) has therefore been chosen to be

---

[67] Of course, in a broad definition of 'archive' as "a site of authority and meaning" (Withers 2003, 303) this art collection within Oxford University could be considered to be archival. However, given the emphasis on archival *classification* as constructing particular ways of knowing I have chosen not to focus upon this collection as an archive in the context and confines of this thesis' attention to the lively, agentic materials of resistance (see Foucault 1972, Derrida 1995).

[68] I am grateful for the advice of Mary Bosworth on this matter.

[69] The Koestler Trust are a UK based prison art charity who award prizes, exhibit work and sell artworks by "offenders, detainees and secure patients" (The Koestler Trust 2017)

[70] See Chapter 6 for further discussion around authorship and artwork.

illustrative of the contents of this collection, and their lively materiality, rather than representative of it. Correspondingly, the artwork was not subjected to any systematic content analysis, but rather was explored through the ethnographic methods of participant observation and semi-structured interviews, to better understand its multiple roles, forms and in particular, its circulation within the UK asylum system (see Chapter 6).

4. *Analysis and Writing Up*

No mode of translation is ever innocent, nor is any method, for it has particular forms, protocols and assumptions. Indeed, the challenges between moving from field-notes and interview transcripts to writing are well documented (McDowell 1992; Valentine 1997; Crang and Cook 2007; Emerson et al. 2011). As Emerson et al. argue "all writing…is a construction" (2011, 46). In this project, there was the additional issue of translating experiences of music-making into written form. Following the post-structural framings of this project, I view writing up and the process of translating encounters into written form to construct the research matter itself.

I uploaded all the data collected into the qualitative coding software Nvivo. I chose Nvivo because of the volume of typed data I had stored in Microsoft Word files, which could be directly imported into Nvivo. Furthermore, I could directly code all data together, with coloured coding strips in the margins of the transcripts (Welsh 2002). This allowed me to get further grasp of data, manage and navigate it. I also used Nvivo to open-code the data, reading it line-by-line to "identify and formulate any and all ideas, themes or issues they suggest" (Emerson et al. 2011, 172). Coding in this manner allowed me to be open to the themes emerging from my research (Watson and Till 2009) without imposing my own strict codes to begin with. As my research was iterative, I did begin my coding process with some ideas about

what the data would include, but the process of combing through the data allowed me to pull out further themes.
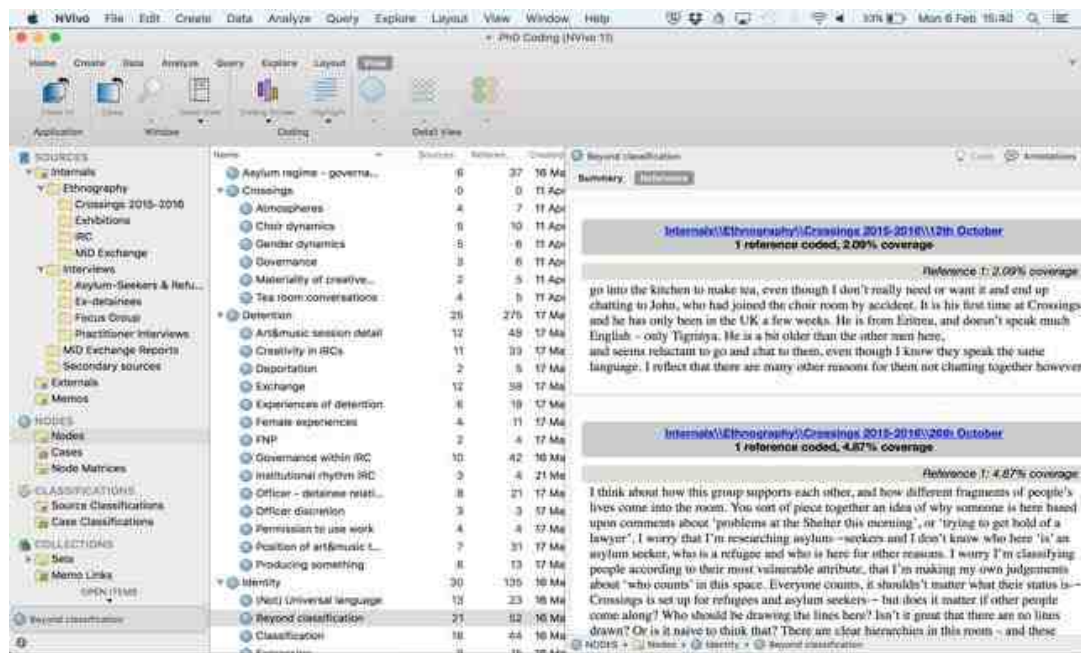
Figure 7: Screen shot of my Nvivo coding. Image taken: 6th February 2017.

I ended up with a large number of codes (termed 'nodes' on Nvivo) including: Asylum Regime, Governance, Crossings, Detention, Identity, Materials, Rhythm, and Circulation [Figure 7]. Some of these nodes were used to group information on a particular section or negotiation of the asylum system (e.g. Crossings) and others emerged from analysis of the data itself. From these themes and sub themes, three larger themes emerged: space and time, materials and circulation and identity. These became the base themes for my three empirical chapters: temporality, subjectivity and materiality. The sub-sections for these chapters also emerged from the sub-themes of this coding (for example 'Beyond Classification' in Chapter 5 on subjectivity). I found that I had far more data that I could write into the thesis itself, so I selected examples and points to discuss that were particularly relevant to the (sub)theme. To attempt to negate the implications

of selecting from my data in a manner that alters the intended meaning[71], I have used extensive quotes from my field-notes and participants throughout the thesis. However, this is not to say that I see myself as a passive conduit for voices or experiences, for I have unavoidably selected and framed these experiences in my own words throughout this thesis.

5. Ethical concerns

Whilst I have included this section on ethics at the end of this chapter, this is not to sideline it, nor to imply that ethical considerations did not take place throughout this research journey from its inception. There are serious ethical considerations (power, trust, privacy, informed consent and data storage) that needed to be addressed throughout the research process. Therefore, whilst this study adhered to the Refugee Studies Centre (RSC) guidelines for working with refugees and asylum seekers, work in this area "remains beset with ethical and methodological challenges", requiring researchers to display "continual flexibility and sensitivity in their practices" (Refugee Studies Centre 2007; Griffiths 2013, 5). As can be seen in the previous sections, I have explained issues of anonymity and consent in the choice and deployment of methods. This section therefore explores in further detail the ethical considerations of this project, which I consider to be important throughout the research process including during dissemination. My PhD research takes place within the framework of both Durham University and the ESRC's ethical regulations. I also had DBS clearance for my work with Crossings and Music in Detention.

Whilst I allow voices of those engaged with art and music in the UK asylum system to be heard in this thesis (see Coddington 2016a, for a critique of the

---

[71] This is not to say of course, that there is a singular meaning to a situation or comment. However, I do not wish to misuse the data that I have collected in a way that counters from its original context.

assumption that voices carry authority in research), facilitating this whilst protecting (yet not patronising) participants was a difficult challenge, and one that cannot easily be mitigated. I have tried to negate this by giving transcripts of interviews back to participants to check, and by not including anything that could identify the individuals, but this does not escape the realities that I control the voices in the thesis. Griffiths (2013) suggests that such concern may result in migrants being portrayed as passive research subjects to be helped by academics, NGOs and policy makers, which frequently patronises individuals, subjecting them to the "further indignity of becoming objects of theory" (Gregory 2004, 318). I again agree with Coddington who notes, "there are stories which are not mine to write, and there are stories for which research is not an appropriate method of response" (2016a, 67). Consequently, there is information which I have not included in the thesis: conversations that took place that were not detailed in field-notes; moments when I left a situation for it was not appropriate for me to be there; and as previously mentioned, interviews that I did not undertake or include.

As my research was frequently with those made vulnerable by increasingly punitive state legislation, and those whose jobs depend upon the sensitive negotiation of access to particular spaces, I had frequent discussions with charities and specific individuals concerning what I could include in the research project. For example, as a consequence of my access to Campsfield House IRC for research purposes, both the private IRC contractor Mitie, and the UKVI know which workshop I went into, who was present and the situations encountered there. I have therefore made the decision not to anonymise the IRC that I went into, as this information is already accessible to Mitie, the UKVI and Music in Detention. I have however, anonymised detainees, together with the Music in Detention and Mitie staff, and have intentionally not included any clearly identifying material or information that I consider may cause problems for the individuals involved.

Furthermore, during the exchange project I anonymized everyone I spoke to, and I have named Crossings (with the permission of the trustees) and anonymized all the participants that I spoke to. Safeguarding is also a crucial part of research in this area, and I informed all my participants - including those at Base 33 - that if they raised anything that caused me concern the safety of themselves or others, that I would inform a relevant authority (in the first instance Music in Detention, Crossings or Base 33).

Furthermore, it is important also to state that obtaining informed consent from all participants during observation and interviews is a negotiated process and does not end with a verbal or written statement before the research process begins. I ensured I did not include detailed observations about those who I do not explain my work to, nor those that did not speak English. Yet, consent is a continual negotiation and continues beyond any acceptance at the start of a workshop or interview, particularly with the fluidity of the group so I ensured that all participants and charities had my contact details, explaining that my thesis would be submitted at the end of my third year in October 2017.

As previously noted, I took field-notes during participant observation in a notebook or on my mobile phone. I ensured that everyone was anonymised in my field-notes. I then typed up the notes onto my computer and physically locked up the written notes in a filing cabinet in my office. Files were also password protected. Any personal data disclosed during the interviews has only been used for the purposes of the research. No details of the interviews were stored remotely on cloud storage. Field-notes were anonymously stored on an encrypted section of my hard-drive on my own password-protected computer, when I needed to access them outside of the University. I was based in Canada for a 3-month duration of my writing up

period, and therefore arranged for remote access to my University computer to avoid taking my research data to North America.[72]

6. Summary

In this chapter I have examined the research journey of my PhD. I have documented and discussed the choice of methods, research access and given detailed information on the deployment of methods and the implications of this for the argument developed through this thesis. I have also outlined the ethical underpinnings of the project. This thesis now continues with three chapters centered around the themes emerging from this data: (non)linear temporality; (in)coherent subjectivity and lively materiality. Yet this break in chapters should not be indicative of the closure of methodological discussions, for these will be woven throughout the following chapters, reflecting the epistemological positioning that it is not possible to untangle the data produced from the methods that were deployed.

---

[72] This was in accordance with ESRC regulations, and also as I was going to a conference in Boston in Spring 2017, I did not want the US border guards to access this data.

Chapter Four
(Non)linear temporalities of resistance

Twenty-Four 7

They say only time will tell,
What if the time is wrong?

Detainees, custody officers, doctors, visitors and
Everyone around me, but
*I still feels as **of** I'm on my own.*

Family, friends, lovers and
***Ironically,**...enemies.*
I sure miss them all.

Stress, anxiety and depression, all makes detention
The land of the unknown.

Emergency Alarm!! Apparently it kicked off upstairs.
Detainees in a fight, I wonder if violence
Will make everything alright?

Maybe I should write a book,
Or Just look.
One day will be a better day.

"There is no ending without a beginning,
There is not beginning without and ending"

All walks of life, I have heard it all,
Can I learn anymore from other's experience?

By Abel Samuel Mbunga
[This poem is from Oxford University Border Criminologies' Archive, and
originated within Campsfield House IRC. Reproduced as original]

1. Introduction: A politics of temporality.

The poem *Twenty-Four 7* by detainee Abel Samuel Mbunga serves to highlight that the experiences, understandings and relationships with temporality[73] in the context of the UK asylum system are particularly pertinent to examine when exploring creativity and resistance. This is because resistance is frequently grounded within a linear temporality; a movement towards a particular imagined emancipatory future.[74] Indeed, experiences of UK asylum system are often characterized by waiting, or deferral: asylum seekers are individuals who are *waiting* for a decision on their entry to the formal political life of the state and detainees (who may not be asylum seekers) *wait* for their removal from, or entry into, the UK. In *Twenty-Four 7* however, Mbunga alludes to this experience of waiting as folded through with multiple and (non)linear[75] temporalities which disrupts a linear narrative of resistance. In this regard, the poem opens up the argument that I make within this chapter: that an understanding of resistance through a (non)linear, polyrhythmic temporality disrupts the linear politics of the state, and allows for attention to the potentiality immanent within ambiguous moments, rhythms, memories and spaces: the possibility that "politics may be understood in another mode, in another tense, and through another account of coexistence in disjointed times" (Closs Stephens 2013, 121).

---

[73] For the purposes of this chapter, the terms 'time' and 'temporality' are both used to allude to an understanding of time as processual and multiple. Whilst conventional definitions place *time* as chronological or linear, and *temporality* as referring to the dynamism and fluidity of time, the polyrhythmic and non-teleological approach taken in this chapter refutes the binding of 'time' (as both noun and verb) to chronological understandings, and therefore the terms are used interchangeably.

[74] See Chapter 2

[75] I use brackets here to signal the false binary between linearity and nonlinearity; to talk about (non)linear temporality is not to refute the 'existence' or 'experience' of linear time, but to think beyond this framework.

In his poem, Mbunga explores the uncertainty, anxiety, stress and loneliness that he is experiencing during his time waiting in detention and asks: *They say only time will tell/What if the time is wrong?* Here Mbunga appears to understand time as an entity with agentic force, one that has the capacity to control his lived experiences. In this he may be referring to the state's control over his time as a political and strategic form of governance, as he writes whilst waiting for a decision on the future of his time (as both noun and verb). This is reflective of an understanding of temporality as the linear, teleological and 'political' time of the state (Shapiro 2000). Yet later in the poem, Mbunga appears to distinguish himself from a conception of temporality where it is possible to delineate a past, present and future, stating: *There is no ending without a beginning/There is not beginning without an ending.* This understanding of time indicates a very different form of temporality, as cyclical, non-linear and multiple.

In this chapter I explore these varying experiences of temporality that Mbunga alludes to in relation to resistance in the UK asylum system. I explore national 'political' time as understood to be progressive and teleological, together with conceptualisations of time as polyrhythmic, to argue for the valuing of alternative temporalities of resistance. Here I follow Martin's (2015) comments that: "narrating migrant time articulates im/possibilities for mobile humans to be and not be. That is, the potentiality of living life is, in part, arranged in the grammar of time." In focusing upon temporality however, I am mindful that "questions about time and space cannot easily be separated" (Closs Stephens 2013, 6) and therefore ask what an attention to time as polyrhythmic can bring to understandings of resistance within the multiple spaces of the UK asylum system. To explore this, I draw upon the art and music conducted within these spaces, building upon the conceptualization of creativity as *poiesis*, where the process and product of creation cannot be readily separated. This account of temporality differs from traditional understandings of resistance which, I suggest, are

grounded in an understanding of temporality as linear and teleological: the political time of the state.

There are however, inevitable tensions that arise when *writing* about (non)linear, polyrhythmic temporalities, for to attempt to contain – and thus to capture – this temporal multiplicity within the medium of text is to simultaneously reduce and expand the potential purchase of these accounts. This is particularly the case with academic writing, where the text is marked by the apparently fixed 'author-date' timestamps of knowledge construction, together with the page numbers and chapter headings denoting assumed linearity of readership. However, simultaneously in reading these pages you, the unknown reader, encounter them in the context of the rhythms of your own life, of dreams, readings, memories and experiences just as my reflections (and those of the participants) cannot be separated from my/their own. As Spinney (2010, 118) notes "the way in which time-spaces are produced and experienced is […] a product of how we are orientated to the world." We therefore cannot know how other people experience and embody time (or indeed ourselves, for this would be to assume that we can somehow step outside time), and this itself is not static, for to become-subject (which Guattari (2006) terms autopoiesis[76]), is to be formed through ongoing, emergent forces which dance to multiple beats. Yet this tension is always the case with academic writing[77]; we cannot know in advance, how this thesis – which itself is shot through with multiple and conflicting temporalities – will intersect, harmonise, rub up against, and align with, the existing rhythms of the world.[78]

---

[76] See Chapter 5

[77] In fiction authors have played with time in their style of writing (see for example the work of David Mitchell, Audrey Niffenegger, Ali Smith, Susanna Clarke and Neil Gaiman) yet this again represents a fixed, alternative reading of time by the author.

[78] See Chapter 6

1.i The 'political' time of the state

The fiction of the nation-state is underpinned and established by a "homogenous, linear account of time"; a nation is considered born out of an "immemorial past…and glide[s] into a limitless future" (Anderson 1991, 10–11; see also Shapiro 2000; Edkins 2003). This conception of time as linear and teleological posits time as empty; a void to be filled. As Homi Bhabha (2004, 204) notes, the performance of the modern nation-state needs a past, a line of continuous development; national time becomes concrete, certain and visible through the stories of the past: "to write the story of the nation demands that we articulate that archaic ambivalence that informs the time of modernity."[79] This construction of national time as Cartesian, linear and teleological is important, argues Hutchings (2008), for it has underpinned much work in, and debates on the constitution (and critique) of politics. Closs Stephens (2013) also supports this in her work on nationalism, suggesting that critical work in this area is still frequently underpinned by a view of temporality as determined by enlightenment and progress.

Whilst many have critiqued the apparent empty, progressive time of modernity (see most notably Walter Benjamin 1999), the conception of temporality as homogenous and progressive has, Closs Stephens argues, continued to dominate many debates within politics; the view that *we* will arrive in the future at a greater understanding, serves to reproduce "the language of nationalism" (2013, 79). It is this linear, political and historical

---

[79] This is not with without slippages however; Bhabha notes that the discourse of the minority "reveals the insurmountable ambivalence that structures the equivocal movement of historical time" (2004, 226), the migrant never quite fits into these structures, a reminder that whilst people are the historical 'objects' of a "nationalist pedagogy…the people are also the 'subjects' of a process of signification that must erase any prior or originary presence of the nation-people to demonstrate the prodigious living principles of the people as contemporaneity: as that sign of the *present* through which national life is redeemed and reiterated as a reproductive process" (2004, 208-209).

time "of nationality, which is normally used to distinguish the self from an other" (Ní Mhurchú 2014, 65). This is because it allows for a before, now and an after and therefore an 'I' as a coherent self which can be distinguished from an 'other': the I "in linear time is present in communication by virtue of these coordinates" (Ní Mhurchú 2014, 165) and it can therefore also project itself into the future with respect to an 'other' in the past. In the context of immigration control this becomes particularly relevant, for the state delineates 'others' to be excluded from the national borders around 'us'.

This ontologically realist conception of time as linear has further implications for how resistance is understood. As previously discussed[80] resistance has been traditionally perceived to be associated with an action in the present, with the intention of constructing (or obstructing) a particular future. This viewpoint aligns with notions of time as teleological, and focusses upon organized opposition, mass movements or individual challenges to a particular configuration of power relations: "any action imbued with intent that attempts to challenge, change, or retrain particular circumstances" (Routledge 1997, 360). Here resistance concerns a movement towards an intended future. This understanding of time has dominated conceptualisations of resistance within the multiple spaces of the UK asylum system (see Gill 2009b; Turnbull 2016; Bosworth 2014; Williams 2015; for exceptions see Conlon 2011a; Rotter 2016). In the next section I move to explore the politics of waiting that characterizes these diverse spaces, before suggesting that an understanding of the temporalities of waiting beyond linearity, but instead as multiple and polyrhythmic has implications for conceptualizing resistance beyond fixed coordinates.

2. *The politics of waiting*

---

[80] See Chapter 2

I put in my application on the 10th December 2010, yesterday
it was 10th December 2015 so asylum is taking 5 years to
complete… *I still stay* here 5 years and 5 months.

[Interview, Zaweel, asylum seeker, 17th December 2015[81]]

Alison Mountz (2011, 381) argues that for asylum seekers, "temporality is often conceptualized as waiting, limbo or suspension" and that these "temporal zones map onto corresponding spatial ambiguities theorized here as liminality, exception and threshold". Indeed, many have written about the importance of attending to temporality in the context of immigration systems (see for example Cwerner 2004; Gill 2009b; Conlon 2010a, 2010b, 2011; Mountz 2011; Bagelman 2013; Griffiths 2013; Andersson 2014; Darling 2014; Fontanari 2015; Martin 2015; Haas 2017). Cwerner (2004, 73) discussing the UK context, notes how "time has been fore-grounded as a major dimension and resource upon which some agents deem it appropriate to exert power, manifesting in the 'fast-tracking', 'streamlining' and 'speeding up' of the asylum process." The control of time, as a strategic political act, is reflected in the institutional rhythms in the wider regime of border security, detention and deportation. For the asylum seekers, such as Zaweel, who are incarcerated in society, they are waiting on a response to their application: 'I still stay'. During this time, they cannot work, have to regularly sign-in with the Home Office, and have limited money and activities available to them, limiting their possibilities of resistance. Within detention facilities, detainees are made knowable through the control of intimate aspects of their lives; their time is controlled by the state (Conlon 2010a, 2010b; Larsen and Piché 2009; Wilder 2010). Time is therefore central to the apparatus of control within and beyond detention, making it pertinent to explore in relation to discussions of power, resistance and creativity.

---

[81] As this interview took place on the 17th December, Zaweel's application had actually been 5years and one week ago.

Indeed, whilst detention is perhaps the most visible manifestation of a space of enforced waiting, individuals wait in multiple spaces for a decision on their entry or removal from the UK. Deportation[82] is not an 'event' that these processes lead up to. Instead it too is a process with effects that extend long before an individual is removed from the UK (Hasselberg 2016). Griffiths (2013), Bagelman (2013), Allsopp et al. (2015) and Turnbull (2016, 61) interrogate how the state governs through uncertainty; how waiting within immigration systems is an intentional form of governance; "an exercise of power, one that manipulates others' time". Furthermore, after a lengthy period of waiting, removal directions can take place within 48 hours, and detainees are frequently moved to, or between IRCs with little or no prior warning (Gill 2009b; Griffiths 2013). These variations of tempo through which immigration detainees, and other 'deportable' migrants experience time (frenzied, deaccelerating and suspended), are used by Griffiths (2013) to demonstrate that time is a metaphor by which detainees express and describe the uncertainty and disorientating confusion that characterises the UK asylum system.

These political systems of control can therefore be seen to represent a temporal juxtaposition between containment and mobility, as the apparatus of asylum serves to render migrant bodies immobile, with the objective of moving them elsewhere (Gill 2009b; Mountz et al. 2013). Thus, little can be anticipated, as the deportability of the migrant's body means that they cannot plan for the near future and live in a period of perceived temporal

---

[82] Deportation is one form of forced removal, also included here would be the administrative removal of foreign nationals who have "overstayed, breached a condition of leave to enter or remain, sought or obtained leave to remain by deception, had their indefinite leave revoked because they have ceased to be a refugee, or are family members of the above" (Hasselburg 2016, 3). Deportation cancels leave to remain and holds a ban on return (for up to 10years); it is a notice of deportation that authorizes the detention of an individual.

stasis. Detainees and asylum seekers exist in this contradiction between immanent and absent change (Griffiths 2013). Waiting, as Conlon notes is "actively produced, embodied, experienced, politicized and resisted" (2010a, 355). Therefore, understanding the temporality of the asylum system qualitatively, rather than quantitatively is of interest here. Unlike in the context of prison, time in the asylum system is not cumulative, and asylum seekers do not know when they are going to be released, or where they will go, resulting in lengthy periods of uncertainty.

Adonay, waiting whilst incarcerated in society noted the implications of this deferral of an anticipated future stating:

> [W]hen you are waiting you don't feel like a whole person.
>
> [Interview, Adonay, asylum seeker, 19th November 2015]

This feeling of uncertainty was echoed by a number of participants:

> I have given all the collected evidence to the Home Office. They take too much time to make the decision. I know that if they don't give me permission then I have a problem, but the time period is too much. More than 1.5 years since I started, and most of the people I know living here, more than 5 years. It is so difficult for my children. They are used to this environment, then you tell them to go back to their country - it is so difficult.
>
> [Interview, Marooh, asylum seeker, 30th November 2015]
>
> --
>
> [It is] hard to explain the atmosphere inside as you know that at some point you will come out but you don't know when […] You can be waiting, maybe 10-15 years and you can be deported at any time without a problem to them. You

feel different from other people – you [SH -meaning me] cannot imagine. The longer you stay, the harder it gets, you are waiting for something to happen.

[Interview, Merlind, ex detainee, 17th September 2015]

Adonay, Marooh and Merlind are all at different 'moments' within the asylum system, yet what resonates across their accounts is a frustration with being forced to wait for a decision on their entry (or otherwise) to the UK. Merlind is an ex-detainee (now with indefinite leave to remain) and discusses the atmosphere inside whilst he was waiting, noting that this continues for years after release into society. Marooh, who has been waiting for more than 5 years, comments on the implications of waiting for his children, some of whom were born in the UK and do not know life elsewhere. Adonay is also an asylum seeker waiting but 'only' arrived in the UK at the end of 2014 (less than 1 year before the interview took place). Their lives, and reasons for being in the UK are diverse and yet they are united by as Katz, writing about the fear in immigrant communities, suggests an "ontological insecurity", or a "state of anxiety about the future"(2008, 6).[83] Allsopp et al. (2015) similarly focus upon imagined futures, in their work on young people's experiences of waiting in the UK asylum system. They argue for attention between the young people's "*intentions* and aims in securing their futures and the *intentions* of an immigration control system which arguably underestimates the power of some young people's agency and determination" noting that "in order to sustain a sense of moving forward, young people strive to counter such tactics of immigration control with tactics of their own" (Allsopp et al. 2015, 163 emphasis added). This approach to waiting is grounded in a linear conceptualization of time, and chimes with de Certeau's aforementioned discussions of tactics and strategies (1988).

---

[83] This is not to say of course, that their embodied experiences of waiting are the same.

140

Indeed, many have written on the uncertainty that characterises the lived experience of immigration detention in the UK (Gill 2009a; 2009b; Griffiths 2013; Bosworth 2014; Turnbull 2016). However, it is important to note that this "does not necessarily end when detention ceases; waiting often continues into society through temporary admission and immigration bail" (Turnbull 2016, 71). However, Haas (2017, 90), exploring the affectivity of waiting amongst political asylum claimants in the United States, suggests that "[u]nlike contexts where waiting may be experienced as a time of productivity or resistance[…], asylum seekers, as I have argued experienced waiting largely as a stagnation that was imposed on them." This understanding of the spaces of waiting is "characterised by the suspension of time" as Fontanari (2015, 716) working on the experiences of asylum seekers in Germany also frames it. Whilst I acknowledge that waiting for a decision on entry to the political life of the state produces a particular relationship with time, this conceputalisation of time as 'suspended', can be seen to cast asylum seekers as outside of 'our' time, and is underpinned by the idea that there is an underlying, fixed temporality.

I therefore utilize the work of Conlon (2011a) and Rotter (2016) who argue that waiting is an active practice, that "is socially produced, imbued with geopolitics, and also actively encountered, incorporated and resisted amidst everyday spaces that migrants experience" (Conlon 2011a, 353). Drawing upon the work of Grey (2011, 420 cited in Conlon 2011, 353), Conlon argues that "time is complex and multidimensional", and therefore that migrant waiting is "not something that takes place in suspended time or outside of 'doing' things, but instead as an active *intentional* process, integral to constructions of subjectivity" (2011a, 357 emphasis added). Similarly, Rotter (2016, 80) draws upon her work with asylum seekers in Scotland, to argue that "waiting was not an empty interlude between events but an intentional and agential process." In short, waiting is not an empty time of 'doing

nothing', but rather an active and plural time of becoming. This therefore resonates with framings of creativity as *poiesis*; as a process of continual becoming. In this chapter, I build upon Rotter and Conlon's work, to explore what an understanding of the multiplicity of waiting *beyond* intentionality and as polyrhythmic can bring to conceptualisations of resistance.

The condition of waiting therefore results in, and is contingent upon, a particular association with the future. The etymology of 'wait' is reflective of this, for the term (originating in Old French) comes from *waitier* meaning 'to be watchful of', 'to look out for' or 'sentry'. Therefore, waiting refers to a cognisant relationship to the future. Martin (2015), drawing upon the work of Povinelli (2011) explores how grammar "organises the relationship between the time of narration and the act of narrating"; how tense constructs distinctions from, and individual affiliations with, a past, present and future. Therefore, in forcing people to wait, categorizing them within a system which progresses towards deportation, the state captures not only an individual's present, but also their relationships to imagined possible futures.

2.i Creativity within waiting

During these periods of waiting, which can last from weeks to years, many held in this perceived temporal 'limbo'[84] are encouraged to engage with creative activities, which are frequently read as helping them pass the time, and do something productively to fill the time that is given to them (Bosworth 2014). As previously mentioned in Chapter 2, the role of the arts around asylum seekers (understood here to be distinct from political art created around issues of asylum) has received little attention within accounts

---

[84] Conceptualizing temporality as (non)linear necessitates a rethinking of 'limbo' as comprised of multiple intersecting temporalities; a nesting an accelerated asylum system within a profound stilling of time (Gill 2009b).

of resistance, unless through its production or circulation it disrupts, or intends to disrupt particular configurations of power relations. Instead, the role of creativity within the UK asylum system has been used to discuss mental health, well-being and is present in accounts of those discussing how asylum seekers pass the time of waiting. For example, Turnbull notes "[a]s detainees are in theory going to be removed, detention is not orientated around an investment in futures, or integration. Activities are there to keep people busy whilst they wait – not about 'producing citizen-subjects for inclusion in the British community" (2016, 66).[85] This understanding of time, I argue, is underpinned by a conception of time as linear; the 'political time of the state'. Yet, this is also a methodological and analytical issue, for whilst Turnbull critically analyses the state's logic, she does not reconceptualise the framework upon which this understanding of state rests. Therefore she can be considered to re-inscribe the very temporality of the state she critiques.

This is not to say that art and music activities are not intended to be, nor experienced as a means to pass the time as waiting. A number of participants noted that music provided a welcome distraction[86] from their everyday lives:

> Sarah: So what is it that makes you go along to Crossings?
>
> Habtom: It is about music. Music is a part of our lives, I don't look at it according to how the people explain the music, but according to me it means a lot [pause] erm even though sometimes that can make me feel free from stress

---

[85] This differs from prisons, where by activities are understood to targeted towards release, as well as to help prisoners pass the time of incarceration (Moran et al. 2013; Gacek 2017).

[86] Distraction is also active and multiple. As Crary (2001) argues, all forms of attention to the present, are also distracted. Therefore, creativity understood through *poiesis,* can be understood to exceed framings of 'just' a distraction, for creative attention is always also distracted; an active and plural time of becoming.

everything, it is some sort of, it is like, I can say, a friend of mine who is invisible [laughing]

[Interview, Habtom, Refugee, 13th November 2015]

Zaweel: He [Mohammed] has some stress, and when I go there, I start to talking to him. I feel that he has stress. He didn't tell me why he has stress, so I start talking about something else - about Crossings, then not asylum. So I change his mind, so that he is relaxed and he forgets and we are talking about what we do, what is the plan for tomorrow, we are watching movie or not, what song do you like? Anything!

[Interview, Zaweel, asylum seeker, 17th December 2015]

Marooh: Crossings is one of my options to fill the time, and studying is another option. I am studying English at Newcastle College and in the week, I have three days in college.

[Interview, Marooh, asylum seeker, 30th November 2015]

This intention of activities to fill time, and to help individuals de-stress was echoed by ex-art teacher Amy, who stated whilst taking about the role of art in detention centres:

Art is multiple in its benefits, therapeutically, helping with communication skills, engaging with people, release, mindfulness, distraction, self-soothing, meaning activity, tactile, self-help, sensory stimulation.

These accounts of engaging with creative activities whilst waiting (in an IRC, or in society) suggest that they do help to pass the time, to take an individual's mind off their current situation and to help them to de-stress.

However, these activities designed or experienced as passing time, may reinforce the normality of waiting. Bagelman explores this through a play centred around waiting '*The Roundabout*' which was put on by the City of Sanctuary group in Glasgow (2013). Whilst Bagelman (2013, 55) notes that "creating opportunities for 'making sense' of extended periods of waiting and providing 'positive' hope for the 'desired future' is undoubtedly important'" she critiques an alternative reading of this play by Rotter, who suggested that these spaces of creativity: "provided a setting within which social ties could be reconstituted, concerns identified and communicated, trust re-established, and concrete protection secured [...] these were a space of trust, unquestioned acceptance, protection and security, and as such, could be regarded as a space of sanctuary from the asylum process and immigration" (Rotter 2010 in Bagelman 2013, 55). Instead, Squire and Bagelman (2012) suggest that the City of Sanctuary movement, whilst suggesting 'productive' activities to do whilst waiting, may normalize waiting, perpetuating the view that suffering should be allowed *now* to open up the possibility of change *later*.

In this chapter, I do not make romantic or normative claims about what music or art can or should do in relation to temporality and resistance, and neither do I dispute that creative activities can help to pass the time of waiting. Instead I analyse a different understanding of the temporality of waiting as multiple and polyrhythmic "to explore and critique the notion of purposeful activity" (Bissell 2007, 294). To do this I follow Bissell (2007, 277) who argues that "waiting as an event should be conceptualised not solely as

an active achievement or passive acquiescence but as a variegated affective complex where experience folds through and emerges from a multitude of different planes." Bissell suggests that whilst much work focusses upon *waiting* as a slowing of rhythms (in contrast with the speeding up of other rhythms) such an approach "obscures and negates the ways in which bodies have the potential to transcend this scheme" (2007, 278). This posits that the condition of stasis, or stilling, contains the "potential to be otherwise" (Bissell 2007, 279); waiting is folded through with multiple temporalities. Waiting then is not considered here to mean spatial or temporal stillness, and is not necessarily aligned with the linear 'political' time of the state.

3. *Alternative Temporalities of Resistance*

It is the assumption embodying the relationship between resistance and a linear temporality that I now move to disrupt in this chapter. I follow Closs Stephens, who notes "[t]he technique of shackling the future into a particular mode of politics therefore assumes that we can know in advance what liberation must look like, suggesting that there is a timeless ideal that we can arrive at if only we continue to focus on the journey ahead" (2013, 118). I therefore diverge from accounts of resistance that place it within national, homogenous time and move to examine the implications of understanding the temporalities of resistance as (non)linear.

My ongoing argument for an appreciation for alternative temporalities of resistance will now splinter to be woven through five constellations of

moments[87] that arose throughout my research: (i) Metrics: Experiencing 'the same' time differently; (ii) Memory and the multiple temporalities of the 'present'; (iii) Improvisation: polyrhythmic resistance; (iv) The immanent spaces of the asylum system and (v) *Poiesis*, potentiality and resistance. These moments take place across the multiple spaces of the UK asylum system; they do not all speak to one another and neither do they all represent the same conceptualizations of temporality. Instead they have been selected to highlight the multiple occasions in my research process where the empty, homogenous and linear temporality of the state was disrupted, and it is through these accounts that I build towards my argument that waiting can be understood to be folded through with multiple temporalities and that this has implications for understanding resistance beyond intentionality. However, it is worth reiterating here that in this thesis I do not refute conceptualisations of resistance based within a linear understanding of temporality, but instead I acknowledge the political potential of being open to alternative temporalities of resistance. Importantly however, seeing the past, present and future as interwoven does not necessarily result in progressive politics; as Grosz argues "[i]f the future revolution can carry no guarantee that it will improve the current situation or provide something preferable to what exists now, what makes it a sought-fore idea? What prevents it from blurring into facism or conservatism?" (1999, 17). Whilst my argument here could be seen to 'jar' with my personal commitment for open borders (outlined in Chapter 3), as I argue throughout the thesis, the role of critique is not to detract, prescribe, the boundaries of what counts, meaning that there is value in keeping the future open, in preventing

---

[87] I use the term 'moments' here, despite acknowledging the tension that the term moment may imply a coherence that I am not assigning to these events. When I deploy the term, I understand it to be a coalescence of multiple temporalities, which may not be ontologically compatible. This again, is why I use brackets around (non)linearity throughout this chapter, to signal that temporality is neither linear/nonlinear and nor is it necessarily coherent or rational; we exist within, are comprised by and experience, currents of multiple, conflicting temporalities which do not exist pre-subject.

"politics…[becoming] a lost object, a foregone conclusion, concluded" (Berlant 2011, 232).

3.i Metrics: Experiencing 'the same' time differently

That time is experienced, lived and felt differently has been widely acknowledged within the social sciences. One of the most notable thinkers of time, Heni Bergson famously drew upon the example of a dissolving sugar cube to illustrate the "succession of instants supposedly characteristic of scientific knowledges" (May and Thrift 2001, 22). Bergson posited that time, when understood as duration, was continuous and could not be readily broken up into the discontinuous units of scientific analysis. Whilst in this chapter, I do not adopt a Bergsonian approach to time, I draw upon this here to signal that seemingly rigid metrics (days, hours, minutes, years) are time's artificial architecture; clock time, geometric time and calendar time, whilst complementing the political time of the state are constructed and do not necessarily fit with an intuitive, felt sense of temporality.

Yet moments arose within the research where the metrics that individuals used to relate to the passing of time were not homogenous.

> He [Chris, leading the Crossings' workshop] asks us to go around the room and tell the group what our plans are for the winter season. Some people share stories from childhood experiences, others explain their own festivals – such as the shortest night three-day festival in Iran. Many of the men explain that this is their first winter in the UK, and their first away from their families, and that they've got no plans. This is sort of juxtaposed with those who have been here a while, or are from the UK, who have more finalised plans of what to do... The Eritreans and Ethiopians discuss how to work

out their different calendar, and how to translate this to the English calendar for their celebrations. It is clearly confusing, and I think about all the different layers of time going on here

[Field-notes, Crossings, 9th November 2015]

In the moment described above, the Eritreans and Ethiopians, who work on the Ethiopian calendar,[88] have to translate their understanding of what time of the year it is to the Gregorian calendar, in the context of particular UK reference points (New Year, Christmas, school holidays). Everyone has different expectations of what should happen at this 'time' in their calendar, shaped by nationality, religion and past experiences. The metrics of time that life is "draped" in (Conlon 2010a, 78) are not syncing everyone to the same beat.[89] This difference in the metrics of time also became apparent to me when I was teaching Iranian Nawir the flute at Crossings.

Before we start the drumming workshop, Nawir arrives with his flute. I ask if he wants to play and we go upstairs with some music. He can make a noise out of the flute, but the notation he knows is different to the notation I am used to. I think of how music is meant to be this universal language, but it really isn't. We all work with, experience and play music in different ways. I cannot communicate about this music through the same language that Nawir uses

---

[88] The Ethiopian calendar differs significantly from the Gregorian calendar: it is a solar calendar, begins the year at the end of August and has 13 months in the year (Tamrat 2008).

[89] This multiplicity of the metrics of time, resonates with Khosravi's accounts of Märsta, a Swedish detention centre, for he details how in the main hall, there are "five clocks on the wall showing time zones in other countries, other continents, to which many of the detainees would be deported. The clocks showed deportees time as if their time was not the same as the Swedish time…They [the clocks] disclose the synchronizing operation of the removal between spaces and temporalities, a sort of time-space compression realised not through high-speed technologies but through the bodies of the deportees." (2016, 169–70)

– we have been taught different systems of identifying with the same sounds. We work through some fingering exercises and then try and play Jingle Bells; it doesn't work!

[Field-notes, Crossings, 21st December 2015]

My reading of music, of how time is divided into particular beats and bars, notes and time signatures, arises from a particular taught cultural understanding rooted in a classical Western 4/4-time signature. Nawir's music is grounded within a Persian framing, which is cyclical, linked to Persian poetry and has a very different beat structure (2/8 or 6/8); in short it is a very different in its framing of the temporality of music (Azadehfar 2006). Despite playing the same instrument, and one with pre-set keys denoting particular sounds (unlike, for example, string instruments) our understandings of these sounds, rhythms and notation arise from different metrics of time. This example, as with the Ethiopian calendar, highlights the complexity and fallacy of experiencing the 'same' time as our grammars, our points of reference are not natural, static or necessarily translatable.

In addition to differences in the metrics and measures of time rendered quantitative, individuals experience and articulate time in multiple different ways. It is worth noting here that the 'same' time between two agreed upon coordinates can be obviously experienced in multiple ways. Crudely: an individual waiting to go on holiday to Jamaica may wait impatiently for time to pass at the airport; an individual waiting for a deportation flight to Jamaica may feel that time is going too quickly. As discussed previously, waiting is experienced and felt in a diverse range of ways. To return to Merlind's comments:

[It is] hard to explain the atmosphere inside as you know that at some point you will come out but you don't know when […] You can be waiting, maybe 10-15 years and you can be deported at any time without a problem to them. You

feel different from other people – you [SH -meaning me] cannot imagine. The longer you stay, the harder it gets, you are waiting for something to happen.

[Interview, Merlind, ex detainee, 17th September 2015]

Merlind explains that as I have not been detained or experienced waiting for a decision on an asylum claim, I 'cannot imagine' what it feels like to be living in that relationship to other people, and to time. This is clearly the case; similarly, other individuals' experiences of the time of 'waiting' in the asylum system cannot be simply conflated. Instead we all attune to time differently; our embodied experiences of time cannot be fully captured by metrics or description. The linear, homogenous time of the state is therefore contingent; the calendars, national ceremonies and shared pasts and futures are constructions and do not map readily onto an individual's felt experience of temporality. This has implications for understanding resistance, for in disrupting the seemingly fixed coordinates of measuring time and accepting the metrical space-times of the state forecloses our ability to recognize and imagine 'the otherwise'; as the section will now continue to develop further.

3.ii Memory and the multiple temporalities of the 'present'

Music has a strong relation with memory and identity as well, a lot of people sang songs from the place they are from […] there are lots of memories for people who have travelled so much, you are always on the move, and the few things you are attached to […] music can stir that memory up in a stronger way than poetry

[Interview, Emily, Music in Detention volunteer, 15th August 2014]

In addition to the multiple, conflicting metrics orientating an individual in time, time is also not experienced linearly. Memories, as Emily alludes to, are but one example of the fractured experience of temporality. Indeed, there is a large literature on music and memory within the field of music psychology. Scholars have explored the ways through which music is transmitted through the brain, exploring how harmony, dissonance and 'complex sounds' are perceived, remembered and recalled (Krumhansl 1991; Peretz and Zatorre 2003; Koelsch 2009). In this thesis however, I am not concerned with the mechanisms by which memory is stimulated, but instead look at what these recollections may do *politically*. Here I follow the trend within Geographies of music since the Cultural Turn, as there has been a move towards looking at sound as music as lived (rather than representational), which "enables us to recognize as legitimate the multiplicity of ways in which musics are experienced, produced, reproduced and consumed" and to foreground relationship between physical presence of sound and "flow of sensory impressions" (Anderson et al. 2005, 640; see also DeNora 1999; Wood 2012; Revill 2016). Such an approach chimes with the theoretical framework of this thesis, whereby creativity is understood in its continual becoming; it also avoids the reproduction of time as a series of successive individual moments.

Anderson (2004) distinguishes between intentional[90] and involuntary remembering in his work on recorded music and practices of memory. Drawing upon the work of Deleuze and Bergson, he argues that the past is a "supplementary virtual dimension to everyday life" (Anderson 2004, 8). In my interviews with asylum seekers Zaweel and Adonay, they explained that playing music brought them to 'past' experiences.

---

[90] Although Anderson's work (2004), like the argument that will be put forward in Chapter 5, is critical of the *a priori* subjectivity that an 'intentional' subject implies.

[W]hen I was at college, I know that I have lots of friends. They sing a song, and most of the time *I go to that time* when that song is played, I remember my university friends.

[Interview, Zaweel, asylum seeker, 17th December 2015]

Music brings back memories but it depends on how you grew up, if you were listening to music for everything, whether you were happy or sad, then when you hear it again many years later you can remember where you were the first time you heard it

[Interview, Adonay, asylum seeker, 19th November 2015]

For Zaweel and Adonay music provides an affective stimulus for previous experiences. These experiences may be mundane, they may bring back memories of past traumas, they may bring back 'happy' memories of hearing the music previously. This serves to highlight that the experience of the 'present' is not separated from the 'past'. These accounts resonnate with scholarly attention to 'trauma time', which as Edkins (2003, xiv) argues disrupts the "straightforward linear temporalities associated with the regularity of so-called 'politics' and appears to occupy another form of time." The past here exists as a co-existent possibility that can be activated in the present; a trace that can be actualized for example, by hearing a particular song. Trauma constitutes a rupture[91]; rippling and splintering space-times into unknown places; "never mappable topologies" (Coddington and Micieli-Voutsinas 2017, 52). As such trauma reminds us that "there is no place 'outside' of research, and conversely, no research that is 'beyond' the body" by extension there is no place 'outside' of the asylum system; for 'it'

---

[91] Although, see Berlant (2011) for a critique of the privileging of trauma.

cannot be contained within institutions (Coddington and Micieli-Voutsinas 2017, 55) and instead "trauma erupts into the present, making its presence known and haunting through affective eruptions" (Mountz 2017, 75). Importantly, these reverberations of memory cannot always be predetermined; they may be stimulated by particular events but they may also arise without any apparent stimulus.

For others however, music provided a means to *escape* from the present, removing themselves from the realities of their current situation:

> Just two or three songs, because I have a problem and when
> I listen to music I feel like I forget things now.

> [Interview, Marooh, asylum seeker, 30th November 2015]

Here music provided the opportunity for Marooh to focus upon an alternative and coinciding temporality. Yet conversely, this fracturing of space-time can actually support a linear, cumulative understanding of time for an understanding of memory as bringing the past to the present implies a false duality between past and present (Anderson 2004). Here memory can be seen to fracture space-time, but not disrupt its apparent linearity.

This understanding of a fractured socio-temporal experience was also echoed by Zaweel later in the interview, who discussed his experiences of hearing music from his own country and the unconscious, unintentional and involuntary stimulation of memories of his mother:

> Zaweel: So sometimes, I have stress, I have stress. I am sad, so then I start for my music, for our culture for our country, I hear the music and I just sleep. … I don't know what the words are, but you can enjoy, you can start a new life. Without music, I think there is no life (laughing) no life (laughing).

Sarah: [laughing] so is it music from home that you like listening to?

Zaweel: …I miss my parents, because I have children but they have parents, but my parents they do not have children - they have no son with them…So my parents miss me too much, and I miss them too much - sometimes my mother's feeling not well, and erm, she talks to me and she cries, and so I cry [pause] so, because for she loves me and I love my mother. So sometimes, 2 o'clock, 3 o'clock I wake up and I feel for, that I'm in my country. Maybe my mum needs my help, so then I call out for my mum [pause, Zaweel starts to cry] so she is very good and she loves, but I am here. I am here, but every time I am there, I am with her.

[Interview, Zaweel, asylum seeker, 17th December 2015]

Zaweel's emotional experience of feeling as if he is at home when dreaming of his mother needing help, is not an example stimulated by music, but arises instead from his unconscious dreams. He explains that he listens to music from his home country to help relax and to remind him of home, but that at night when he wakes from a dream about being with his parents, he feels that 'I am there, I am with her'. This example highlights how, whilst music can be a stimulus for bringing diverse space-times together, this is not necessarily always the case. The present is always-already intersected with multiple temporalities (Edkins 2003; Coddington 2016a). Indeed, Michel Serres' work on time as chaotic is helpful here, for in refuting the classical, geometric time and instead turning to focus upon time as *topological*, as a "handkerchief...folded, crumpled, shredded", he provides a useful framework of how we experience time as undulating and (non)linear (Serres and Latour 1990, 59). Consequently, for Serres "an object, a circumstance is thus polychromic, multitemporal, and reveals a time that is gathered together with multiple pleats" (Serres and Latour 1990, 60).

Music provides but one example of coalescing pleats, but this experience is felt in many other situations (e.g. dreams, events, or wandering thoughts). Grosz' work further illuminates this multiplicity for she states that "[t]he movement from a virtual unity to an actual multiplicity requires a certain leap of innovation or creativity, the surprise that the virtual leaves within the actual. The movement of realization seems like the concretization of a preexistent plan or program; by contrast, the movement of actualization is the opening up of the virtual to what befalls it" (1999, 27 cited in Crang 2001, 18). For Zaweel, his 'past' memories of his mother are inextricably woven into the 'present', blurring the apparent fixity of these terms. When viewed through this lens, the past can be considered virtual and immanent: containing the potential to emerge within the 'apparent' present. As Crang (2001, 18) explains: "the virtual extends like a prism of associations and possibilities brought to bear on a point in the present. But this is not the realization of possible outcomes. The virtual however, unifies a range of mutually impossible and differing paths."

Such an understanding of temporality as topological and multiple means that "the field of the political is constitutively not singular" (Chakrabarty 2009, 149 cited in Closs Stephens 2013, 115). As Closs Stephens (2013, 121) posits "politics may be understood in another mode, in another tense, and through another account of coexistence in disjointed times." The apparent present, past and future are not therefore discrete entities to be experienced: they are *cleaved* to one another; on the one hand experienced as interwoven, inextricable and unable to be separated, on the other (ontologically incompatibly and yet simultaneously), divided up by metrics and individuals' own experiences of time as processual. Indeed, many have written about the need to understand "the present as shot through with multiple temporalities" (Closs Stephens 2013, 82; see also Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Deleuze 1994, 2001; May and Thrift 2001; Edensor 2010); how

the "present is not a singular and linear moment, but comprises affective relations to other times and peoples situated within them" (Lilja et al. 2015).

This inseparability of past, present and future has implications for theorizing resistance as it disrupts the view of clean lines from the present acting upon an envisaged future. It further challenges the view that these links between present and future must be intentional, as experiences of temporality cannot (always) be predetermined or intended (e.g. flashbacks, dreams or memories stimulated by music). This chapter therefore interferes with the dominant articulation of resistance within the UK's asylum by arguing that resistance must be understood as plural and distributed, operating without or beyond intent. This will be unpacked further in the next section, which focuses upon how a more complex understanding of the temporalities of resistance is advanced through the notion of polyrhythmic time.

3.iii Improvisation: polyrhythmic resistance

An attention to time as polyrhythmic, as comprised of multiple, intersecting pulses of space-time, disputes linear narratives of progress underpinning resistance as an intentional movement towards a goal, or *telos*. Instead, by indicating the potentiality of moments such as the previous examples of metrics and memory, the link between potentiality and actuality is disrupted. Such a temporal framing challenges the linear conception of time underpinning resistance as intentional movement towards a *telos*. A polyrhythmic framing poses the time of resistance as non-linear, non-teleological, and non-causal. Such a conception of time is vital for a politics of resistance without intended goal, where (imagined) futures are multiple possibilities that remain undetermined. The future of polyrhythmic time is not preconfigured around strategically directed lines of intent, but rather is always already riddled with uncertainty (Foucault 1980).

Accordingly, "within every line there is a braid of other lines" and any reading of resistance that focuses upon the 'one line' that is seen to emerge from this quiver of potential futures can be considered a reduction of this multiplicity (Carter 2009, 8). When articulated through this lens, the idea that resistance requires a stretching out towards a particular outcome is underpinned by a "linearization of intent" that "too often eludes the complex, emergent world in which we live" (Thrift 2007, vii). Acting with the intention of a particular future therefore requires the foresight that an action will result in particular consequences, which will be a situation that, in part, resolves some of the problems of the present. Of course, activist groups do require targets for resistance, but to delimit resistance *a priori* into particular linear forms, effectively discounts those who do not fit this framework.[92] Instead, Amoore and Hall (2013, 106) note how "incompleteness, uncertainty, and indeterminacy are the condition of possibility for the making of political claims." In the UK asylum system, a world of complete certainty and determined futures would constitute a fully administered world with no possibility for politics and no space for a political claim to be made. The multiple temporalities of music indicate a disruption to this apparently "smooth and seamless surface of certainty" (Amoore and Hall 2010, 312).

One example of polyrhythmic time that arose during my research was the improvisation that occurred during a Music in Detention workshop. This is not to say that time is only experienced as polyrhythmic during music, but that this example illuminates the implications of an understanding of temporality as multiple. Throughout the afternoon music would arise out of the group present, often without a clear origin and with one detainee beginning a song whilst the rest of us would improvise an accompanying beat.

---

[92] See Chapter 5.

> Some people then began to sing, whilst everyone else played drums in the background. There wasn't a clear beat, and it seemed like everyone was sort of doing their own thing, but all together because one person was singing and everyone else was relatively silent. The music got gradually more crazy, with people singing on top of each other, and having two microphones being passed around got a bit complicated. It was really noisy, and I don't think anyone really knew what was going on.

> [Field-notes, Music in Detention Workshop, Campsfield House IRC, 24th June 2014]

The detainees, IRC officer and Music in Detention staff were all fueling this improvised music making. The rhythm of the group was not preset, with no singular individual able to dictate where the music would go, as everyone came together with the material components of the space, to sustain this process of creating music: as with improvisation "there is no script, and the stage is formed on the spot and sustained by the development of this sense of responsibility" (Kanellopoulos 2011, 119). It is this "possibility of heterogeneous, multiple temporalities", which I will go on to argue "gives us new analytical means to understand power, resistance and change" (Lilja et al. 2015).

Furthermore, Michael, from Music in Detention, who was 'leading' the workshop, noted that he intentionally placed an emphasis on improvisation as it allowed detainees the freedom to insert their own beat into the music. Music, Michael argued, gave detainees the ability to express themselves in a way that transcended language barriers. This allowed detainees who did not speak the same language to come together and play music. Detainees were encouraged to sing about their past, their home and their journey. In doing so music became a "vehicle" to "transport us to another place and another

time" beyond the IRC (Valentine 1995, 481). By encouraging detainees to fit their own beats into the music, and help to shape its flow, elements of different cultures were expressed:

> You get to see the view of the whole world, different nationalities in the same place. You might not understand language but you understand rhythm

> [Field-notes, Abdul, Music in Detention Workshop Participant, 24th June 2014]

Abdul here notes the apparent uniting force of rhythm, and how in the context of a workshop consisting of many languages and unfamiliar forms of music, being able to join in with an underlying beat gave him a sense of unity, of celebrating a diverse grouping of people. This was echoed by Adonay, from Crossings who noted that:

> [W]hen you make it [rhythm] together … it beings the good sound for the mind, you can feel it inside you and it is an emotional feeling, when you first start you think – how can I know this beat? But when you do start, you can feel it and you can do it.

> [Interview, Adonay, asylum seeker, 19th November 2015]

These descriptions of rhythm resonate with Agamben's claim that "in a musical piece, although it is somehow in time, we perceive rhythm as something that escapes the incessant flights of instants and appears almost as the presence of an atemporal dimension in time" (1999, 99). Indeed, in Lefebvre's work on rhythm in everyday life he states that there is no identical or absolute repetition, as "there is always something new and unforeseen that introduces itself into the repetitive" (2004, 6, see also Deleuze 1994). Thus rhythm always contains an "immanent potential for disruption", a conflict or dissonance between rhythms which Lefebrve terms

160

'arrhythmia' (Edensor 2010, 3; Lefebvre 2004). Whilst many accounts (see de Certeau 1988; Flusty 2000) place any arrhythmic improvisation as a form of resistance, in this chapter I am concerned with this immanent potentiality of rhythm in relation to conceptualisations of resistance beyond intentionality. It is important to clarify here the false distinction I draw between the rhythms of musical beats, and the rhythms of everyday life. Whilst of course, I am not claiming that these can ever by fully separated, I focus here upon the rhythms of this music workshop to demonstrate how they intersect and entwine with wider rhythms of the world. I therefore consider rhythm as a means to render audible the non-linearity of time, allowing for a conceptualisation of actuality and potentiality that exceeds a binary distinction. The rhythms of improvised music in the Music in Detention workshop open up experiences of time, beyond the seemingly one-directional linearity denoted by the centre management. In doing so rhythm exposes the human timescales of the detainees, officers (and researchers) to a more "intuitive, rhythmic, felt temporality" (Langer 1953, 110) one where the coexisting tensions of the apparent 'past', 'present' and 'future' become exposed.

Rhythm therefore opens the structure of a subject's being in the world, signaling an on-going, disharmonious process of *poiesis* as multiple components of the music-making chime discordantly. Yet, this is not to claim that improvised music provides a universal language, or that it brings multiple bodies together united as one under the experience of same beat. Instead it is to acknowledge the frictions that are necessarily inherent to improvised music when understood as an always becoming, never-to-be completed (dis)unity, and the multiple ephemeral responses that may arise from a rhythm resonating with moments of an individual's past. Indeed, as Ikiaondai notes (2014, 7): "the concept of rhythm – detached from this idea of counting linearly from one to many – can uncover heterogeneous encounters

between space, time and the body, affective processes that are irreducible to units."

Potential resistance, entangled forces.

Figure 8: Music in Detention Workshop by Zbigniev Cedro ©Music in Detention

Furthermore, these complex entanglements of multiple rhythms are visually illustrated by artwork by ex-detainee Zbigniev Cedro of a Music in Detention workshop [Figure 8] which appears to indicate that the workshop is liberating, bringing detainees together and breaking down the walls of the IRC. A smiling IRC officer is also present and a detainee has his arm around his shoulders. This may have been intended to reflect the ability of the workshop to provide moments where the power hierarchies within the IRC are subverted, and how the shared encounter of playing music together provides moments of apparent unity between officers and detainees. A space is produced, where both officers and detainees can seemingly escape out of the usual rhythms of daily life into other space-times where the usual

162

encounters and hierarchies that dictate much of everyday life within the centre are disrupted.

This inability to escape from the seeming contradiction of power relations is illustrated by the figure of the Angel peeling back Cedro's image of imagined possibilities to reveal a solid brick wall behind. Underlying, supporting and forming this momentary opening of an alternative political imagining is the very power that is curtailing it. This is echoed by a Music in Detention volunteer's frustration at the contradictions in the workshop:

> [Y]eah these guys had a moment of suspension, a moment of reflection and of empowerment, but when you see it in a bigger scale, the system of how things work in the company, the state, the UK Border Agency, we [Music in Detention] are just the exact thing they need to show the wider population that "we care about our detainees"
>
> [Interview, Emily, Music in Detention volunteer, 15th August 2014]

Any possibility of resistance here, is therefore permitted by, and contingent upon, the IRC management. To understand this image through resistance therefore is to acknowledge the contradiction inherent within this entanglement of forces; that there are significant material constraints around the possibility of resistance. Yet that the potential for politics emerges from such ambiguity. The breaking down of walls, the melting of the bars and the apparent unity between officers and detainees, are "cracks" (Squire 2009, 158), moments that have been opened up and yet are unable to be untangled from the apparatus that controls and creates these spaces. This in turn "sheds light on the ambiguities and messiness of acts that involve the dynamics of power resistance" (Squire 2017, 269).

Therefore, the creative process of improvising, together with the image by Cedro, whilst unsettling and disrupting the normal routine of the IRC is no "locus of great refusal" (Foucault 1978, 95) and neither does it negate the stuctual limits to the possibility of resistance. Instead it is their very potentiality, the multiplicity of possible futures that they may open up, that resists capture by the sovereign state. Yet acting on potentialities is a form of governance of life and, Amoore argues, that this form of governing can only act "on a potentiality that is already actualised as a possibility" (2013, 26), noting that there are other forms of potentiality that are never 'grasped' or realised, that provide interruptions to the smooth governance of such sites within the border. This section has built upon the discussions of metrics and memory to explore the improvised music that occurred within a Music in Detention workshop, arguing for a conceptualization of the temporalities of resistance as polyrhythmic, suggesting that this exposes a necessarily contradictory element of resistance, and that the openness to the potentialities that acts can bring that is to be celebrated: an act, encounter or thought within an IRC can be both resistant and compliant, and settling on it as 'resistance' can ignore the very potentialities and ambiguities that serve to unsettle any definitive sense of what the future might bring and the opening up of new possibilities for political claims within these spaces. However, this understanding of resistance does not realise Massey's concerns that the structural inequalities of power become lost and "dissipated in a plethora of multiplicities" (2000, 280). The topography of resistance is not evenly distributed; structural inequalities and the realities of daily life in detention shape the evolving contours of the *possibility* of resistance. Whilst the *potential* for resistance is always-already latent within every entanglement of forces, the possibility – the conditions for being actualized – is not.

Through this lens, resistance does not need to be "in opposition to the sovereign state" (Amoore 2005b, 6), and crucially, is not necessarily characterised by intent. However, in unsettling the normal rhythm and

164

routine of this space, with a process of creativity that is simultaneously within sovereign power, and contesting it, music provides an interesting demonstration of the potentiality, that Amoore states, "retains the capacity for imagination in a different political mode" (2013, 161), the idea for staff and detainees that things could be otherwise. Although seemingly innocuous and mundane, this chapter argues for an attention to a polyrhythmic temporality, to suggest that improvised music is political in its "thick potentiality", as it exemplifies a creative process where the answer to the question of action is not already determined and it is this openness to the "sense of the possible" (Sharpe, Dewsbury, and Hynes 2014, 121; Isin and Nielsen 2008, 4) that creates new political imaginaries and spaces for claims to be made.

3.iv The immanent spaces of the asylum system

This understanding of time as polyrhythmic has further implications for how space is conceptualised, as opposed to the Cartesian smooth and delineated spaces of "departure and arrival" there are instead "multiple, fractured and uneven spaces" which are folded into everyday experience (Bissell 2007, 281). May and Thrift (2001, 5) note that whilst there was once a tendency within Geography to draw a distinction between time *and* space, there is now a focus upon space-times as multiple: "the picture that emerges is less that of a singular or uniform social time stretching over a uniform space, than of various (and uneven) networks of time stretching in different and divergent directions across an uneven social field." This results in a polyrhythmic ensemble of multiple and interconnected space-times as "changing rhythmic processes interweave to afford places a mixity of temporal events of varying regularity" (Edensor 2010, 3; Crang 2001).

As previously discussed[93], this study understands the multiple spaces of the UK asylum system as unable to be predetermined: the diverse spaces of detention centres, airports, government run accommodation, a friend's sofa, a community centre, a supermarket and a classroom are potentially woven into the 'asylum system' through an individual's experiences. The spaces of the asylum system are therefore immanent, meaning that activities such as paying for shopping with an Azure card, a letter arriving from the Home Office (Darling 2014), or a phone call from a solicitor can all serve to bring particular sets of socio-material relations, or space-times into an individual's experience of the asylum system. This study does not have a pre-set determination of the 'spaces' where asylum seekers wait, but instead engages with these space-times as they emerge in and through the everyday. For example, Tamzin, who had experienced previous deportation orders, commented on having dreams pertaining to her immigration situation, in her case of the Home Office.

> As we are queuing, Tamzin explains how she has had a nightmare getting here because of the traffic and her taxi turning up late. She laughs and says that she had a dream about the Home Office last night, and that she knew that meant she'd have a bad day today.

[Field-notes, Crossings, 30th November 2015]

In this example from Tamzin, her dream about the Home Office brings her bed-space into that space; discussing it in the queue for coffee at Crossings brings this space into the asylum system. This "analysis of rhythms integrates the temporal with the spatial and moves beyond dualities" (Conlon 2010a, 73) and is important for thinking about the space-times of asylum as multiple, as non-linear and as polyrhythmic. Tamzin's discussion of her experiences of the Home Office intersecting into her sleep further

---

[93] See Introduction

suggests that time is topological, and that "by homing in on the rhythms of change, repetition and difference that are felt and expressed… we can gain an appreciation for the multi-layered and interlocking temporalities that make this and other social spaces hum amidst the polyrhythmic chorus of the everyday" (Conlon 2010a, 71).

This conceptualization of time and space as multiple has further implications for understanding waiting, beyond a conceptualization based upon "slowed and even deadened rhythms moving alongside faster events and practices" (Bissell 2007, 278). For example, Zaweel stated:

> [S]ometimes, they send you tickets to go back home, sometimes they pressurize, sometimes they take for detention centre. Everybody is scared. We don't know when they will come into the house, when they detain you. So, if somebody is being refused, then they just count 54321, they don't know when they come home and ask for you to take your luggage and come with me. So, in 5 years or 6 years or 7 years or 1 year, this is not a life with asylum. Our home is free, our city is free and there is no tax on us but we are not happy.

> [Interview, Zaweel, asylum seeker 17th December 2015]

Zaweel's explanation of waiting is infused with multiple times and spaces: he could be sent home, taken to a detention centre; he could be removed immediately after his case is refused, he has been waiting years; he could be waiting further. His account suggests that waiting is more than simply being in the world. This has further implications for understanding creativity beyond filling time, as time is seen to be more than a container waiting to be filled. This was highlighted during an activity at Crossings, during the women's choir:

167

Katie then motions us to sit down at the table... She writes on the whiteboard 'I sing because' and asks us all to write down reasons why we sing on post-it notes, which she will then make into something for next week's AGM. Some people need help translating their thoughts into English onto the post it notes, and Katie does say that it can be in another language if that's easier. We are then asked to share them, and put them on the whiteboard.

[Field-notes, Crossings, 23rd November 2015]
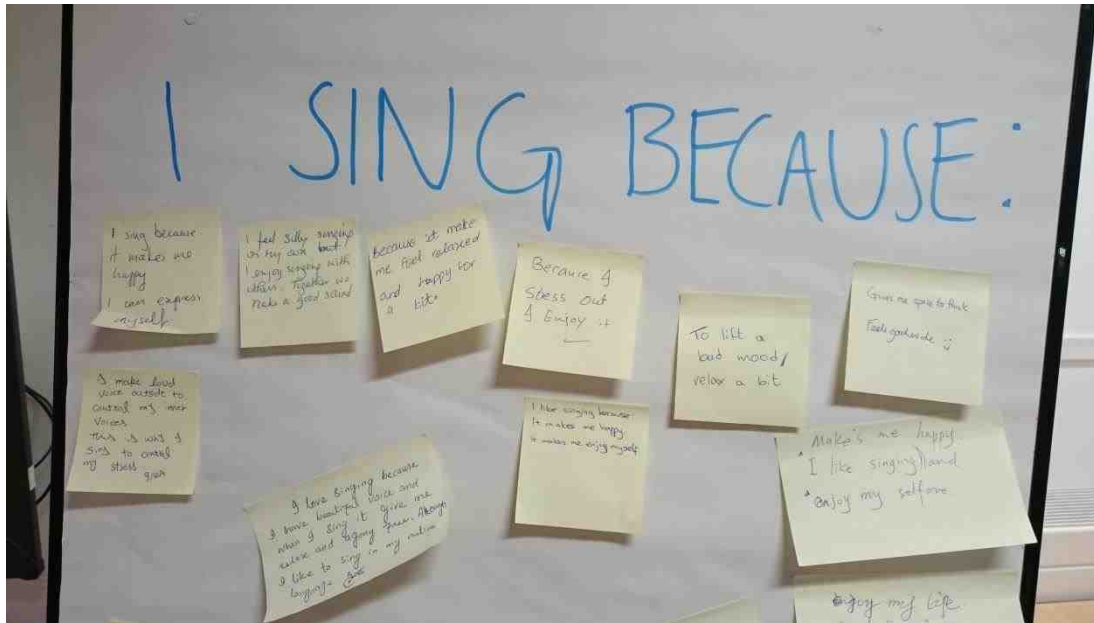
Figure 9: Post it notes from Choir Activity, Crossings. Image taken: 23rd November 2015
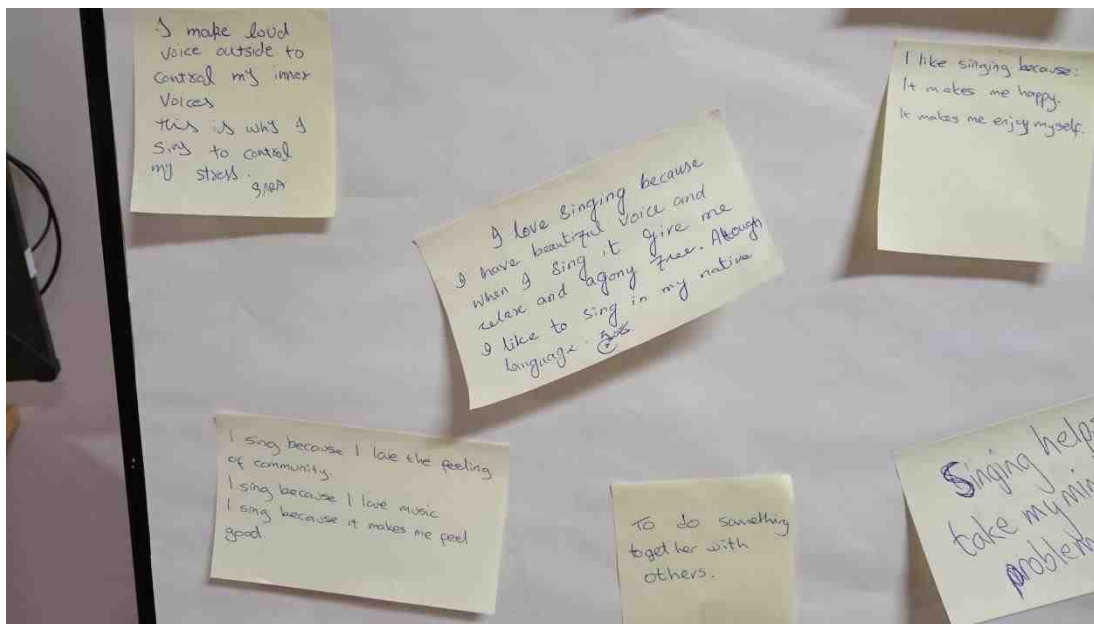
Figure 10: Post it notes from Choir Activity, Crossings. Image taken: 23rd November 2015

As can be seen in Figure 9 and Figure 10, scattered across the notice board are people's multiple reasons for taking part in singing in the women's choir: 'I sing because it makes me happy'; 'I make loud voices outside to control my inner voices, this is why I sing to control my stress'; 'I love singing because I have beautiful voice and when I sing I relax and agony free'; 'I sing because of the feeling of community'; 'singing takes my mind off my problems'; 'it makes me relaxed and happy for a bit'. There are clearly many reasons why people come to sing with Crossings choir, beyond simply filling time. Singing lifts people from their everyday lives as they improve their mood, meet people and take their mind elsewhere. To read the activities in this space as merely filling chronological time is to limit their potential to be otherwise. Instead an attention to the multiplicity of waiting involves "a reformulation of a dynamic non-linear temporality where experiences through the event-of-waiting are necessarily bound-up and inseparable from each other […] Within every period of stasis, of stilling, is contained the potential to be otherwise, the possibility of rupture" (Bissell 2007, 279).

Rhythms, as discussed in the previous section, always contain the immanent potential for disruption (Edensor 2010). This has implications for understanding resistance within the UK asylum system as an attention to the spaces of asylum as immanent multiplies the potential sites and temporalities of resistance. Indeed, conceptualizing the "rich duration" of waiting through polyrhythmia means that waiting pulses with potential futures that "fold through multiple temporalities"; waiting cannot be reduced to slower rhythms, there is a "radical relationality" that occurs (Bissell 2007, 279). This is not to say that the reasons for taking part in Crossings' women's choir are explicitly 'resistant' or that they disrupt the asylum system, instead it is to acknowledge that creativity within the UK asylum system means more than filling time. Seeing the present as "shot through with multiple temporalities" (Closs Stephens 2013, 82), reconnects waiting to other temporalities, brings it back into the potentiality of

resistance, beyond acts in the 'present' that are intended to challenge particular 'future' configurations of power relations.

3.v Poiesis, potentiality and resistance

Waiting is therefore folded in and through multiple temporalities, and consequently, with multiple spatialities. Artwork[94] whilst waiting therefore, is not limited to simply the using up of chronological time; its political potential is not reducible to its coordinates. This thesis' understanding of creativity through *poiesis* whereby the subject of creativity and creativity as subject cannot be separated, and neither can the product or process of creativity be distinguished between, results in artwork not as a static image; it too pulses with the rhythms of the world.

Indeed, Deleuze argues that social control occurs through communication; concepts and ideas transmit information (2003). Art, for Deleuze, escapes this categorization and in doing so, demonstrates life in constant creation; *poiesis*. Art is not about producing concepts, and neither does it concern representation; art draws from the multiple and non-linear forces and extracts from it something "consistent, composed, immanent" (Grosz 2008, 9; Deleuze 2003). For Deleuze, art captures an element of these forces in a frame. As explored in the previous sections, music renders audible some of the multiple, pulsating polyrhythms that comprise the world, and art renders them (in part) visible: "rhythm runs through a painting just as it runs through a piece of music" (Deleuze 2003, 43). This has implications for understanding the temporality of resistance; painting, as with music, renders time *sensible*. When conceptualised in this way, "art is the opening up of the universe to becoming-other" (Grosz 2008, 23), the potential to be otherwise.

---

[94] The term 'artwork' is used to refer to the construction of paintings, drawings, sculptures, photographs; non-audible creations.

Many accounts of resistant artwork within the UK asylum system deem art to be resistant if through its production or circulation it is intended to be, or read as, intentionally disrupting particular configurations of power relations (see Chapter 6; Tyler and Marciniak 2013; Bosworth 2014; Marciniak and Tyler 2014). Instead, conceptualizing artwork as interwoven in and through the polyrhythmic forces of life means emphasizing its immanent potentiality. The 'People Like Us' exhibition at the Discovery Centre in Newcastle exemplified this irreducible multiplicity. This exhibition was undertaken by Crossings, as the then head and founder of the charity, Lucy, suggested using another medium with which to allow Crossings to achieve one of their aims: "changing minds by opening up new worlds to the local community" (Crossings 2016). Following discussions with the group, artist and photographer Enid, was bought in to work with those who were interested. In an interview, she explained the process by which the images were created:

> They were put into two groups (splitting men and women) and asked to come up with a sentence that summarised them/something they wanted to say. This was then accompanied with what they wanted to show, how they wanted to be in the image. Many of them did not want their faces (women especially), so they had requested not to have this on display.
>
> [Interview, Enid, Discovery Museum curator/photographer,
> 12th December 2015]

Enid then worked individually with those taking part in the exhibition, visiting their houses and developing an idea of what they wanted from the project. During the opening of the exhibition, she talked me through some of these decisions as we looked at the images.

Together we look at Mahmood and Shazia's photo, which he'd actually shown me on his phone during an interview. This is of his house at home, which he owns but cannot currently sell. His parents are currently living there, and he misses it. Enid explains that this image was chosen as he wanted explain how he might be seen as having nothing here, but he has a lot, and was a rich man before he had to claim asylum. He has no rights here, and this was his opportunity to show what he can do. I think of how others might perceive this. Why would someone come here who could live elsewhere? The myth of asylum seekers needing to be poor to be deserving?

[Field-notes, People Like Us exhibition, Discovery Museum, 12th December 2015]
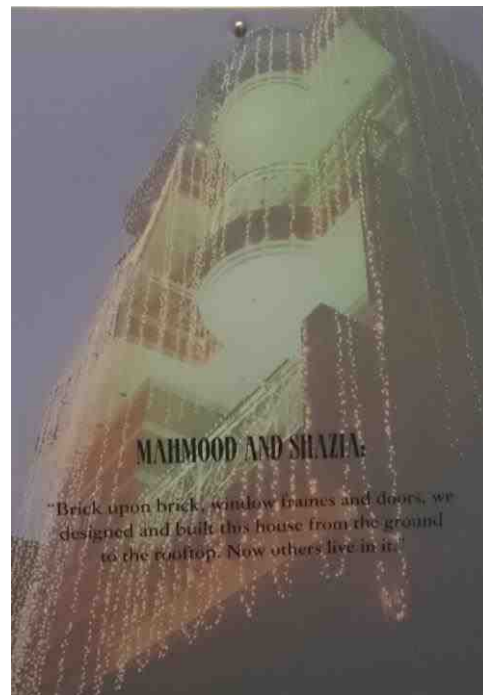
Figure 11: Mahmood and Shazia, People Like Us exhibition, Discovery museum, Newcastle. Image taken: 12th December 2015.

This image [Figure 11] of Mahmood and Shazia's – a couple who attended Crossings – house, simultaneously echoes the past and calls to the future; it captures one element of their story of building a house in Pakistan. The reasons behind this image, although explained to me through the interview with Enid and in discussions with Mahmood, cannot be fully known by the viewer, yet neither can the viewer's responses be anticipated. The image may, or may not, stimulate the viewer to think anew about asylum; to remember their own house; to wonder why, with a comfortable house like that, have Mahmood and Shazia decided to claim asylum in the UK? One visitor's response to the exhibition as a whole (which was part of an exhibit entitled *Destination Tyneside* exploring broader legacies of migration to the area), is included below [Figure 12], as is an image indicating the large number of responses from visitors [Figure 13]:
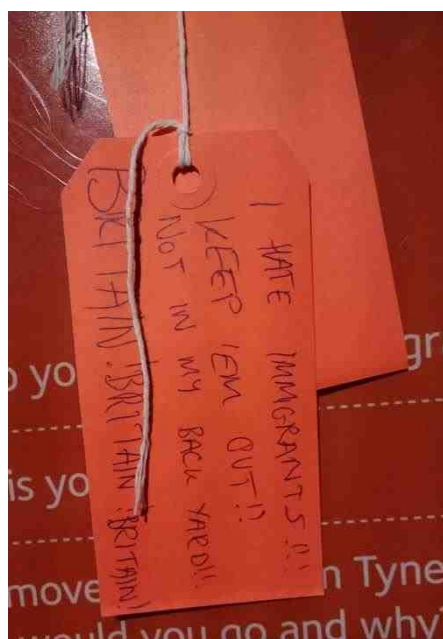
Figure 12: Response to the People Like US and Destination Tyneside exhibition. Discovery museum, Newcastle. Image taken: 12th December 2015.

174

Figure 14: Response wall to People Like Us and Destination Tyneside exhibitions, Discovery Museum, Newcastle. Image taken: 12th December 2015.
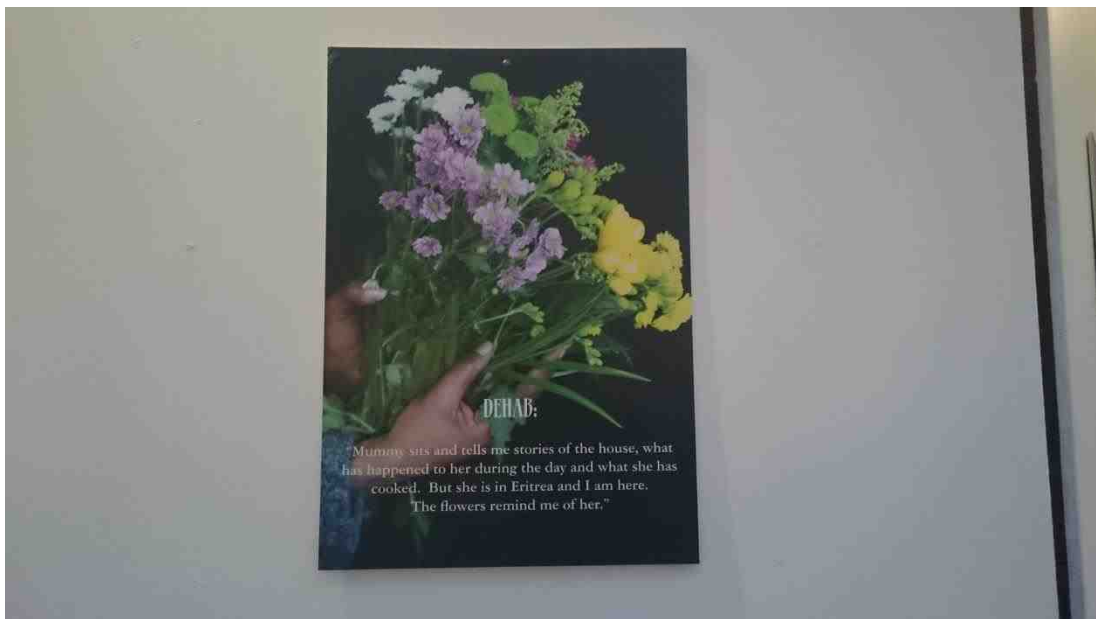
Figure 13: Dehab. Discovery museum, Newcastle. Image taken: 12th December 2015.

This is not to say that the artwork's political potential can be reduced to an articulated response. To perceive it thus is to limit the artwork, and a

conceptualization of what constitutes the political. Instead, this artwork pulses with rhythms and is immanent in its potential as there is always something unforeseen that introduces itself into rhythm. Repetition unfolds in and through difference; life is in constant, unforeseeable creation; *poiesis*. For Deleuze (1987) therefore, artwork escapes the governance of communication, he states that: "[t]here is a fundamental affinity between a work of art and an act of resistance […] Every act of resistance is not a work of art, even though, in a certain way, it is. Every work of art is not an act of resistance, and yet, in a certain way, it is."

This potential to open onto the unknown Deleuze refers to (1987), disrupts the grammar of the linear, political time of the state (although it cannot be separated from it). Just as the music for Zaweel and Adonay stimulated past memories, the flowers here remind Debah of her mother, despite being separated from her [Figure 14].

Yet we cannot know what seeing this image will stimulate for those who see it, or what the memory of seeing it will do, if anything, politically, when viewed within the context and constraints of rising anti-immigrant sentiment within the UK. This has implications for resistance, for as shown, artwork is intersected by multiple, diverse, and crucially, as yet unknown space-times. It is this immanence, the potential to be otherwise that is ungovernable: "art is intensely political not in the sense that it is a collective or community activity…but in the sense that it elaborates the possibilities of new, more, different sensations than those we know" (Grosz 2008, 79).

4. Conclusions

Throughout this chapter my contention has been that an attention to a multiplicity of resistance relations necessitates a rethinking of resistance in relation to potentiality; that accepting the space-time of the state forecloses

176

our ability to think and imagine resistance otherwise. In exploring alternative temporalities of resistance through creativity as *poiesis*, I have argued that resistance does not need to be read in the "context of a larger global purpose" (de Goede 2005, 380), and that it is often not possible to settle on a moment as definitively 'resistance', as this would be to ignore both the plurality of modes of resistance and their inseparability from the sovereign state (Amoore 2005). Crucially it is this "vulnerability to the potential", to "neither accept nor refuse, stepping forward and stepping backward at the same time" (Amoore 2013, 173; Agamben 1999, 255) that contains within it the space for critical response. The moments discussed in this chapter provided ambiguity where the certainty of exclusion was disrupted. These memories, improvised music and artwork are political in their very unknowability, as they challenge and resist the certainty of the production of a governable political order.

Drawing upon empirical research undertaken with the charities Crossings and Music in Detention, together with ex-detainees, I have developed accounts of resistance and creativity whilst waiting within the UK asylum system through a focus upon alternative temporalities of resistance. I examined five constellations of moments that arose during my research when the empty, homogenous and linear temporality of the state was disrupted: Metrics: experiencing 'the same' time differently; Memory and the multiple temporalities of the 'present'; Improvisation: polyrhythmic resistance; The immanent spaces of the asylum system; *Poiesis*: potentiality and resistance. Across these sections, I built my argument that waiting can be understood to be folded through with multiple temporalities. I demonstrated the implications of this for understanding resistance as, when situated within an understanding of time as polyrhythmic, where actions are unable to be directly linked to future events, it is possible to remain open to the multiplicity of future directions that these moments bring.

This has implications for the wider argument made in this thesis, for an attention to the potentiality of resistance relations, as I have argued that the creative process of music and artwork, whilst unsettling and disrupting the temporality of the UK asylum system should not be simply read as an act of intentional resistance towards a *telos*, or end goal. Instead it is the very potentiality of polyrhythmia that resists capture by multiple facets of the state. This of course is not to deny the many real restrictions of resistance within this system, but to note instead that it is this incompleteness, and the potentiality of creativity that is crucial for developing understanding of resistance, as it serves both to interrupt and undermine the logic of the UK asylum system. This thesis now continues to build upon this argument for (non)linear temporalities of resistance, to splinter the apparent coherent *subject* of resistance and suggest that viewing the temporalities of resistance as polyrhythmic, together with decentering a stable subject, allows for a conceptualization of resistance as open to multiple possibilities which destablises the necessity of intentional (in)action towards a *telos*, and acknowledges the potential of focusing upon how dissent is always-already present in the exercise of power relations.

Chapter Five
(In)coherent subjects of resistance

The Crossings' Onion

There aren't that many people at Crossings this week so, during the song-writing workshop, Chris asks us to get into pairs with someone who we haven't spoken to before and to sit around the table with post-it notes. We have to write down three things that make us 'who we are', and then find three things we have in common with the other person. This is quite tricky!

We then gather around the whiteboard and have to introduce our partner's 'identity' and the things we have in common. This then gets put onto the board in the different layers of an onion. If something comes up more than once it goes into another 'layer' of the onion – so the things we had most in common should have ended up in the middle of the onion [Figure 15]

Whilst there may be understanding and translation issues present in the onion (rain and fog, Chinese food) any final results of this onion, could never have been taken as reflective of an apparent 'true' group identity, but they do demonstrate how Crossings encourages its members to think beyond state classifications. It is interesting to note that at no point are the terms 'asylum seeker' or 'refugee' used here. The task was not set up for these categories to emerge; we were mixed up (asylum seekers placed with those with 'status'), encouraged with examples ('think father') and the idea of us all as human was repeated. Participants drew more broadly on what was important to them as a person, and what mattered in

their lives. In doing so we, the Crossings' attendees, were encouraged to explore an apparent 'shared humanity' that extends
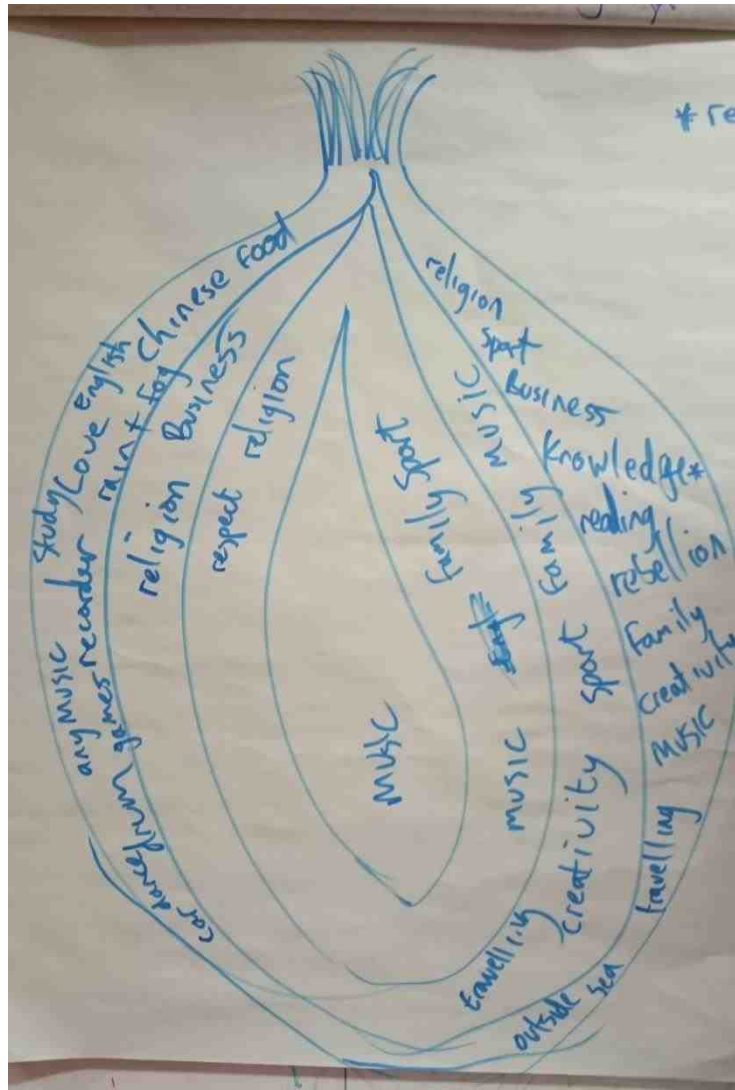
beyond state categories, acknowledging the futility of trying to capture a person within a fixed classification.

Figure 15: Crossings Onion. From Field-notes, Crossings, Newcastle. Image Taken: 23rd November 2015.

1. Introduction: the resistant subject

> "[W]e assume a mediation between an act and its unfolding, most often attributing the push to action to ourselves as a species... This is the problem with agency: it makes the subject the subject of action. What if the action did not fully belong to us?"
>
> (Manning 2016, 16)

The Crossings' Onion serves to illuminate the central concern of this chapter: that expanding the subject of resistance beyond any apparent intentional action and attending to subjects as emergent has important implications for understanding resistance within the UK asylum system. This is because framing the Crossings' Onion within narratives of resistance opens up alternative potential futures, revealing that the present categorisations of asylum seekers are messy and unstable, and so too are the possible futures they allude to. In short, in momentarily destabilizing the premise of state's categorisations, cracks appear suggesting that things can be otherwise. However, this does not mean that those participating in the activity read it as such; the meanings behind their actions cannot be clearly located. Consequently, this activity would likely not be included within narratives of resistance within the UK asylum system. Crossings is not an activist group, and this activity may be considered paradoxical; it exists for those within specific state-assigned categories and yet focusses on breaking down classifications through the spaces that emerge in music workshops. Furthermore, this activity was not being organized, or conducted by those aiming to overthrow, disrupt or challenge any particular aspect of immigration control; the 'identity onion' was destroyed shortly after its creation, and is not circulating to dispute the categorizations of individuals. Yet what does it mean to be actively exposing the limits of categories, yet designing activities, music and events specifically for those that have been

placed within them? How does this activity simultaneously disrupt and re-inscribe a stable subject?

This chapter therefore begins from the observation that many accounts of resistance within the UK asylum system pivot upon a coherent subject, imbued with political agency and who is posited as oppositional to particular forms of sovereign power.[95] Within this literature particular attention has been given to extreme acts, to "romantic and heroic" subjects of defiance (Bleiker 2000, 256). Examples of the actions attributed to this subject include hunger strikes, lip and eye-socket sewing, suicides, institutional level complaints, protests by activist groups, direct appeals over deportations and politically motivated disruptive artwork.[96] These acts are intended to be, or read as, deliberate contestations of the particular manifestation of sovereign power within these sites. Focusing upon the art and music within the UK asylum system, I look across, and destabilise three subject 'groups': the asylum seeker, the detainee and the activist to address the question "What if the action did not fully belong to us?" (Manning 2016, 6). Through these accounts, I draw upon moments – such as the Crossings' Onion – where subject and action cannot be conclusively linked, and where actions cannot be tied to a particular deliberate challenge of an asylum system, to argue that these accounts should be bought into accounts of resistance because they contain the potential to disrupt, disturb or interrupt the practices and premise of the UK asylum system.

---

[95] When I use the term sovereign power in this context, I am referring to the multiple, fractured, hybrid and intersecting forms of sovereignty and power in relation to the polity (Ramadan and Fregonese 2017).

[96] Indeed, as previously acknowledged in Chapter 2, Agamben's conceptualisation of the camp as the nomos of modern state power (1998, 2005) has haunted much theorising of resistance across these spaces, with scholars turning to analyse how *agentic* subjects challenge their reduction to 'bare life' (Edkins and Pin-Fat 2004, 2005; Nyers and Rygiel 2012; Squire 2009).

This has particular relevance because, as previously noted, the state's existence relies upon categorizing individuals into citizens and non-citizens; on the verification and denial of status, which makes problematizing subjectivity within spaces where it appears to be foreclosed of particular relevance; the ability to place individuals into pre-assigned categories with which to delineate their relationship to its polity is, Foucault (2008) argues, an important means by which the state controls the perceived threats to its sovereignty. To question the link between action and subject is therefore to question the foundations of 'the' sovereign's classifications, and how to maintain a distinction between grieveable and ungrieveable lives (Butler 2004).[97]

Consequently, the subject has often been the focus of analysis within literature on immigration control, for example Walters (2008, 191) explores the "relatively minor ways in which migrants are constituted, and constitute themselves […] as political subjects". Similarly, Waller (2014, 257) notes how migrant subject positions "come to appear arbitrary, contingent and unstable" when looking at state categorisations (see also Mezzadra and Neilson 2003; Conlon 2010b; Mezzadra 2011; Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos 2008; Papadopoulos and Tsianos 2013). This has largely been born from a desire (often in response to Agamben) to recognize migrant subjects as *agentic*: "someone with an audible and corporeal presence that can be described as political" (Nyers 2007, 3 cited in Marciniak and Tyler 2014, 7). This area of study has been particularly attentive to asylum seeker and

---

[97] This also expands the responsibility for sovereign actions. As more spaces are bought into the realm of immigration control (e.g. schools, hospitals, homeless shelters are increasingly acting as proxy immigration control), and if the action does not fully belong to a subject, then we must look for the multiple sites where these distributed acts are taking place. Therefore, when troubling the unitary figure of a resisting subject, we also need to recognize how this draws more of us into the space of responsibility for sovereign actions too; we are all complicit even as we resist. As Tazzioli (2015) notes, everyone is "shaped by and subjected to multiple social and juridical bordering-categories and identities."

refugee activist movements: "to consider detention and deportation from the perspective of migration opens the space for the analysis of agency and resistance that, as some critics have underscored, is absent from the scholarship on camps grounded in the space of exception" (Andrijasevic 2010, 149). However, these accounts (with the notable exception of Nyers' work on abject citizens[98]) largely focus upon imbuing migrants with agency, rather than critiquing the premise of a stable subject. Within this literature acts are retrospectively categorised into examples of resistance, with commentary on the relative success or failure of asylum seekers, charities and activist movements to achieve a *telos*, their intended future.

However, a number of scholars have recently critiqued the binary subjectivity upon which much scholarly attention within migration is premised. For example, Tazzioli (2015, 2016) has explored how the border shapes migrant subjectivities, asserting that although the "blurred category" of the migrant neither assumes the subject has a stable identity and neither does it define it; in critical migration studies, migrant struggles are "often narrowed to direct and deliberate challenges of the border regime, according to a quite traditional model of political action and of political subjectivity as well." This she argues, results in the spaces and subjects of the political becoming presupposed. Similarly, Ní Mhurchú (2014, 12) has argued for an attention to ambiguous citizenship, suggesting that "[s]ubjectivity theorized

---

[98] Peter Nyers' work should not be simply conflated with accounts that focus upon reinscribing migrant agency for he focuses attention upon Isin and Rygiel's concept of abject citizens (2007). This is where those within *abject* spaces who are governed "precisely by attempting to prevent individuals from exercising political subjectivity by holding them in spaces of existential, social, political, and legal limbo" claim the right to have rights (Isin and Rygiel 2007, 189). Nyers develops this work, asking "what implications does the activism of abject migrants have for regimes of the political which operate on the assumption that such acts of agency are, in fact, impossible?" (2003, 1071). Nyers argues in the context of anti-deportation campaigns in Canada, that a focus upon the nuances those claiming the right to have rights, problematizes simple (re)inscriptions of agency which should be considered to be "emerging political practices" (2003, 1072). This attention to abject citizenship therefore does not neatly align with accounts that focus upon an assertion of 'migrant agency'.

in terms (always) of an ability to resist against and/or transcend the boundaries of the state reinforces a particular assumption about what and where political life (citizen-subjectivity) can be." Squire (2017) further argues that scholars need to think beyond the structure/agency divide in the context of unauthorised migration, for the "framing of subjects in simplistic terms as more or less intentional, rather than as constituted through processes of subjectification that are embedded in dynamics of power-resistance" limits understanding in this area. Therefore, Ní Mhurchú (2014), Tazzioli (2015) and Squire (2017) all critique accounts where the distinction between the political and the non-political is pre-determined, which results in those who do not fit with what is expected of political agency being written as non-political. The "identity reshuffling" that migrants are subject to (e.g. migrant, asylum seeker, refugee), Tazzioli (2016, 10) argues, has implications for accounts where "people are supposed to become political subjects only to the extent that they appear on the scene of the political essentially posited as a bordered space given in advance."

1.i Beyond the resistant subject

In this chapter I build upon this critique of critical migration studies, agreeing with Tazzioli (2015) that "migrant struggles are narrowed to movements and subjects that deliberately challenge the border regime. Instead, I propose that border struggles include a much broader array of practices: conducts and movements that beyond [sic] their deliberate purposes of challenging borders, trouble, interrupt or misfire the 'grasp' of bordering effects on people's lives and the acceptability of the spatial limits that bordering categories impose." I further develop Squire's (2017, 257) argument for an attention to "how the assumption of an intentional subject involves struggles to legitimise and delegitimise different forms of subject formation" by exploring intentionality and incoherent subjects in relation to creativity and resistance within the UK asylum system, noting how the

figure of the agentic, political subject who intentionally disputes, disrupts or challenges appears – in various forms (e.g. the agentic migrant, the activist, the advocate) – across many accounts of resistance within this system. Indeed, Gill's (2016, 8) insistence that activists should "ensure that they remain oppositional to, rather than be facilitative of or complicit in (however unwittingly), the governance of asylum seekers in the United Kingdom" appears to reflect this wider trend in this area: political subjects are either on one side or the other; you should be either with us, or against us.

Whilst the idea of a unified, singular state has been refuted (Gill 2010), the location of action within a coherent subject remains largely undisputed within literature on resistance in global immigration systems (although for exception see Tazzioli 2015, 2016; Squire 2017). Importantly here, I am not claiming that a contingent subject cannot make claims to a coherent political subjectivity, and nether am I contesting the interpretations that other scholars have made of their material. Instead I draw upon examples that arose throughout my research to decentre subjective action, arguing that we cannot always assume a connection between subject and action. This chapter therefore draws upon the work of Erin Manning who argues that when an approach to the political is framed through the subject "in the position of agency, promoting the act in terms of the volitional thrust of our own intentionality" scholars try and give agency to those oppressed by assuming a "mediation between an act and its unfolding… What if the action did not fully belong to us?" (2016, 16).

To ask such a question however, is to invite criticism from those who disagree – as I do – with the UK government's punitive policies towards asylum seekers. I have been asked by academics and/ activists what 'the point' is of exploring resistance beyond intentionality, beyond the oppositional subject and whether it is ethical to do so in the context of a system which draws lines determining life and death. What will such an

account 'do'?[99] Whilst I address this critique across this thesis, it is the premise of the question that I seek to destabilize in this chapter: the notion that action (be it marching, painting, singing or thesis-writing) can be grounded in a coherent subject, acting with intent to bring about a particular end goal, that will in some way be a situation better than the present: that we can know in advance the full implications of an action, and whether it can be deemed 'resistant'.

I therefore do not delineate in advance what 'the point' is, arguing that what counts as resistance, politics or the subject can only be determined in its continual emergence. In taking this approach, I am following Judith Butler (2000, 12, 1993, 2006) who argues that the subject is always in process, remaining already-always incomplete. Yet, Butler (2000, 12) argues there are different ways to understand this incompleteness: as "every subject is constituted differently, and that what is produced as the 'constitutive outside' of the subject can never become fully inside or immanent." As a consequence, Butler posits (drawing upon Foucault) that "there is no political position purified of power, and perhaps that impurity is what produces agency as the potential interruption and reversal of regular regimes" (2006, xxviii). The subject cannot therefore be determined in

---

[99] This is of course an important question, and I am not stating that this work does not 'do' anything. There are (as explained in the thesis conclusion) multiple practical outcomes from this research in the forms of charity reports and feedback into wider charity networks and, as explored throughout the thesis, a series of theoretical contributions to this literature. Yet I draw upon the question to highlight the expectation that I can know in advance the full implications of my research – which is something that I do not presume to have the ability (nor the indeed the right) to claim. In querying the expectation of an answer (be this how my work will mobilise a protest, change government policy or overcome IRC regulations) I am not claiming that the question is unimportant and I am certainly not stating that this does not drive my research, but rather I am pointing to the resonance between accounts of resistance that require an identifiable *telos*, and the expectation in writing and research that this can be pre-determined.

advance, which makes "the question of 'the subject' […] crucial for politics" (Butler 2006, 3).

To begin from incoherence however, has implications for research methods that resonate with the conceptual approach of this chapter. How to identify a subject's (lack of) coherence? Here I follow Foucault, whose work responds (indirectly) to the question of how to research an incoherent subject. Empirically, he examines power as it is exercised – thereby framing his approach through knots of power and resistance: "these points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network. Hence there is no single locus of great refusal […] instead there is a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case" (Foucault 1978, 88). I therefore apply Foucault by identifying examples of resistance as they are exercised in relations amongst *(in)*coherent subjects[100], unable to be disentangled from power relations.[101] I build upon the focus upon (non)linear temporality, to see subjects as multiple and emergent. Importantly however, it is not possible to fully identify these relations; there are things we cannot find out definitively in research and whilst acknowledging this can expose the researcher as vulnerable, it reflects the post-structural understanding of the subject developed through this chapter.

In the rest of the chapter I first examine what it might mean to locate intentionality within an (in)coherent subject, before discussing that the lines drawn around subjects to determine who is an 'asylum seeker' are always already incomplete. I then turn to explore staff-detainee relations, to expand the anticipated volitional detainee acting against the IRC management and

[100] Brackets have been placed around 'in' here, to reflect that acknowledging the incoherence of a subject is not to refute that subjects can at times, make claims to a coherent subjectivity and that it is possible to locate intention within an (in)coherent subject. They are also use to signify a rebuttal of the linguistic binary between coherence and incoherence when, as will be expanded upon in the next section, the forces through which subjects emerge cannot be neatly categorised as such.

[101] See Chapter 6 for relations between subjects and materials.

finally move to explore charities and (in)coherent activist subjects to destabilize the requirement for subjects to "remain oppositional" (Gill 2016, 8). Throughout these sections my contention is that an attention to a splintered, (in)coherent subject within accounts of resistance allows for a critical engagement with ambiguous moments and subjects that contain the potential to disrupt the practices and premise of the UK asylum system.

2. Intentionality and the (in)coherent subject

This refusal to determine in advance a coherent subject of resistance, but instead to engage with its continual becoming expands the capacity of the resisting subject.

> I remember the phone ringing in the office, and us all jumping up and standing to listen as Jeremy answered it. He'd spent hours trying to ring the airline, the MP, other local groups at Heathrow - anyone – to try and stop the deportation. I remember him putting the phone down. The flight had left; he was on it. We hadn't been successful.
>
> [From previous charity volunteering in London, 2012]

In the moment recalled above it is seemingly straightforward to determine the immediate desired response; our intention was to prevent the flight from leaving. Yet this action is underpinned by multiple political desires[102] and imagined futures: acts exist within the currents of other times and other spaces; an act(ion) is a rupture, one that opens potentials and in doing so it exposes a subject's being in the world to be relational. Isin et al. (2008) argue that 'acts' have a virtual existence that may be actualized under certain

---

[102] The desired outcomes of broader, deeper, political questions are not unanimous amongst activists, activist groups nor asylum seekers. Should all deportations be prevented, or just this one? Should we be engaging with the state by calling his MP? Should we focus on acting to overthrow the immigration system?

conditions, and that these acts can have an effect which does not necessarily correspond to an intention of the actor. As such, as Squire (2017) further notes in the context of unauthorized migration, how the actions done by certain embodied subjects can create ruptures regardless of whether they were intended or not.[103] Indeed Morrison has explored how accidental ruptures "create unexpected places and rejoinders for potential acts of citizenship" (2008, 221), drawing upon Milan Kundera's 1967 novel *The Joke* and exploring the joke postcard that the protagonist – Ludvik – sends to the Czech Community Party. Morrison (2008) asks whether a subject must be consciously attempting to disrupt or whether the response to the act is sufficient and suggests that we cannot conceptualize the act without looking at the conditions required to actualize it; to talk about an act is to talk about creation, and the potentiality of an act being, or not being, or not requiring to be.

I utilize these accounts to locate intentionality within a decentered, emergent subject decoupled from any act(ion).[104] Yet this can be seen to diverge from an attention to Butler's anti-essentialist approach to the subject. In comparison to Butler's understanding of the subject as emerging though the repetition and recitation of discourse, discussions of intentionality and agency are frequently suspected to have recourse to a coherent subject. Indeed, in *Gender Trouble*, Butler implies that the resignification that occurs

---

[103] A rupture is not defined here as a spectacular and revolutionary event, but as an event that creates a link between meanings and spaces, that exceeds - both spatially and temporally - the moment in which it happens.

[104] Discussions over intentionality can be traced back through Western philosophical tradition. Although the term intentionality is from the Latin the deliberate 'stretching out' [in+tendere] towards a telos or end goal, intentionality can be read through the debates over will, conscious agency and mind/body dualisms as far back as the Ancient Greek philosophers (e.g. Plato's dialogues explore the relationality of various 'mental' states; Socrates looks at 'doxa' or belief which is etymologically related to 'toxen' or bow which is used to indicate a trajectory towards a telos and the Stoics commitment to the preservation of intuition of the mind). In short, conversations over intentionality and its philosophical tradition extend beyond the confines of this thesis.

through slippages in this repetition cannot be intentional, noting that accounts that ascribe an agentic stable subject usually containing the "capacity for reflexive mediation, that remains intact regardless of its cultural embeddedness" (1990, 143). Whilst it is unclear who Butler is critiquing in this statement, Nelson notes how it appears that Butler's account of intentionality "*necessarily* assumes a masterful humanist subject, one that lies 'outside' power/discourse matrices" (1999, 339 emphasis as original). However, Butler herself appears to insert intentionality into the conclusion of *Bodies That Matter* stating that "[f]or one is, as it were, in power even as one opposes it, formed by it as one reworks it, and it is this simultaneity that is at once the condition of our partiality […] and also the condition of action itself" (1993, 241 emphasis added; Nelson 1999). Who is the 'one' who reworks? How can we explore such apparent conscious agency within an incoherent subject?

To address this interplay between intentionality and the destabilised subject, I draw upon the work of Ash and Simpson (2016, 48) to understand intentionality to be "an emergent relation with the world, rather than an a priori condition of experience."[105] Through the examples that follow, I argue that viewing the subject as (in)coherent allows for an understanding that subject and action cannot always be conclusively linked: as the subject emerges through and with the world, so too does any apparent volition (rather than stating that it is impossible to locate intentionality within an

---

[105] Whilst this understanding of phenomena to be emergent can be said to be present throughout work that assumes a post-structuralist or post-phenomenological position, I am not claiming here that there is anything unique about viewing intentionality as emergent in this way, rather that it has not been articulated thus within accounts of resistance.

(in)coherent and emergent subject).[106] Yet such volition is multiple and unable to be conclusively grounded within a pre-existing subject, as Foucault notes: "power relations are both intentional and non-subjective…there is no power that is exercised without a series of aims and objectives. *But this does not mean that it results from a choice or decision of an individual subject*; let us not look for the headquarters that presides over its rationality" (1978, 87 emphasis added). This approach moves away from accounts of intentionality that "implicate the presence of an intentional subject in advance of experience", where a coherent subject is seen to govern through "internal representational thought" (Ash and Simpson 2016, 53; Rose 2006). Beginning with the (in)coherent subject therefore, is not to suggest that moments such as the example from previous charity work 'count' as resistance, and nor is it to deny the intentionality of the subjects involved. Instead I refute the assumption that intentionality exists pre-subject, "the compulsory expectation that … actions must be identified from some stable, unified, and agreed-upon identity" (Butler 2006, 21) and turn to conceptualise it as part of an emergent process located within the "perpetual process of subject *formation*" (Ash and Simpson 2016, 56 emphasis as original).

2.i (In)coherent subject(s): creativity as poiesis

There are broadly two paradigms through which creativity is most commonly explored in relation to resistance within asylum systems, and both, I argue, are premised upon a stable subject. The first is creative

---

[106] It is relevant here to briefly reflect on the relationship between consciousness and intentionality, for whilst this conversation cannot be contained within the remit of this thesis, a Cartesian understanding of a smooth, fixed, stream of consciousness continues to undergird many framings of intentionality. I use Hoy (2005, 54) to follow a poststructuralist reading of Nietzsche's reflections on consciousness as "the simultaneous possibility of multiple drafts" which "can free us from the idea of consciousness as a central and constant point." This perception of consciousness not as a pre-determined outcome but instead as emergent through a subject's interactions with the world has a clear ontological resonance with post- phenomenological accounts of intentionality.

products as the conveyors of political messages, and the second is the process of creativity as linking in to some apparent 'shared humanity'. I will briefly outline these two paradigms here, before moving on to explain how I turn to conceptualize the creative mediums of art and music, in relation to destabilizing the coherent subject of resistance.

Art and music are not usually considered resistant practices unless they are used as a medium for political messages through their production, or circulation. This aligns with representational approaches to art and politics, such as the work of Mesch (2013), who posits that political art is that which seeks to both comment on and elicit a reaction to an issue (echoed by Luke 1992; Panagia 2006). Danchev and Lisle (2009, 775) further maintain that "art matters, ethically and politically; affectually and intellectually" as art contains the potential to force subjects to rethink and to see the world differently. Indeed, Marciniak and Tyler's (2014, 8) edited volume on immigration, aesthetics and protest argues (drawing upon the philosophy of Jacques Rancière) that politics is aesthetic in that it makes visible that which had been excluded: "[t]he underlying assumption of the forms of 'art-activism' […] is that the work of creating alternative forms of visibility, or disrupting prevailing norms of representation, clears the ground for the political agency of migrant populations." In this manner art is seen as a means through which other claims can be made.

The second, not entirely separate paradigm, is that art and music are seen as a way to breakdown, highlight or remove boundaries. The phrases 'shared humanity' and 'universal language' arose frequently in my interviews with practitioners and asylum seekers alike: Adonay (asylum seeker): "Music can be considered universal; you do not need language to understand it"; Catherine (ex-artist): "Music is more of a universal language, I saw that – more people going to the gigs, music events"; John (Music in Detention) "Rather than words being precise and music being vague it was the other

194

way around, words were all messy and [with] music you could express exactly what you felt".[107] These terms 'shared humanity' and 'universal language' appear to be used to indicate how creative mediums do not need state categories, and can cut across them, deny them and expose their contingencies. Whilst this chapter explores how creativity, when understood through *poiesis*, contains the immanent potential to destabilize categories placed upon a contingent subject, the post-structural, post phenomenological approach underpinning this work is at odds with any shared humanness.

Instead, in this chapter I draw upon the argument developed previously, that creativity can be understood through *poiesis*, which allows for the removal of complete association with human intent, building upon Chapter 4 to see the human as "one element in a seething space pulsing with intersecting trajectories and temporalities" (Edensor 2010, 7) and how a focus upon improvisation refutes attempts of a full closure into binaries. I therefore move towards an understanding of the inseparability of the process and product of creation, creativity as *poiesis*, when exploring resistance within the interstitial spaces of the UK asylum system.

Framing creativity as *poiesis* has implications for the place of the resistant subject, as it becomes hard to isolate what constitutes the 'subject', (or indeed the 'creative') when exploring creativity and resistance within the UK asylum system. Indeed, for Deleuze resistance to capture is a key part of his critique of a stable subject; to think of the subject is to capture a moment of creation (2001). Instead he argues for a focus on the subject as multiple, through the forces that comprise it, work through it, and on it. Guattari terms this "plural and polyphonic" subjectivation 'autopoiesis', following Deleuze to question how it is possible to grasp the subject in "dimension of its processal creativity" (Guattari 2006, 3). Therefore both Deleuze and

---

[107] Interview dates: Adonay 19th November 2015; Catherine 30th July 2015; John Speyer 20th April 2016.

Guattari's approach to the subject foregrounds immanance, which "is in itself: it is not in something, to something; it does not depend on an object or belong to a subject" (Deleuze 2001, 26). Thus immanence is affirmative, everything remains in process and nothing is lost, which means that nothing ever commences "one slips in, enters in the middle" (Deleuze 1988, 123), yet this middle is not about a centre, but instead "what counts is the present becoming" (Deleuze and Parnet 2006, 17). Consequently, there is an internal multiplicity to the subject that undoes the idea of one and many; the subject is viewed as a sieve through which multiple forces struggle to emerge (Grosz 2008). Within this philosophy therefore, "neither the subject of creativity, nor creativity as a subject can be contained" (Richardson 2015, 70). Instead creativity, when understood as *poiesis*, must be traced immanently through the alignment of forces that mark it as a process without conclusion (Richardson 2015).

3. Beyond Subject Categories: the incomplete lines of state classification

Sarah: So you said you came here with your parents?

Amir: yeah, and my siblings – I was 13 so I didn't have a choice… subsequently they started proceedings using all this false information saying that I am a foreign criminal who doesn't have the right to remain in the country. They wrote a letter called 'intention of deportation' and upon receiving this letter, in prison, I replied … explaining to them who I am. They should have taken this into consideration, and amended their proceedings; they should have seen it as a balancing act. They put it as they did, that I am an illegal immigrant just producing crime, no right to stay in the country - yeah? That goes absolutely in their favour. But they didn't see that this guy came at the age

of 13, he has family here, siblings here, he has kids here, he went
to school here. I don't know my ex-partner but I do have kids…

[Interview, Amir, ex-detainee,

28th July 2014]

Amir arrived in the UK as an undocumented child travelling with his parents. He was educated here and considers himself to be 'British'. Following a string of minor offences in his twenties, a more serious offence led him to be sentenced to four years in prison which, under the UK Borders Act (2007), made him automatically eligible for deportation. He subsequently applied for asylum as the situation in his country of origin was too unstable for him to return, and was continuously detained for four years, whilst the state tried to assign a 'category' to his complicated narrative (Gibney 2008). Amir fought against this detention and several deportation orders, asserting himself to be "effectively British", and rejecting the category the Home Office assigned to him [Interview, Amir, 8th July 2014].

Amir's life and detention exemplifies that his relationship to the UK exceeds the classificatory practices of the state. He identifies as British, was educated here and had children with a UK citizen. He had no option in coming here, but had lived 'without status'[108] for over twenty years. He fell into the category of a FNP but as he subsequently claimed asylum, he was shifted into a different category. However, as Amir had been resident in the UK for the majority of his life, his asylum narrative became hard to align with the requirements set out by the state (here manifested in the 1971 Immigration Act). The repeated failure of the state to sort Amir into a category reveals that it is not just Amir who cannot readily be categorized, but that the

---

[108] The asylum seekers I interviewed frequently referred to themselves as 'without status', in contrast with refugees and citizens who are considered 'with status'. This reflects the hierarchy of state classification; an asylum seeker's status is their lack of official political status.

premise of the state's binary categorisations are themselves inevitably fallible. Amir's relationship to the polity through his upbringing, family and education disrupts the clean lines of 'citizen' and 'other', his journey, his life, does not align with neat categorisations that the state affords.

However, in classifiying someone as an 'asylum seeker', the UK government does not only dictate the confines of their present, they also construct, and in doing so capture, their relationship with an imagined future. An asylum seeker can become a refugee, deportee or be temporally admitted to the UK; their possible future categorisations within the polity are already determined. The actions taken within Crossings (e.g. the Crossings' Onion) to highlight a common humanity, together with the indivisible plurality of an individual's narrative, can disrupt the state's claim to this future as they serve to expose the present fallacy of state categorisations and in doing so "make visible the violent paradoxes of sovereignty" (Sager 2014, 202). As Tazzioli notes (2015) it is "precisely to the extent that some subjects are governed as migrants that they strategically play with the condition of being governed by those specific categories". Embracing these "sullied" lines as inevitably attempting to reduce a multiplicity of subject relations can make space for a politics beyond that of a "foregone conclusion"; the acknowledgement that things can be otherwise (De Genova and Peutz 2010, 52; Berlant 2011, 232).

This has implications for the argument developed in this chapter, that the subject of resistance should be considered (in)coherent. Attending to this subject as emergent and as always-already exceeding the categories of the state, does not mean that resistance is always to be found in challenging a subject's place within those categories (although again, this is not to state that an individual can challenge a subject-position), but also in the moments

that - whether intentionally or otherwise[109] - disrupt the certainty of the category itself, just as the Crossings' Onion which opened this chapter highlighted the inevitable fallacy of state categories. This is not to say that these examples of the limitations of categories can alter the path that an individual may take in their relation to the polity, but instead that they may alter the individual's relationship to that path, viewing it as yet to be fully determined and in doing so exposing the "hopes of potentiality embedded in the political as such" (Berlant 2011, 226). Back (2015) notes how hope is not a "faith that delivers a future", but is instead an "attention to the present and the expectation that something will happen that will be unexpected and this will gift an unforeseen opportunity." Furthermore, Sharpe et al's (2014, 124) argument for an extension of uncertainty, that "we do not think enough about our potential to be otherwise" resonates here, as the paradoxes of Amir's life and Crossings' work to destabilise the very categories that the organisation is based upon. This acceptance that life cannot be fully predetermined, can open up alternative futures.

3.i Gathering in the margins

> I have lived that moment of the scattering of the people that
> in other times and in other places in the nations of others,
> becomes a time of gathering. Gatherings of exiles and
> emigres and refugees; gathering on the edge of 'foreign'
> cultures; gathering at the frontiers; gatherings in the ghettos
> or cafes of city centres; gathering in the half-life, half-light of
> foreign tongues, or in the uncanny fluency of another's
> language; gathering the signs of approval and acceptance,
> degrees, discourses, disciplines; gathering the memories of
> underdevelopment, of other worlds lived retroactively;

---

[109] Although, intentionality is not a binary (see Chapter 2)

> gathering the past in a ritual of revival; gathering the
> present"

<div align="right">(Bhabha 2004, 199)</div>

As previously noted, the discursive spaces of state classification can never fully contain an individual and so neither can the spaces where asylum seekers are held waiting for a decision on the future of their relationship to the polity. These spaces, as previously discussed in Chapter 4, can be the material confines of an IRC, but also extend beyond this into more nebulous spaces, where asylum seekers' lives are delineated by the state. These multiple intersecting spaces where asylum seekers are held waiting are therefore messy and cannot be predetermined. They may or may not contain individuals who have been assigned or self-identify with a variety of categories. As reflected by Bhabha (2004), gathering in these spaces does not mean assembling a group of 'similar' subjects. This was exemplified across both field-sites of this research project; both IRCs and Crossings contain a diverse mixture of 'categories' of people, which posed ethical dilemmas concerning 'who counts' when researching creativity and conceptualisations of resistance within the UK asylum system.[110]

> Thomas mentions that as his case has been finally rejected,
> his Azure card has had all the money taken off it so he can't
> get any food. He has sorted that now though he says. I think
> of how we are having this conversation in the middle of a
> crowded hallway, with the sounds of the children's
> workshop coming from upstairs and the mass of people
> milling around us. Everyone seems light hearted and the

---

[110] For example, an IRC can contain asylum seekers, FNPs, those who have overstayed their visa, and undocumented migrants: the only classification a detainee needs is a "lack of British citizenship" (Bosworth 2012, 128). The categories assigned by the state are disputed by many inside: "incarceration in an IRC is particularly painful and confusing for those whose sense of self does not equate with their formal identification by the British state" (Bosworth 2014, 106).

atmosphere is jokey and convivial. However, the conversation going on here is serious, and I look at the others and wonder how many of them are in the same, or similar, situations. I then wonder if I'm trying to characterize people into 'migrant/non migrant' and what I'm actually doing here.

[Field-notes, Crossings, 5th October 2015]

Here it can be seen that seemingly coherent subject categories are inscribed in ways and in spaces that are not immediately visible.[111] That is, the experiences of indignity, hunger and poverty are irrevocably intertwined with the sounds of laughter, music and crowds. As Thomas reveals he is a refused asylum seeker the realities of his current situation, and his possible futures, become manifested in this space. This discussion of a refused application reflects and extends the argument made in Chapter 4, that the spaces of detention and deportation can exist beyond the IRC: relations of detention are immanent; they do not have a specific form and memories of the past and/or fears for the future interject and interweave with the present. Therefore, in the everyday and embodied experience of detention (which reverberates beyond the IRC, into family life, community centres and memory), although the distinct categories of 'asylum seekers' and 'refugee' are performed by the state administratively, they can be dissolved, redrawn, transposed, revoked or re-imposed.

Crossings (2016), whilst being explicitly a charity that provides "space for asylum seekers, refugees and migrants", is attended by a wide variety of individuals who are constrained within a number of different state

---

[111] Although, there are clearly moments where an individual's classification as an asylum seeker rises to the fore: producing an Azure card in a shop signifies a refused asylum seeker; G4S painting the doors of asylum seeker accommodation in Middleborough and Stockton red (Pidd 2016) or the red wristbands that asylum seekers were required to wear in Cardiff (Taylor 2016).

categories (asylum seeker, refugee, failed asylum seeker), but it is also attended by those who are not found within the asylum system. This was exemplified by Stacey in the women's choir who stated at one rehearsal that "we are basically a group of single mothers!" demonstrating that there are other categories that the women align to here, that extend beyond any state categorization [Field-notes, Crossings, 26th October 2015]. The women's choir is particularly diverse in this regard; those who attended were frequently from the UK, or those 'with status' here, together with people written as asylum seekers and refugees. These messy realities reflect the impossibility of fully pinning down an individual to categorise their relationship to the state. Yet the presence of those seemingly unaffected by the UK asylum system also posed potential research dilemmas, as I was unable to tell who was placed into each category.

> I think about how this group supports each other, and how different fragments of people's lives come into the room. You sort of piece together an idea of why someone is here based upon comments about 'problems at the Shelter this morning' or 'trying to get hold of a lawyer'. I worry that I'm researching asylum seekers and I don't know who here 'is' an asylum seeker, who 'is' a refugee and who is here for other reasons. I worry I'm classifying people according to their vulnerable attributes, that I'm making my own judgements about 'who counts' in this space. Everyone counts, it shouldn't matter what their status is - Crossings is set up for refugees and asylum seekers - but does it matter if other people come along? Who should be drawing the lines here? Isn't it great that there are no lines drawn? Or is it naïve to think that? There are clear hierarchies in this room – and these mirror problematic divisions of race and language. However, there are many moments when these momentarily break down – eye contact when trying to harmonise, shared

smiles at a failure to do a warm up exercise and laughter
when everything just goes wrong.

[Field-notes, Crossings, 26th October 2015]

This piece, written early in field research, reflects these concerns around replicating the categorisation of the state when determining 'who counts' within my research project. It seemed both paradoxical and unethical to be even attempting to replicate the violence of categories in a project which is premised upon a recognition of such identification as always already impossible. Yet the realities of conducting a research project on the UK asylum system required me to draw a line around who is, was, or self identifies with, the category of asylum seeker. At all field-sites I conducted ethnographic research with everyone present, regardless of their status. I did not know who fell into specific categories, and would not have wanted (nor indeed, been able) to engage with only some users of these spaces.

At Crossings, this problem of identification arose further when conducting interviews, with inviting people to meet outside of the evening classes to discuss their thoughts on the sessions in the context of the UK asylum system. This process was mitigated somewhat by my explaining my project to those who attended Crossings, who therefore knew that I was interested in asylum seekers. However, this was not unproblematic as divisions began to arise, for example UK citizens in the choir asking me how my research 'on asylum seekers' was going in front of those who identified as such. In a space where such categories are intended to be overlooked, it felt insensitive and selfish to be bringing them to the fore for research purposes.

In an attempt to come to terms with this, I returned to Judith Butler's account that "ethics requires us to risk ourselves precisely at moments of unknowningness, when what forms us diverges from what lies before us, when our willingness to become undone in relation to others constitutes our

203

chance of becoming human" (2005, 136). Ethics, Butler argues, begins at the edges of sensibility; it is only by acknowledging our own incoherence, the impossibility of being able to give an account of ourselves, that we can begin a "conception of ethics, and indeed, responsibility" (2005, 19). In the context of Crossings, this requires a recognition that despite an apparently similar category (single mother, women, asylum seeker); my story will never be your story. This has resonance with critiques of state categories being dependent on this narrative story of self, as in recognising the opaqueness of subject formation this narrative becomes fictitious, it always already has "potential to break apart, become undermined" (Butler 2005, 38).

3.ii Playing the same cards differently: making the familiar strange

This understanding of categories as always-already unstable was further exemplified by the moments that arose throughout my research whereby the assumed coordinates of a situation, subject or category were actively played with, revealing their contingency, and thus destabilizing their apparent normality.

> Sam [Detainee] then begins to rap again, much more angrily "home is where the heart is". Everyone seems relaxed and people are chatting to each other in groups rather than joining in. "Campsfield is not my home, fuck this shit, Oxford, what is Oxford? I need to be as strong as an Ox (cheering) to get through this, strong, I put my make up on…dead men don't count so I need to stay alive, alive". Michael [Music in Detention] keeps echoing his last word and he and Joseph [IRC officer] drum along next to Sam. "Campsfield is fucking with my mind man" (shouts and cheers from the group - I look at Joseph to see he is laughing)" I need to show my respect to Music in Detention".

In the moment described above, the detainee Sam is rapping about his view of Campsfield House as 'home'. Sam could be heard to be criticising by "making strange" (Foucault 1988, 155) the term 'Oxford', breaking it down to 'Ox' and playing with the word thus removing "the certainty of what we think we know" (Amoore and Hall 2013, 100). Indeed, Amoore and Hall draw upon Foucault's comment that "a critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged modes of thought the practices we accept" to highlight how making strange is, "the process of denaturalizing political practices that appear inevitable or natural" (Foucault 1988, 155 cited in Amoore and Hall 2013, 102). Here, the lyrics of the rap, draw attention to what is normally accepted, and "unsettles what is usually certain, ordered and inevitable" (Amoore and Hall 2013, 107). In doing so this can be seen to subvert and ridicule the decision to categorise and reveal the fragility of the accepted political order as ex-detainee Bekim also recollected:

> I remember one of the immigrants[112] there was joking with
> the staff, complaining about why he was staying here for so
> long, why he couldn't go to his family and he was saying
> that he was best friends with Tony Blair and he would speak
> to him directly, and that Tony Blair would sort this out. He
> was joking, and laughing about it. But deep down, it wasn't

---

[112] It is interesting to note the language used here. Bekim (who now has refugee status in the UK) was keen throughout the interview to refer to immigrants as somehow a separate group from himself. This indicates a lasting legacy of the trauma and violence of classification.

a joke you know, and you could see how annoyed the staff

were with him, and some of these things going on.

[Interview, Bekim, ex-detainee, 13th May 2015]

In the encounter recalled by Bekim, the detainee jokingly insists that he is in contact with Tony Blair, the Prime Minister at the time of his detention.[113] In doing so, he is ridiculing the system and maintaining - however jokingly - that things have the potential to be otherwise. This has resonance with Foucault's claim that "one escaped from a domination of truth not by playing a game[114] that was totally different from the game of truth, but by playing the same game differently, or by playing another game, another hand, with other trump cards" (1994, 295). This Foucault argues, is also the same with politics, playing with the present to point out that the current situation is not inevitable; to play the same cards differently is to expose a system as contingent. In the example above, which as a joke, as nothing 'serious', would not count as political nor as resistance by accounts that look for an oppositional subject as (I assume) the man does not think that he will alter anything through this action. However, in making strange an institution, in subverting its familiarity by implying, whether intentionally or otherwise, that we can imagine things to be otherwise is to render it unstable. This of course, does not mitigate that instability could result in a worse future, but to emphasise that there exists within these subversions the potential for change.

Whilst much literature on 'making the familiar strange' focuses on this apparent dichotomy between control and resistance (see Bakhtin 1984; Eisenbichler 1999; Humphrey 2001), de Goede argues that settling on a moment as either resistance or control ignores the potential for the pluralities

---

[113] I assume that this is a joke and untrue, however see Chapter 6 for an account of communication between the Royal Family and an immigration detainee.

[114] Later in this interview Foucault explains that by 'game' he means "a set of rules by which truth is produced" (1994, 297).

of resistance (2005). Refusing to view resistance as anything other than a coherent programme, limits the possibility of a "contemporary politics of dissent" (de Goede 2005, 379). In the lyric of Sam's rap and the uneasy laughter in Bekim's reflection moments arise where an alternative political imagining becomes possible. The making strange of the state's decision to categorise and control, and the subverting of hierarchies through lyrics provide moments of interruption to the smooth running of the performance of the sovereign decision to draw these lines of classification. The decision to exclude itself is destabilised and revealed as contingent upon the constant performance by multiple actors.

Furthermore, through the use of rap lyrics to make strange the familiarity of the IRC, Sam and the other detainees were illustrating how such dissent is always already present in the exercise of power, and how resistance to the "paradoxical logic of sovereignty" (Connolly 2005, 29) is not that which "transcends, or overcomes, but that which destabilizes via an acknowledgement that life (and sovereign distinctions) is 'more messy, layered, and complex than any logical analysis can capture'" (Connolly 2005, 29 cited in Amoore and Hall 2013, 106). Such a conception also allows for an understanding that lines can never be fully drawn, and that this limit point of intelligibility is the starting point for an ethics that requires a responsibility to the 'other'. The apparent problem of identifying research participants moves beyond concerns of an individual's categorisation, to open out into broader questions of subject formation, selfhood and responsibility. This chapter now continues to work this critique of a stable subject, through the figures of the IRC staff to highlight the potential of understanding resistance beyond such an apparently binary definition.

4. Beyond the Volitional Subject: staff-detainee relations

This chapter's premise that accounts of resistance need to "turn away from the notion that it is the human agent, the intentional, volitional subject, who determines what comes to be" (Manning 2016, 3) means that the relationships between staff[115] and detainees within IRCs provides an interesting terrain for looking at resistance beyond an oppositional subject. This is due to the potential within the direct encounters that take place within art and music sessions between those detained and IRC staff.[116] That the state is continually performed by a multitude of people and materials is now widely acknowledged, as is it that those people performing the roles of the state – Butler terms them 'petty sovereigns' (2004) - carry with them the capacity to 'people' the performance of sovereign power (Medby 2017). This section therefore draws upon the interactions between staff and detainees asking: "What if the action did not fully belong to us?" (Manning 2016, 16).

Within each centre there are "multiple layers of governance": the private contractors are "accountable to an onsite 'immigration manager' whose job is to check that the contract is being followed", it is this manager who ensures that the local onsite immigration officers who mediate between detainees and their immigration case-workers are doing their jobs (Bosworth 2014, 14). These people represent the Home Office in detention "serving removal directions and communicating decisions about bail, temporary admission and asylum", yet even they do not make actual decisions on detainees' immigration cases (Bosworth 2014, 15). This means that the individuals who have the most contact with detainees are not those trained to deal with immigration, and nor do they know anything about the detainees. The

---

[115] I use the term staff here to encompass a wide variety of positions within the UK's detention estate. In the literature on this area, and echoed within my interviews, the staff in IRCs have variously been termed 'guards', 'police' or 'officers'.

[116] Previous work within Geography has engaged with the potential of encounters (see Wilson and Darling 2016).

majority of staff who have daily contact with detainees are Detention Custody Officers (DCOs), who deal with the day to day running of the IRC. Their key-carrying role variously includes escorting, searching individuals and their possessions, physically restraining detainees and, what Hall (2012, 35) terms "bodywatching", trying to read detainees bodies and actions to anticipate problematic future scenarios.

Whilst some scholars (see Hall 2010, 2012; Bosworth 2014; Bosworth and Slade 2014; Turnbull 2016) have published accounts of staff-detainee relations from their ethnographic research in IRCs, given the lack of research access to these spaces, comparatively little is known about the day to day operations of the sites. What we do know comes from these accounts, together with a compilation of NGOs reports, ex-detainee accounts, undercover journalist reports of abuse (see Channel 4 2015, BBC 2017)[117] and Parliamentary Reports (see Shaw 2016). Both Bosworth and Hall note the low job satisfaction amongst DCOs, and comment how many officers "objectify the detainees, effectively denying their shared humanity" (Bosworth 2014, 153); Hall highlights one officer's particularly disturbing comment that "I don't even think of them as human beings" (2012, 38). These accounts are supported by research conducted with detained women at Yarls Wood IRC which found that despite 72% of women reporting having been raped before arriving in UK, 87% have been guarded and watched by male officers (Girma et al 2014 in Gill 2016). Gill suggests that structural elements (including staff turnover, shift work, low pay and exploitative contracts) in IRCS can "mitigate against compassionate relationships with detainees" (2016, 116).

4.i Exceeding subject positions

---

[117] This is discussed in greater depth in Chapter 6.

Art and music sessions within IRCs take place in the presence of a DCO who is there for security purposes, although some staff members do get involved in the activity. As such Julia Morris (2010, 1) suggests that a 'third space' emerges from these music workshops "an interstitial social arena in which tensions can be productively managed and playfully mediated." Whilst I do not wish to romanticize art or music, nor to imply that they in any way compensate for the injustices of detention, the interaction between staff and detainees within these spaces is of interest here, not least because they differ from the daily routines of the centres. Music in Detention note that staff participation usually takes the form of either joining in the activity or encouraging detainees to take part. However, there are reports of officers declining to join in, and in one case, showing distain by "covering their ears", which has obvious implications for the atmosphere of the room (Bruce 2015, 15). Generally, the artists and musicians I spoke to were positive about the staff who attended their sessions, although acknowledged that they were unlikely to have been exposed to anything problematic. For example, Emily from Music in Detention recollected the DCO's reaction when a detainee in the music session found out that he was going to be released:

> Emily (MiD): I think he was going back to his family in the UK because he was happy, I mean he wasn't getting deported so everyone was like 'YEAAAAHHH' [laughing]

> Sarah: that's amazing. What did the guards do when that happened?

> Emily: oh nothing, they were happy for him.

> [Interview, Emily, Music in Detention volunteer, 11th March 2015]

The staff reaction in this example illustrates that they are not behaving as one would anticipate petty sovereigns to do (Butler 2004), or rather that the term petty sovereign in this context perhaps implies an overly deterministic relationship with the polity. In this moment, their relationship to the detainees exceeds that determined by their job roles (although, this is not to simplify the multiple facets of an officer's role, see Bosworth 2014 for a discussion of this); their apparent happiness (as it is not possible to know from observation whether they were genuinely pleased) for a detainee who is leaving the IRC shows how they exceed the confines in which they work. Whilst the situation above does not oppose the state, nor is it revolutionary – but concerns a shared moment of joy about a man being released from detention – it indicates that the subjects exceed the confines in which they are placed.

This however, has the potential to be dangerous. That physical, verbal and emotional abuse happens within IRCs is widely acknowledged by the state, NGOs and ex-detainees. In 2015, an undercover investigation by Channel 4 into Yarl's Wood IRC, reported staff showing contempt for detainees, with one staff member filmed stating: "Headbutt the bitch. I'd beat her up", another "They're all animals. Caged animals. Take a stick with you and beat them up. Right?" (Channel 4 2015).[118] In 2017, a BBC Panorama Investigation revealed further widespread abuse at Brook House IRC. In 2013, an unannounced inspection by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (HMIP) to Harmondsworth, reported the death of 84 year Alois Dvorzac who had died in handcuffs, staff having ignored a doctor's report claiming that the detainee was unfit for detention and in 2010 Jimmy Mubenga died from suffocation by G4S guards whilst being restrained on a deportation flight. These are just a few of the numerous cases of staff neglect, detainee deaths

---

[118] This is further discussed in Chapter 6.

and abuse that have been reported within IRCS. As Matilda, an artist who worked within IRCs explained:

> They [the staff] treat, they basically reduce them to children and the guards kind of become these parental figures and that relationship is just really weird and disturbing because it also then gets like sexualised, there's all these stories of female guards locking up the men at night and then calling them on their cellphones, because everyone has each other's cellphone numbers so there is all this weird personal stuff going on as well, so it is all - it is really weird. That relational aspect is really strange.[119]

> [Interview, Matilda, artist, 18th January 2016]

Matilda's disturbing account of staff-detainee relations extending beyond the confines of a job role (and indeed of social/moral acceptability) contrasts with Emily's accounts and echoes more with the exposures of journalists and ex-detainees. However, this is the only example that was detailed to me during my research, partly due to my restriction on access to the centres[120] and as staff are unlikely to allow any indicators of abuse within workshops. The analysis in this section therefore proceeds from the understanding that it is partial. Whilst most of the examples I draw upon apparently illustrate DCOs exceeding their positions in ways that potentially allow for moments of progressive politics, and highlighting the difficulty of a subject remaining oppositional, this is not to remove the fact that such analysis takes place against a darker background, but one that was not made present to me in this project. The following moments to follow still matter however, precisely because they do not fit into binaries, refuting the fixity of state categories and revealing subjects to be (in)coherent and contradictory.

---

[119] I checked that Matilda had reported this behavior.
[120] See Chapters 3 and 6 for a more detailed discussion of this.

4.ii Uncontrollable encounters

> "After the music workshops I started to see the officers differently. I saw it as, they are actually creating a programme of activities for us to get involved in, 'cos it is stressful being away from your family and they're trying to help you by making a more calm and better environment"

> [Workshop participant, Campsfield House IRC, Music in Detention CD 2012]

Music in Detention aim to "create channels of communication' between detainees and staff" within IRCs (Speyer 2008). Workshops are set up with the intention of opening up a shared space, where staff and detainees can break out of their 'normal' roles and share in the experience of playing music together. Inevitably however, the interaction between officers and detainees within Music in Detention workshops varies between the centres and the individual staff who monitor the workshops. At the workshop I attended, the officer, 'Joseph', who was present, joined in with the session and sang about his own migration story, sharing experiences, songs and language with detainees. He also permitted the detainees to express their grievances at immigration control and the IRC management, even joining in their laughter when it was directed at particular aspects of centre life.

> "The Eastern European group [of detainees] get hold of the microphone again, and the loudest of the group starts to sing a One Republic song. He lustily and tunelessly belts out "lately I've been, I've been losing sleep". Everyone stops and stares at him, and many begin to laugh. It isn't immediately clear why everyone (including Joseph) is laughing. I also laugh, but I'm not

sure if they are laughing at his singing, what he is singing or his voice."

[Field-notes Music in Detention Workshop, Campsfield House

IRC, 24th June 2014]

The reasons, if any, behind Joseph' participation in the workshop cannot be inferred from observations, and yet his participation in the improvised music and laughter does not diminish its political significance, instead it serves to highlight the complex, often contradictory entanglements of resistance and power: "comedy here is a refusal to allow the security state's saturation of the ordinary to go without saying" (Berlant 2011, 244). The detainees may not aim to overthrow the apparatus of detention regime, yet in laughing at it, in it, and with it they expose the fragility of the performance of the sovereign decision to attempt to categorise and exclude them from the political life of the state. Laughter occurs within the very framework that is subverts; it is ambivalent, "unofficial but legalized" (Bakhtin 1984, 89). Therefore, laughter can be considered more than a helpless or superficial act but about "subverting the expected" through moments of uncontrollable hilarity (Amoore and Hall 2013, 99). There does not have to be a coherent political agenda or intent behind the advent of laughter for it to be a potentially political moment of interruption (Emmerson 2017); laughter is contagious, meaning that it opens us "to the present moment, the flow and the rhythm of laughter" (Macpherson 2008 in Emmerson 2017, 4). Therefore, laughter can be considered to temporarily suspend the biopolitical regime of control in the IRC by unsettling the certainty of a known future and disrupting the state's ability to regulate these spaces. This laughter troubles the performance of sovereign power through the subject of the staff member, revealing its contingencies and "the swarm of possibilities that had to be left out when this line was taken" (Carter 2009, 1). These 'swarms' of moments, or ruptures that emerge, may trouble the continued performance of the state

214

within these sites and therefore I argue, can be considered resistant, but they do not require a coherent subject imbued with intent behind these actions to be considered such.

Yet as both these moments took place within the framework of the IRC itself, they can be seen to "challenge the establishment in a safe way" [Interview, Michael, Music in Detention, 9th July 2014], with staff able to shut down or prevent any behaviour they deem to be dangerous. Deviance may be allowed within the space of the workshop but, as Music in Detention volunteer Emily articulated, this is only permitted in the context of a strict regime: "there is A,B,C,D and as long as you comply with that then that's fine, then you can say, write poetry against me, you can insult me, you can do what you want as long as you comply with these things" [Interview, Emily, Music in Detention volunteer, 15th August 2014]. Viewing the temporalities of resistance as polyrhythmic [Chapter 4], together with decentering a stable subject, allows for a conceptualization of resistance within existing hierarchies to be understood as creative, and open to multiple possibilities. However, this framework destablises the necessity of (in)action towards a *telos*, and acknowledges that dissent is always already present in the exercise of power.

4.iii Complex relationships

> Joseph [IRC officer] explained that he was going to sing a song
> from his home country that he had learnt in 5th grade. This was
> interesting as although Joseph works for Mitie he was making it
> known that he too was a migrant, directly linking him with many
> of the detainees present. Joseph then sang a song in his home
> language, which some of the detainees knew and joined in with
> shouts of recognition, whilst the rest of us just sat and drummed
> along with the beat.

This moment where the music played connected to the past experiences of some of those at the workshop, correlates with creativity understood through *poiesis*, a world in constant creation, and the corresponding claim that the past and present are in a virtual co-existence: the past is formed at the same time as the present, as if the present was not past at the same time as the present, then it would never pass and a new present would never arrive. Conceptualising the music of detainees and officers through *poiesis*, allows for this co-existence to be understood in its potentiality, as things, memories and feelings resonate discordantly though time; music can stimulate an unintended, unexpected affective response. In the encounter detailed above, DCO officer Joseph's singing in his home language constitutes a surprise, a moment that disrupts the dominant logics of this space. Yet such moments of connection or association that bring diverse space-times into the present, are not choreographed or scripted. Instead this episode serves to highlight the importance of framing resistance as plural, as the intervention of Joseph does not 'fit' into the expected resistant subject, identified as the locus of resistance within an IRC. Instead, it is possible to multiply the possible points of resistance that are made visible in this space, beyond the anticipated detainee acting against the state, or the IRC management. As an DCO officer with his own migration journey, Joseph is complexly woven into the sovereign assemblage: a security worker, a migrant, with a history of suffering or loss? It is not possible to capture this legacy, it is potential and in this potential, the ambiguous positioning that Joseph embodies escapes from the governing lines of in/exclusion drawn by the state.

This contradictory position can be further discussed through the notion of 'gestural politics' as Joseph reveals the multiplicity of the (in)coherent subject, and in doing so he destabilizes the premise upon which the sovereign draws the lines determining relationships to the polity. Italian philosopher, Giorio Agamben argues for a need to think of a post-sovereign politics that does not include life; a politics of gesture, which aims to undo the categorizing of life by subverting sovereignty. This gestural politics recognises the potential to incorporate all forms of life[121] into the sphere of politics (Agamben 2002; Ten Bos 2005). For Agamben, the gesture is a means without end (i.e. it refuses to become a means to an end, or an end in itself), and refers to a form of life as pure potentiality (resonating with Deleuze's life without a definite article); a whatever being, one that allows for a political community without "entrenched identities, functions and exclusions" (Ten Bos 2005, 27; Agamben 2000, 2002). Joseph's irreducible multiplicity as both a non-EU migrant and a DCO troubles both the logics of the exclusion and of the stable subject with a fixed identity as "the possibility of the whatever itself being taken up without an identity is a threat the state cannot come to terms with" (Connolly 2007, 74).

This complexity is further exemplified by the moments within the workshop where, without his uniform, it would have been difficult to place IRC officer Joseph as a member of staff. However, a situation erupted where this ambiguity of his positionality as irreducibly both an immigrant and a petty sovereign came to the fore:

> Sam [Detainee] now comes to the front of the room and gives a warning that he will only sing the second verse of the song he has written, as the first is too explicit. Michael [Music in Detention] explains that as we are all adults here, we don't mind

---

[121] Although, for Agamben this does not include the non-human.

and that this is a space for sharing. Joseph [IRC Officer] follows

this up with "what happens here stays here - this is your chance!"

I don't fully understand all the lyrics but the rap gets increasingly

graphic, and Joseph jumps up quickly and stops him, good-

naturedly saying, "okay, okay TOO explicit!" The detainees

mainly laugh and some shout back to Joseph "what happens here

stays here - this is your chance?!"

[Field-notes Music in Detention Workshop, Campsfield House

IRC, 24th June 2014]

Here Joseph shuts down a potentially disruptive moment, seeming to reassert sovereign power[122] within this space and reinstating the hierarchies within the room. However, through the encounters detailed above, Joseph is revealed as irreducibly multiple: he is a DCO; he is a non-EU migrant. He reveals the internal multiplicity to the subject that, Grosz (2008 following Deleuze) argues undoes the idea of one and many; multiple forces emerge through Joseph's actions. Therefore, Joseph destabilizes the coherent subject of resistance, imbued with intent and one who is oppositional and challenges the actions of sovereign power. Yet, we can never fully know all of this, it is only possible to capture the subject in a "dimension of its processual creativity" (Guattari 2006, 3). Acknowledging this splintered subjectivity necessitates attention to the plurality of resistant relations that subsequently emerge, each revealing the potential to disrupt, dispute the smooth running of the UK asylum system.

---

[122] When I use the term sovereign power here, I am not claiming that sovereign power is not distributed and imbricated through other forms of power, particularly as a focus on sovereign power reflects an Agambenian legacy of understanding these spaces. Instead I use the term to make the point that - as a member of staff - Joseph is expected to perform aspects of the sovereign decision to exclude these individuals from participation within the polity.

5. Beyond Remaining Oppositional: the place of creative charities within activist resistance narratives

Tyler and Marciniak (2014, 5) observe that the last decade has witnessed "a global explosion of 'immigrant protests', political mobilizations by irregular migrants and pro-migrant activists." This upsurge they argue, has been the result of a global intensification of border security technologies. Since Tyler and Marciniak's remarks, Europe has witnessed a growing crisis of hospitality[123] in response to the increased movement of asylum seekers particularly from Syria, Iraq, Eritrea and Afghanistan but also from elsewhere around the world. Within a UK context, there has been an almost total lack of humanitarian response by the Conservative Government towards the needs of asylum seekers. Instead there is increasing media and state-driven hostility towards migrants particularly in the wake of the 2016 'Brexit' vote; a state-sanctioned perpetuation of the myth that immigrants constitute a national and personal security risk. The UK Government's active hostility towards migrants has however, resulted in some public outcry, together with the growth and development of activist groups and charities.[124]

These public responses have taken varying forms, including a number of large marches in London (e.g. Refugees Welcome 2016) organized by the Solidarity with Refugees network (which includes Amnesty International,

---

[123] I repurpose the phrase 'hospitality crisis' from Gill (2016), who uses it specifically in relation to the UK asylum policy. I do this in recognition that the movement of approximately 4.8 million Syrians, with over a million arriving in Europe in 2015 is a 'crisis' first and foremost for Syrians (UNHCR 2016).

[124] I use the term charity here to cover all groups, as to collect funding from the public they have to be registered as a charity with the UK government (gov.uk 2017b) - although acknowledging that some groups prefer the name 'activist', 'NGO' or 'movement'. This is not however to suggest that these charities share common goals, but instead to note that they share a similar governance structure.

Oxfam, Medicine Sans Frontiers, the Red Cross and Stop the War coalition and other charities), together with a number specific groups set up to ferry aid to Calais (e.g. Care4Calais, Calaid, Support Refugees, Help Refugees, London2Calais). This is in addition to the many existing groups around the UK that support and campaign for the rights of asylum seekers and immigration detainees (e.g. City of Sanctuary, Detention Action, West End Refugee Service, Kent Refugee Action, Refugee Action, Bail for Immigration Detainees, Samphire, Campaign to Close Campsfield). These charities cannot easily be grouped together as a unit, as they all have different end goals,[125] work in different spaces and draw upon different imaginings of politics. Furthermore, the charities themselves are formed by the grouping of multiple subjects, who may have differing visions for the future of UK asylum policy.

Yet the actions of these charities – particularly those activist or campaign groups – are often seen to fall into the typical forms of resistance as 'anti-power', noted by Pile (1997), that is mass mobilizations, marching, group formation and strikes. Art and music charities, together with individual art and music teachers within IRCs have however, largely been written out of this resistance narrative. This is partly because they are not seen to be sufficiently oppositional to the state as they work with authorities (e.g. they work with IRC management to obtain access to the centres or are employed by the centres themselves) and also, as seen in paradigm one, art and music are not usually considered resistant unless they are a medium for oppositional messages. It is worth reiterating again here that this thesis does not critique this form of resistance, but instead expands the political purchase of resistance by multiplying what subjects, temporalities [Chapter 4] and materials [Chapter 6] are incorporated into narratives of resistance beyond any oppositional stances.

---

[125] For example, groups campaigning for 'no borders' may have different imagined futures to detention visitor groups, or local asylum seeker support groups.

Kye Askins (2014, 353) does, however, disrupt this apparent coherence, in her focus upon the "quiet politics" and the emotional geographies of intimate actions in encounters between refugees, asylum-seekers and more settled migrants in a "befriending scheme in Newcastle, England". Here, Askins argues for attention to the potential of encounters for "developing relationships and destabilizing dualisms" (2016, 515; see also Wilson and Darling 2016).[126]I build upon Askins' work to ask, "What if the action did not fully belong to us?" (Manning 2016, 16) and advocate a destabilised subject, with any *a priori* intention within the context of charity groups. This is therefore to disrupt the notion that for individual or group of subject's action to count in this area, it must "remain oppositional" (Gill 2016, 8).

5.i Compassion, Creativity and the need to 'remain oppositional'

Gill is skeptical about "the potential of compassion to be truly emancipatory"[127] (2016, 158) and consequently argues against particular forms of activism that try and bring asylum seekers into contact with 'petty sovereigns' (Butler 2006). This is because, he argues, compassion carried out on behalf of migrants tends to accept existing configurations of power.[128] Ex-detainee Amir's comments resonated with Gill's argument that activist groups should not be aiming to bring asylum seekers and individuals working within the immigration system together:

---

[126] See also literature on quiet activism (Chapter 2).

[127] This understanding of emancipation in relation to power contrasts with the Foucauldian approach undertaken in this thesis whereby (as elaborated in Chapter 2) power and resistance are understood to be mutually constitutive: "where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (Foucault 1978, 95).

[128] Later in his book, Gill (2016, 189) does however appear to counter himself, stating that "[u]nderpinning all of these questions [concerning indifference to suffering] should be a focus on the interpersonal – the level of interaction and relations between two or a small number of people or beings". Here he does seem to imply that encounters do hold the potential for alternatives.

When you take a sip from the Devil's Cup there is a very long spoon, they [the charities] get caught up and they get dragged into the things, and they get sold and bought... if you want be somebody protesting you don't want to be part of their policy making as they will be using you and abusing you. This is a common thing.

[Interview, Amir, ex-detainee, 25th July 2014]

Amir and Gill's (2016) arguments suggest that an action is unable to be fully resistant if it is attached to a subject, who maintains an oppositional approach to a particular manifestation of sovereign power. Indeed Gill (2016, 172), drawing upon the work of an unnamed artistic group within IRCs is critical of non-revolutionary forms of activism, particularly those that aim – as Music in Detention do – to bring staff and detainees together maintaining that "[t]his close cooperation with the management of centres opens the group to the charge of co-optation." Gill further argues that "efforts to humanize and soften the system are fated to fail, but also [...] they offer an opportunity to legitimise a fundamentally exploitative and subjugatory arrangement" (2016, 167). These creative activities associated with actions bringing staff and detainees together are (generally) not considered revolutionary and therefore as Gorz (1986, 122 cited in Gill 2016, 167) suggests are "likely to disappoint radical left-wing thinkers who maintain that economic and political power [...] will not be whittled away by a slow process of erosion, nor destroyed by partial reforms." Any activity (such as the work of Music in Detention, Crossings and individual art/music teachers) that could be used to improve the system can "also lead to incorporation into the very system that is being challenged' resulting in "an apology for existing reality" (Gill 2016, 171, Lefebvre 2009, 38 cited in Gill 2016, 171).

This essentially binary view of resistance, as categorizing action as either supporting or overthrowing a system, and the need to "remain oppositional" (Gill 2016, 8) is echoed by those working with art and music in IRCs who note that work would typically not be considered against the IRC system:

Emily: Do you actually not do it because you reiterate a system that is failed in itself? But then what about the well-being for those people who need it, because are you going to act in the long term? I don't think if you boycott music or theatre in detention you are going to, erm, you know, do anything.

[Interview, Emily, Music in Detention volunteer, 24th February 2016]

Adam: He [detainee] said that to me 'you're working for a bunch of criminals' and I had to say 'well, erm, I'm not actually employed by them, I'm employed by a third party, blah blah blah' but you know, the point was not lost on me!

[Interview, Adam, Music Teacher IRC, 26th November 2015]

Following this line of argument, art and music taking place within the IRC would rarely count as resistance as the IRC staff are involved in monitoring their creation and circulation[129] they cannot be considered oppositional unless through the lyrics, images or in the process of creation, they in some way are targeted at the overthrowing of the detention system, such practices are written out of accounts of resistance. Music in Detention ensure that they do not do anything that would impact their access and Crossings is not set up to actively campaign for asylum seekers' rights. This means that they are

---

[129] See Chapter 6.

not included within the narrative of resistance – they do not position themselves as anti-state, instead they have a commitment to neutrality, yet their manner of engagement differs from activist or campaign groups.

5.ii Creativity and Resistance beyond oppositional subjects

> "Critique doesn't have to be the premise of a deduction which concludes: this then is what needs to be done… It doesn't have to lay down the law for the law. It isn't a stage in a programming. It is a challenge directed to what is."

> (Foucault 1991c, 81).

Importantly, in arguing that creative charities should not be dismissed because they are not oppositional, I am not claiming that they align with traditional activist frameworks. Instead, an understanding of the subject as incomplete, comprised of an internal multiplicity of forces, means that individuals are unable to be disentangled from the forces that form them. This chapter destabilizes the subject of resistance through its argument for "an ambiguous, entangled view of power" (Sharp et al. 2000, 27). A focus upon entanglements does not mean that it is not possible to tell what is domination and what is resistance, it simply posits the potential in "releasing the tense grip of binary resistance" acknowledging that they are not 'pure' (Easterling 2016, 215; Sharp et al. 2000). Such a view therefore refutes the assumed boundary between resistance and compliance that has been articulated in the previous section (Amoore 2005b). I move instead to argue here that charity groups should not be written out of narratives of resistance because they engage with the state: firstly, because to argue that there is a particular form that resistance should take is to place limits around what counts as the political; and secondly, because to "remain oppositional" is at odds with an (in)coherent subject (Gill 2016, 8).

First, charities who work with elements of the state to obtain 'access' (e.g. Music in Detention) and those who run activities within society for those waiting for a decision on their asylum application (e.g. Crossings) are not simply "an apology for existing reality" (Lefebvre 2009, 38 cited in Gill 2016, 171). To suggest that subjects, or charities who engage with the state do not count as resistant is to delineate what counts as resistance *a priori*. It is to write subjects and their encounters, actions and histories out of the possibility of resistance. This perception is based upon a binary view of resistance. Instead, I argue that it is important to endure these contradictions rather than to write them out of politics as an attention to ambiguities, excesses and contradictions make alternatives become possible; to transcend essentialising categories is to become otherwise. Seeing the subject as continually formed by lines of forces results in an irreducibly multiple subject who cannot easily be categorized into resistant/non-resistant or oppositional/supporting. The subjects of resistance discussed in this chapter (the migrant DCO Joseph, the 'asylum seeker' Amir, the joking Bekhim) do not 'fit' with the expectant resistant subject and neither do Crossings or Music in Detention 'fit' the anticipated activist groups.

Second, this argument, that subjects and organisations must remain oppositional, is premised upon an understanding of the subject as stable. This results in "subjectivities that do not fit in the exclusionary borders of what is established to be a 'political agency' [...] disqualified as non-political" (Tazzioli 2015). Despite the state being considered heterogenous, paradoxical and disjointed, the subject remains coherent and able to act in opposition. Whilst the actions of a group, and of a subject cannot be equated, exploring both as multiple allows for the question "what if the action did not fully belong to us?" to be asked (Manning 2016, 16). The answer, as shown through this chapter, is to unsettle this narrative (through various forms). A subject, decoupled from the act, is one where intentional action cannot be determined prior to the present becoming. The laughter of Bekim or the

shared histories between Joseph and the group of detainees illustrate how the actions done by certain embodied subjects can create ruptures regardless of whether they were intended or not (although, crucially, this is not necessarily political progressive).

Messy entanglements have been shown throughout this chapter, illuminated through the questioning of the stable subject: a relationship to the always already incomplete lines of state classification being disrupted in the seemingly mundane 'Crossings Onion'; the making strange of the present within the lyrics of Sam's rap; the shared laughter, jokes and encounters between detainees and DCOs and the irreducible multiplicity of Amir and Joseph's lives. These moments matter politically. To write them out of the possibility for resistance as they do not "remain oppositional" (Gill 2016, 8) is to miss that such complex entanglements can render the present contingent, where what is given is seen as uncertain. As Foucault states "[p]ower must be exercised as something which circulates […] And not only do individuals circulate between its threats; they are always in a position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power" (1990, 98).

6. Conclusions

In this chapter, I began with the observation that many accounts of resistance within the UK asylum system have been premised on an understanding of a coherent resistant subject, imbued with intent that acts to oppose a particular manifestation of sovereign power. I have examined accounts that argue the subject is coherent, oppositional and counter to particular manifestations of power relations, together with those that place charities that do not aim for revolution as outside of the remit for resistance. Through an attention to the (in)coherent subject, decoupled from an act(ion) and where intentionality cannot be attributed *a priori*, I have argued in this chapter that to sideline subjects or actions that do not take an oppositional resistant form is to miss

the politics of the entanglements of power and resistance. Far from being an apology for reality, the actions of these creative charities, individuals and activities expose subjects to be (in)coherent and the present to be contingent, in doing so they open up possibilities for alternative imagined futures. This is not to say however, that such imagined futures are necessarily politically progressive, but in destabilising the present they show how another game can be played "another hand, with other trump cards" (Foucault 1994, 295).

This chapter explored 'Beyond Subject Categories', examining how the subject as (in)coherent and multiple is a threat to the state's drawing of the lines dictating relationships with the polity. It moved to explore how the lines performed by the state are always-already incomplete, looking at how the lives of asylum seekers exceed the categorisations of the state. The second section 'Beyond the Volitional Subject' analysed the relationship between staff and detainees within IRCs. It acknowledged that what was presented to me during this research project was partial, and did not allow for the abuse of detainees to come to the fore. Beginning from the premise of an always-becoming subject, the section explored encounters between staff and detainees, and their shared music making, memories and laughter. It then turned to examine how DCO officer Joseph does not 'fit' with the expectant resistant subject.

The final section 'Beyond Remaining Oppositional' examines the destabilized subject at the level of the charities that work within the UK asylum system. It explores how those that work with authorities, or aim to bring asylum seekers, detainees and staff together are written by Gill as an "apology for existing reality" (Lefebvre 2009, 38 cited in Gill 2016, 171). This section moved to dispute this claim. It argued that what counts as resistance cannot be delineated *a priori* and that remaining oppositional is at odds with a subject understood to be multiple and always becoming. Furthermore, as academics, we too participate in the delineation of the political and what

counts as resistance. As (predominantly) citizens and authorized migrants, we cannot fully know or predict what political actions might look like in the UK asylum system, as it is an experience unknown to us. In committing to particular forms of political action as resistance we too risk denying recognition of those within this system.

Throughout these sections, I have made the argument that we cannot locate the source of action within a stable subject for other forces of subject formation are at play. These claims develop the argument made in Chapter 4, for expanding the temporality of resistance, through a (non)linear framing, as the multiple process of subject formation can only be captured in their continual emergence. Further, an (in)coherent subject disrupts the necessity of linear intentional (in)action towards a *telos*. This argument has further resonance with Chapter 6, which builds upon the decentering of agency acknowledged in this chapter, to focus upon the non-human domain and argues for the need to account for a lively materiality when looking at resistance within the UK asylum system. This in turn contributes to the argument made here, that understanding resistance when premised on such a critique of a stable subject is to view the subject as comprised of an internal multiplicity which is beyond capture through classification, beyond the volitional subject and beyond any apparent oppositional action. This is important because acknowledging a splintered, (in)coherent subject allows for a critical engagement with ambiguous moments and subjects that contain the potential to disrupt the UK asylum system.

Chapter Six
Lively materials of resistance

Journeys of a song

Base 33 Witney, Oxfordshire.
10th February 2016.
A .MIDI file of recorded music arrives from Campsfield House IRC.

I sit on the floor of with a group of young people listening to James from Music in Detention play a piece of music recorded in Campsfield House IRC that morning. Out of the laptop on the mixing desk comes a clear male voice: "hello, my message to you all…about the journey of life, everyone has difficulties but you have to just focus on what you want to achieve…I don't know you and you don't know me". James pauses the recording and for a while no one speaks. Base 33 member Megan then explains, picking up on the detainee's words that hearing the recordings made her feel as if "I don't know you and you don't know me…but we are listening."

Neville's Cross, Durham
18th April 2016
I receive the final CD from the musical exchange project with Music in Detention and Base 33.

I stand in my living room one evening opening the post. An envelope has arrived containing CDs from the Music in Detention

exchange for me to use when talking about my work. I put one in the CD player to show my partner what I've been working on, intrigued as to what has made the final cut. The first track 'Life's Journey' begins with a man's voice: "hello, my message to you all…about the journey of life". I notice how this file has been remixed to include a drum beat, as we stand and listen to his voice in our kitchen.

Whitesmocks, Durham
16th May 2016
I play the CD whilst presenting my research to a local charity group.

I sit on a sofa in a stranger's house in Durham, having been invited to informally present my research to a local charity group. I explain the exchange process, and play the track 'Life's Journey' from the album. Someone wants to know "who he is and why is he there". I try and explain but I don't know anything about this man, I don't know who he is or why he is in detention; the only thing that I have is this voice recording. One lady comments "you can tell that he sounds dodgy" and there is a general murmur of agreement. I'm frustrated by how this isn't representing my work in the way I wanted it to, and how I didn't think to see this coming.

1. Introduction: Placing Materiality within the UK asylum system

The opening vignettes attest to a politics of circulating materials within and beyond the UK asylum system. In this chapter, I therefore take as my starting point the need to account for materiality when examining resistance within the UK asylum system. I argue that materials have the immanent potential to simultaneously destabilise, disrupt and reaffirm the entanglements of power and resistance in and through which they take form. Here I draw on the work of Barad (2007, 137) to see matter as agentic and lively, and therefore neither "fixed nor given nor mere end result of different processes".

In decentring agency from a purely human domain to engage with the intimate relationship between matter, materiality and meaning, I depart from much previous writing on the relationship between creative materials and resistance within the UK asylum system. This work, I argue, has been framed by accounts that explore the use of artistic materials as deployed by humans to intentionally disrupt or intervene within a particular configuration of sovereign power (Tyler and Marciniak 2013; Akšamija 2014; Borsilā 2014; Bosworth 2014; Faulkner 2014; Marciniak and Tyler 2014; Piacentini 2014; Sager 2014; Šimić 2014; Waller 2014). Instead I follow Darling's (2014, 484) appeal for immigration scholars to take seriously "the connections between materials, discourses and affective states" in order to critically investigate the "oppressive force" of the state's impact on the lives of asylum-seekers. In taking forward an "ontology that detaches agency from a purely human frame of reference", I move beyond human exceptionalism to explore the circulation of materials, looking at how they are always-already intertwined with other things, discourses and spaces, forming and reforming relations that force upon and move human actors in

different ways (Darling 2014, 486; see Daston 2004; Barad 2007; Bennett 2010).

This chapter therefore continues the argument developed in Chapters 4 and 5, for it focusses on how the potential for resistance arises from socio-material entanglements of lively materials, which exceed the apparent intentions of human subjects, and disrupt an assumed linearity towards a *telos*. To reiterate the point from Michel Serres discussed in Chapter 4: "an object, a circumstance is thus polychromic, multitemporal, and reveals a time that is gathered together with multiple pleats" (Serres and Latour 1990, 60). In exploring the intra-actions of heterogeneous bodies, materials and things that are made visible through such a materialist lens, the examples that follow demonstrate that as bodies and materials move through space and time they form new associations with additional bodies and materials; that these entities come together to perform spaces in which different types of political action, and resistance, may be made (im)possible. Crucially for developing an understanding of resistance as emergent, the precise nature of these configurations cannot be known before they emerge.

Geographers are well placed to think about the political implications of material artefacts, for the significance of the material within social processes has developed as a major theme within the discipline. Geography has undergone a material (re)turn in recent years (Whatmore 2006), in which Geographers have begun to extensively explore the manifold ways in which "things, living or dead, [are] woven in complex ways into the fabric of human and social being" (Kirsch 2013, 435). This geographical focus on materialism has broadly followed the trajectory of the wider intellectual movement of materialism, a school of thought that has attempted to restore agency to the non-human by emphasising its vitality: its ability to act independently of human intervention (Pickering 1993). The vital materialism of Bennett has been particularly influential within this material turn,

advocating the necessity of paying close attention to the 'thing-power' of materials: that is, "the curious ability of inanimate things to animate, to act, to produce effects dramatic and subtle" (2010, 6). The benefits of this approach, Bennett has argued, come from the way in which it holds the potential to transform analyses of political events, for it enables scholars to appreciate the ways in which materials become involved in different kinds of political situations.

Indeed, Bennett argues that we must additionally appreciate how human life is always already folded through with nonhuman and more-than-human forces. Building upon the foundational work of scholars from the various but related fields of science and technology studies, actor-network theory, and assemblages, numerous Geographers have argued that the human must only ever be seen to come into being through its complex interactions with the material world (Braun and Whatmore 2010, xviii; see Clark et al. 2008; Anderson and Wylie 2009; Gregson and Crang 2010). In this way, the traditional binaries between humans and non-humans, nature and society, and subjects and objects, have begun to be broken down; Geographers instead see the human and non-human worlds as inherently intertwined (Braun and Whatmore 2010).[130] As such, following Barad (2007, 170), in this chapter I wish to draw attention to how "[b]odies do not simply take their places in the world. They are not simply situated in, or located in, particular environments. Rather, 'environments' and 'bodies' are intra-actively co-

---

[130] Such an orientation has resulted in a refocusing of many established conventions within Political Geography as a sub discipline. Darling (2014, 484) notes how "destabilising the image of an unwieldy and abstract state apparatus in this manner has become an important orientation within political geography" (see Painter 2006; Gill 2010; Jeffrey 2013; Mountz 2013b; 2015). For example, Meehan et al. (2014) turn to explore the role of objects in state formation, following Deleuze and Guatarri (1987) to conceive of the state as an inconsistent resonance chamber, and in doing so developing Painter's (2006) work on the prosaic state as present within, and comprised of multiple, everyday moments and objects. Renewed attention has also been given to the mobile performance of borders, bringing the material to prominence (see Amoore 2006; 2007; Vaughan-Williams 2009; 2010; Cowen 2010).

constituted." Acts of resistance, are not only formed through the actions of (in)coherent subjects, but come into being through (non)linear socio-material entanglements. In short, materials are more than mere bystanders: they actively facilitate and mediate particular encounters that enable certain kinds of claim to be made.

In this chapter I therefore engage with this scholarship, arguing for an attention to materiality as lively, agentic and detached from a purely human frame of reference to develop accounts of resistance within the UK asylum system.[131] Developing conceptualisations of resistance through an attention to creativity as *poiesis*, this chapter turns to materiality to disrupt the view that resistance necessitates conscious intent, that it is a purposeful response to a configuration of power relations. This, I argue, has resonance with a materialist approach, for it is through the intra-actions[132] of bodies and things, the specific ways in which space is socio-materially structured, that "what is possible and what is impossible […is] reconfigured and reconfiguring" (Barad 2007, 177). In other words, both the material and the human, in their complex interactions, condition what forms of political claims can be made in a given moment, and these relations are constantly undergoing transformation and change. Agency is therefore "not aligned with human intentionality" (Barad 2007, 177); the world in its becoming exceeds human ability to know or control it. As such, its "effervescence, its exuberant creativeness, can never be contained or suspended" and the

---

[131] It is important to acknowledge however, the problems of drawing upon a materialist framework in the context of exploring a system that is set up to treat those subject to it as non-human (see, for example Hall's aforementioned recollection of an officer's comment: "I don't even think of them as human beings" (2012, 38). Is it ethical to focus upon the question of the non-human in this context? In this chapter, I have chosen to remain with this tension, using a focus upon the non-human to point to cracks in the system, moments of potential resistance where the relations of materials and humans can disrupt or reaffirm this dehumanisation.

[132] The term 'intra-action' is borrowed from Barad (2007). It troubles notions of causality in which one or more completed wholes interact to produce an effect, emphasizing the way that elements are constructed through productive encounters.

"future is radically open at every turn" (Barad 2007, 178). By exploring the potential of the material to "act in the world at large, not just on us" (Harman 2005, 125) and its capacity to form and reform relations, accounts of resistance that posit a linear, discrete causality with intentional actions are disrupted. In this chapter I ground this disruptive, lively materialism through the potential politics of circulating materials in and through the UK asylum system, to argue that an attention to materiality within the asylum system can disrupt what counts as a resource or matter of resistance.[133] This is important because understanding materials as lively and agentic, opens up the potential for other political claims to be made, that exceed any apparent human intentionality.

2. The governance of circulation: materiality, legality, and pervasive paranoia

In this section I explore the governance of creative materials[134] within and beyond the UK's detention estate. Whilst the movement of certain materials

---

[133] In taking this approach, this chapter builds upon existing literature that engages with the materiality of immigrant life, albeit not in detention. Ho and Hatfield (2011)'s special issue on 'Migration and Everyday matters' contains papers addressing the intersection of migration and the material (e.g. Conlon 2011b; Dudley 2011). Geographers have also engaged with the materiality of carceral spaces - for example Conlon and Himestra (2017) have examined how migration and criminality overlap in terms of both legal and ideological landscapes, together with spaces of detention and/or prison. Previous work on the Geography of encounters has also engaged with the significance of the material in the production and mediation of politically meaningful encounters (e.g. Valentine 2008; Askins and Pain 2011; Wilson and Darling 2016).

[134] This term 'creative materials' is used throughout this chapter to denote the multiple materials that are, and come to be, associated with the intertwined processes, practices and products of music and artwork. It is however, deployed in the knowledge that the material ontologies used within this chapter view all materials as agentic and having creative capacities: materials become, they create and they move beyond the sites of their creation forming relations that cannot be fully known (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Barad 2007; Bennett 2010). To partition some material as 'creative', to rely upon an adjective to delineate the capacities of matter, is always a partial capture, and always-already exceeds the confines of this framing. However, for the purposes of this analysis I need to draw this already-exceeded line through the discourse I use, to explore 'creative materials' as that which are, and come to be, associated with music and artwork.

into and out of the centres is restricted, others may be given a freedom that is not afforded to their creators; they transverse the walls of the IRC, remain within the UK, and form and reform relations with entities as yet unknown. Important questions therefore need to be asked about the specific perceived qualities of the materials that *are* allowed to travel, the reasoning behind the curtailment of the movement of others, the means by which they travel, the contexts in which they may land, and the potential ways in which they may open up new spaces for different kinds of political claim to be made.

First, I address the legalities of circulation before turning to explore the implications of an apparent legal void in this area, with a lack of clear guidelines associated with creative materials circulating in and out of the centres. The resultant discretion that such an approach generates is then developed in the next section through a discussion of a 'logic of paranoia'. Here I draw upon the work of Sedgewick (2003), Anderson (2010) and Gill (2016) to explore how the hypersensitivity around circulating materials can be understood through a contagious logic of paranoia, one that acts as a governing force throughout the asylum system (including the Home Office, Music in Detention, Centre Managers and art practitioners). Consequently, this section highlights the entangled, incoherent and 'peopled' state apparatus that governs the circulation of creative materials from these sites of confinement; materials do not circulate in a depoliticised landscape. Such an approach has implications for understanding the materialities of resistance, beyond the anticipated painting or song against the state, instead creative materials take multiple forms and pathways that are much more messy, plural and complex than any dichotomous exploration of resistance can bring.

2.i Legalities of circulation

> [I]t is in this grey area, that is the problem…I don't really
> care but I don't want to be deported, or have my citizenship
> revoked or whatever.

> [Interview, Matilda, Artist IRC, 18th January 2016]

The precise contours of the legal landscape that comprises the UK's detention system are notoriously difficult to map. This is due in part to the private contracts between the Home Office and outsourced management firms, but also a product of the complex mesh of legislation that governs the asylum system in the UK. This lack of access to information combined with a relentless legislative 'policy churn' results in, as Matilda notes, "a grey area" for detainees, lawyers, artists, IRC officers, charities and researchers to negotiate (Gill 2016, 13). This is important, for as Maillet et al. (2016, 19) writing in a non-UK context, observe, by "obscur[ing] views of the 'other'', state actors "reproduce and reinforce myths about migrants": by confining and reducing the visibility of the people within these centres, they create "both a geographical and emotional distance between citizens and non-citizens"[135].

The only specific legislation concerning what may or may not be taken in or out of a UK IRC is the following:

> 54.—(1) No person shall, without authority, convey into or
> throw into or deposit in a detention centre, or convey or

---

[135] Indeed, The Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law published a report (2013) entitled 'Immigration Detention and the Rule of Law' to show the complex mesh of legislation and expected practices that governs these spaces in the UK. This report comments on this plethora of legislation, and paradoxical "clear lack of a precise, accessible legal framework governing the use of detention under international human rights law and refugee law" (2013, 2) noting the confusion that this creates for those attempting to navigate this legal maze: what Bosworth terms a "fragmented and complex system of governance" (2014, 17).

throw out of a detention centre, or convey to a detained person, or deposit in any place *with intent that it shall* come into the possession of a detained person, any money, clothing, food, drink, tobacco, letter, paper, book, tool or other article whatever.

[The Detention Centre Rules (2001) No. 238, V, 54(1),

emphasis added]

The phrasing '*with intent that it shall*' is of interest here, as it implies that a person can determine where an object can circulate, or whether they intend it to circulate. However, whilst visitors are fastidiously checked on entry and exit of a centre at the airport style security, requiring a Passport or Driving Licence together with proof of address and a pat-down search to get in, and detainees' post is checked, given that art and music teachers within detention centres have permission to be there and have 'authority' to bring in this equipment, the application of rule becomes muddled and often discretionary. They have consent to bring items in, but no regulation exists for the specificities of this. This is reflective of the myriad of transactions and circulations of objects, people and policies that make up the infrastructure of immigration detention (Gill et al. 2016; Conlon and Himestra 2017) for these circulations are a likely consequence of the absence of any clear guidelines over what 'authority' is required to sanction the movement of materials (and an absence of a clear definition of what material circulations should be considered unacceptable).

The consequences for those individuals or organisations that provoke the Home Office by circulating artwork or music deemed to be problematic beyond the centre can be serious. Artist Matilda commented:

[T]hey did threaten me with it [the removal of citizenship]. They told me that the women that they had in before who then sold her artwork [...] they claim that they've got this lawsuit running against her because she signed the Secret's Act and she is in grave danger because she has sold, no shown, no published her pictures in The Guardian.[136] Erm, so yeah there was a very clear legal threat that they'd made and it was really stressful and I'm not really equipped as an artist to deal with this stuff. That's where there is a real problem in the system; people like me are just not trained to deal with situations like that you know! [laughing] and not to process the secondary trauma from that...

[Interview, Matilda, Artist IRC, 18th January 2016]

Many of the artists and organisations interviewed expressed a concern over the potential implications for them or their work if the Home Office revoked their access, employment or their even citizenship.[137] This is particularly the case if they have signed the Official Secrets Act, and if, like Matilda, the centre had agreed to her work (film, photos, drawings) leaving the centre as part of a research project. The requirement for some artists to sign an Act of Parliament designed for dealing with security and intelligence concerns, appears to be an extreme response to attempt to manage the path of material once it has left the centre's walls. Interestingly however, the Official Secrets Act is a law and not a contract, so signing the Act is usually only required to remind people of their legal obligations when dealing with sensitive information. The physical act of signing this legislation however, has had an

---

[136] I tried to interview this individual, but she did not want to speak on record about what had happened. This is another indication of the implication of circulating unwanted materials from the IRCs.

[137] The Home Office can only retract the citizenship of those with dual nationality, unless there is a suspected terrorism threat which is unlikely to be used here (Joppke 2016). Both the artists mentioned here have dual citizenship.

affect upon Matilda; this material presses upon her forming part of and contributing to the anxieties underlying the circulation of potentially problematic materials. This has further implications for conducting research in this field; Music in Detention for example, were reluctant to (and did not) show me their non-binding agreement of good practice with the centres they work in. This paranoia about the potential implications of the ungovernable excess of creative materials leaving the centre was discussed by staff, charities and artists alike.

Copyright

Another example of this fragmented and complex legal patchwork is the law as it pertains to the ownership of intellectual property, specifically copyright. Here, one might understand this legal relation to govern the kinds of claims to material things or products made by people. What rights do immigration detainees have over work created within IRCs? The answer to this question is not found in legislation. Given that the practices of charities, researchers and art practitioners do not always reflect UK copyright legislation, it is important to consider the implications of this apparent legislative omission when discussing the governance of circulation outside of the centres. Musical copyright is a Western notion, and many ethnomusicologists have critiqued the concept for simplifying complex and "traditional notions of ownership" (Seeger 1992, 346; see Titon 1992; McCann 2001) which accordingly may not translate across cultural boundaries. However, the lack of clear guidelines on what can be reproduced leads to confusion amongst practitioners:

> I mean obviously I, in all honesty, I don't know what the technicalities are, but it is a bit like - they've written something and recorded something and as far as I'm concerned it is their intellectual property.

> [Interview, Ian, Musician IRC, 2nd February 2016]

Music in Detention, despite their music being freely available, do obtain signatures from all participating in their workshops. The practicalities of this however, can be challenging as Music in Detention volunteer Emily explained:

> I only got the signatures of the main people singing you know, otherwise I would have to explain to each one of them everything in English and one guy asked for another guy to translate for him, because otherwise you know there would be no one. I feel bad if someone just signs the form without knowing.

> [Interview, Emily, Music in Detention volunteer, 11th March 2016]

Despite intending to manage the ownership of circulating work, the practicalities of the music sessions sometimes meant that this was not possible. This shows how even when attempts are made to govern and regulate materials circulating outside the centres; this is not always possible given factors, such as language, that limit an object's translation into a particular network – here the giving of consent. It also raises questions over consent, as a negotiated process something that cannot be fully given, as an object's future paths can never be known.

A further example of the complexities surrounding the ownership of creative work and its path when it leaves the centre can be found in the prison arts charity The Koestler Trust, which interestingly includes IRCs within its remit of the "UK's criminal justice and secure systems" (2017). Their RE:FORM exhibition at the Southbank Centre in 2015, contained a painting from Brook House IRC of a woman sleeping on a table next to a sewing machine; the

international Human Rights flag is painted on the wall above her head, and a rainbow appears next to the window [Figure 16 and Figure 17].

Figure 16: 'Untitled' from RE: FORM exhibition, The Koestler Trust. Southbank Centre. Image taken: 28th October 2015

Figure 17: Caption of 'Untitled' from RE: FORM exhibition, The Koestler Trust. Southbank Centre. Image Taken: 28th October 2015

Whilst visiting the exhibition, I found myself wondering whether I was reading these themes into the painting and, given the comparative lack of information about the image [Figure 17]. I spoke to one of The Koester Trust's staff:

> Clive explains that the image isn't for sale; The artist is unknown, they don't even know their gender, so it'll go back to the IRC when the exhibition finishes. He too has noticed the Human Rights flag on the wall, but also is

unsure if the artist intended for it to be there. I ask about whether the artist would have known their work was displayed, he says he doesn't know […] I find this unsettling; it doesn't 'feel' right that this painting may never have been created for display.

[Field-notes, RE:FORM exhibition, The Koestler Trust, 28th October 2015]

This painting presses upon me, the impact of the colours, signs and symbols that I see are affective in ways that their author, not necessarily knowing about its circulation or future audiences cannot have known: the apparent 'finished' piece continues to create. To gain further clarity I spoke to Leah from The Koestler Trust on the phone:

[Leah] explains that the IRCs send them the work directly, and that any prize money would go to the artist who created the piece and they wouldn't display anything without the artist's permission.

[Interview, Leah, The Koestler Trust, 27th April 2016]

However, she is not fully sure how the work is submitted so passes me to a colleague who also notes that:

The detention centre staff have the final say over what can be submitted into the awards as they must sign-off each entry form.

[Interview, Harriet, The Koestler Trust, 27th April 2016]

This again indicates confusion over the ownership of the piece; The Koestler Trust would not display a piece without the artist's permission, and yet how do centres obtain consent from a detainee if they have been released or deported? Is it likely a centre would knowingly submit a piece with the Human Rights flag upon the wall? The relations through which this object has moved cannot be fully traced and yet these partial incoherent fragments reveal the excess of the material; in its travel from centre it has the potential to form and reform new and unanticipated relations. This is of importance politically; the painter(s) may have been deported, yet they remain as fragments folded through the painting. However, this also reveals the impossibility of ever definitely settling ownership or authorship of a piece[138]; despite a claim being made over ownership, the painting continues on to make further claims beyond any intention of the author.

2.ii A Logic of Paranoia

It is now widely accepted by academics, policymakers and asylum seekers alike that anxiety is pervasive throughout the UK asylum system. Gill (2016, 137) explores the powerful influence of anxiety on contemporary practices of British immigration control, noting how anxiety amongst staff across the system is largely "traceable to the influence of the press" which results in employees being fearful of the implications of acting with compassion beyond the "terms of their employment." British newspapers name and shame individual employees who are deemed to have acted incompetently, but also those who are seen to have acted "too liberally" and facilitated the

---

[138] Indeed, Foucault, in his lecture 'What is an author?' explores the history of the development of the 'author' in contemporary (Western) culture. Drawing upon the playwright Samuel Beckett, Foucault asks "what does it matter who is speaking?" to argue that author only exists as a produce of a work: "the ideological figure by which one marks the manner in which we fear the proliferation of meaning" (Foucault 1998, 222). Foucault opens up broader ontological questions such as "What is a work? What is this curious unity which we designate as a work?" suggesting that the unity that the term presents is as problematic as the idea of a coherent author (Foucault 1998, 207).

entry of "too many migrants" into the UK (Gill 2016, 142). In the context of a consistently contentious and highly charged political environment around issues of immigration in the UK, it is therefore not unexpected that the prevailing disposition amongst stakeholders is one of hypersensitivity. When considering the governance of materials circulating within and beyond IRCs, this anxiety can be attributed in part to the previously discussed absence of specific legal framework and the severe consequences for those who disrupt the system; a withdrawal of access privileges for a charity, deportation of a 'troublesome' individual or a tabloid headline for the Home Office. In this section I turn to frame such reactionary responses as governed via a 'logic of paranoia'. This is important to consider when looking at materiality as this fixation upon the excess of the material, and how it cannot be controlled when it has left the centre governs the anticipatory futures that are acted upon.

Yet why turn to '*logics* of paranoia' and what can such a lens reveal? Here I draw on Anderson's conceptualisation of logic, as that which determines and delineates how action in the present is enacted: "A logic is a programmatic way of formalizing, justifying and deploying action in the here and now. Logics involve action that aims to prevent, mitigate, adapt to, pre- pare for or pre-empt specific futures" (2010, 779). Logic here is conditioned by speculation as to possible futures; the multiple anticipated paths that an object may take in its circulation from the IRC (Anderson 2010). However, to place paranoia in conversation with logic is not to argue that such logics are paradoxically irrational (if indeed, such a distinction can or should be made), instead it is to recognise that the spectre of the 'worst-case-scenario' haunts the hypersensitive, reactionary responses of stakeholders within this possible circulation: there is "always a Sun or Daily Mail headline waiting to happen you know, as far as either the Home Office or whatever the franchise is that's running the place is concerned" [Interview, Ian, Musician IRC, 2nd February 2016]. Paranoia therefore is not used to refer to irrational fear, nor the

(problematic and gendered) positioning of apparent paranoid thought as madness.[139] Instead when I deploy the term; it is for the purpose of exploring how one particular, unwanted, anticipatory future becomes a fixated source of outcome, one which seemingly works to govern the action of an individual or organisation.

Indeed, Sedgwick notes that paranoid thinking has become normative throughout contemporary politics, arguing that such paranoia is anticipatory, refuting other possibilities other than the worst-case scenarios: paranoid reading is therefore tied into an idea of the inevitable (2003). Consequently, paranoia has a rigid relation to temporality; it is anticipatory and retroactive; adverse to surprises. However, in recognising and disturbing this fixation upon one course of action it is possible to "glimpse the lineaments of other possibilities" (2003, 146); further fragments of a multiplicity of potential futures emerge. The distinction between possibility and potentiality therefore becomes critical here: action can only be taken upon *possible* futures, those that can be envisaged to be actualised (regardless of whether or not they occur), *potential* futures are unknown unknowns; they cannot be governed or controlled. A 'logic of paranoia' refers to a focus upon one possible unwanted future, with action taken to prevent this scenario from actualising.

[This section of the thesis has been removed prior to publication due to ethical responsibilities to my participants]

---

[139] The term 'paranoia' comes from the Greek for 'madness': *para* (by/beside) and *noos* (mind). It is associated with having seemingly delusional beliefs and often associated with women (Sedgwick 2003; Montanari 2015).

This is not to say that the Home Office's paranoia is unfounded: just before my research, in response to repeated denials of permission to film inside IRCs, an undercover journalist for Channel 4 filmed management contractor Serco's staff verbally abusing detainees, together with revealing high rates of self-harm and poor healthcare inside Yarl's Wood IRC (Channel 4 2015). Although this distressing footage was apparently not serious enough to prevent Serco from winning the centre contract again later that year, the resultant media coverage and independent review damaged both the Home Office's and Serco's reputation (Channel 4 2015). This event, the actualisation of what the Home Office attempts to prevent – the circulation of disruptive material forming unwanted relations – has refuelled the paranoia of Home Office, resulting in a tightening of access for researchers, charities and artists (Gill 2016).

The Home Office's repeated attempts to prevent material from leaving the centres, underlines both the politics and the importance of an attention to materials that circulate beyond the IRC. Although my access was not granted and this work is not submitted to these regulations, this paranoia extends to my writing of this thesis. I cannot govern or control the implications that this work may or may not have, and therefore I have left out work where I've been concerned about the possible impact on an individual; several of my interviewees have edited out sections of transcripts, or subsequently withdrawn from the research project, concerned with what talking about access or criticising aspects of the UK asylum system will mean for their lives or employment.

The Home Office's concern with governing the circulation of materials appears to be focused both upon preventing abuse being documented, but also paradoxically that which shows detainees to be apparently having a 'good time'. Here the worst-case scenario becomes the right-wing media

reporting upon money being spent to entertain detainees. Indeed, musician Ian commented:

> You're kind of meant to do a good job, but don't draw too much attention to doing a very good job…Then you start bumping into bits of resistance because people don't necessarily want the Daily Mail to be going 'look what they're fucking spending their money on.'

[Interview, Ian, Musician IRC, 2nd February 2016]

This concern results in the prevention of certain forms of materials from circulating, for example 'Radio Colnbrook' which as artist Matilda observed:

> So there is radio Colnbrook which is a radio from outside the music room that never gets broadcast, and there is all this material that gets made that never gets out of there, it never leaves […] I don't think it gets broadcast anywhere, they just like shout out 'radio Colnbrook'

[Interview, Matilda, Artist IRC, 18th January 2016]

The form of radio is particularly difficult to control as it immediately leaves the centre, without any opportunity for management to prevent problematic things being said, which may contribute to why the radio station only exists within one room. Matilda also noted this apparent concern with the process of humanising the detainees:

> [T]hrough the process of making the [art] work, I mean…in the process of making art you (pause) you possibly like, express, the effect on your subjectivity of being incarcerated

> […] I think that is probably, that is the problem rather than what is represented, because Billionaire[140] [name of music video they were creating] is kind of, just a rap song - I mean it has a message about you know about economic migration […] there is some stuff coded in there that might seem subversive and exciting on that level to people singing it but I don't actually think that Colnbrook cared about that.

> [Interview, Matilda, Artist IRC, 18th January 2016]

This apparent lack of concern with the content of the work, and instead with the form and the potential implications of showing the humanity of detainees is important when thinking about accounts of resistance that trouble the prevailing rhetoric of actions against the state. The staff at Colnbrook IRC were apparently less concerned with any possible subversive material than they were with the liveliness and humanity expressed by the detainees as this could indicate that the detainees were having a good time, able to dance and critically comment upon their incarceration. This not only demonstrates how particular circulating material things can come to produce opportunities for resistance through their circulation, but also how IRC stakeholders are involved in a series of imaginative practices through which they seek to anticipate the formation of potentially threatening sets of socio-material relations and prevent them from actualizing - either by establishing restrictions to their movement or by deterring future circulations through acts of state violence.

This apparent concern with the circulation of a video of detainees dancing to a well-known British pop-song resulted in the centre staff putting in a complaint against Matilda and deleting part of her work. Given that I have

---

[140] 'Billionaire' Travie McCoy ft Bruno Mars.

been unable to interview staff within the centre, it is not possible to know the exact reasons why the creation of this video was cut short. However, such action can be placed within the context of the logic of paranoia that pervades this system; the Home Office react to the worst-case scenarios that the video may produce, and the reality that they cannot govern or control this. In this context, this could be the detainees demonstrating that they exceed the categories that they are placed in by the state by relating to British culture, or the concern that they are seen to be having 'too much of a good time' within the IRCs. However, "paranoia tends to be contagious" (Sedgwick 2003, 126) and Matilda too is touched by the anxiety of this situation. Whilst she still has the video she is unsure what to do with it, given the legal grey area it occupies and the perceived potential consequences to her citizenship if she upsets the system. Matilda, like the centre, is curtailing her actions and the circulation of the video due to paranoia (and justifiably so); her actions are curtailed by the imagined worst possible future ahead of her, just as the centre is acting through this anticipatory logic.

Similarly, Music in Detention are careful not to disrupt either the Home Office or the centre contractor as their access to running their sessions within IRCs is dependent upon their permission. Consequently, they act to prevent material circulating from their workshops that could be envisaged to problematically impact upon this relationship.

> I suppose the area that is the most tricky is probably the stuff around, [pause] use of material and stuff that goes into the public realm […] we're the organisation that does the music activities with people, and so the creative content is ours not the detention centres and we don't give veto over what is published, but we do commit to consulting where we know, where we can see that something is going to be problematic from their point of view. There are some things

that we wouldn't publish, like we wouldn't publish a song

that had an allegation against a named member of staff

within it, or we'd take that bit out of the song or whatever

right? [...] But there is a kind of grey area, which might cause

concern to some in the system but which we would regard

as freedom of expression.

[Interview, John Speyer, Music in Detention, 20th April

2016]

Here the imagined futures of materials in circulation, and the lack of control over this, result in the risk of self-censorship for both Matilda and Music in Detention. This is not to say however that any acts of self-censorship are a futile act against power; that the possibility of the force of sovereign power has ended the possibility of this action being resistance. Instead, it is to acknowledge that there are multiple potential end points to this art and musical work, which are themselves beginnings of new stories; currently this art or music may have been prevented from circulating, as a form of self-censorship, yet this is not to say that it does not, or will not, open up new spaces where alternative imaginations of other possible futures can lie. This apparent stilling, or cessation of movement, is not as Bissell and Fuller (2011) argue, a lack of movement as actuality is the enveloping of potentiality, rather than the full realisation of it as such. Bissell and Fuller (2011, 8) note how when things are seen to be stilled, a trajectory is assumed, there is an assumption an allegiance to a *telos*, yet what happens to a "non-purposive stillness"? This is considered to be a figure of "unrealised potential", yet for Bissell and Fuller (2011, 8) "this volatile stillness is […] an empirical actuality that cross-cuts and maybe even defines existence in the contemporary space

of flows."[141] This underlines the political potentiality of materials; in actualising their potential to form relations (by preventing them circulating) they still retain the capacity to form relations.

This institutional paranoia around the circulation of materials reflects that it is never possible to comprehensively, or definitively, identify all of the other entities that bodies and material things may come to form associations with. It is impossible for the IRC staff, musicians, artists or Music in Detention to identify the forms of emergent agency that may become available to each circulating material, nor the forms of political future that they may facilitate (such futures may or may not be progressive). This is because, as Braun and Whatmore (2010, xxi) acknowledge, entities "carry with them a margin of indeterminacy": when combined in relation to the countless other material things that may also actualise their own innumerable latent, and possibly humanly unperceivable capacities. Therefore, whilst attempts may be made to imagine or map the contingent possibilities that can become available at different times and in different places, and whilst attempts may accordingly be made to govern the movements of material things and the associations they form, it is never possible to completely anticipate the relational entanglements and agential formations that will emerge. This serves to highlight the importance of exploring materiality in the asylum system beyond a "purely human frame of reference" (Darling 2014, 486): how materials move and the forms they take impact upon how they are governed and the affects that they may or may not have. This chapter now turns to

---

[141] Bissell and Fuller (2011, 3) note how stillness is often conflated with a reductive understanding of resistance; "where to be still is to resist and to stand against movement", yet this is founded upon a dualistic narrative of protest and resistance. Instead they note that stillness is not just a gesture of refusal, instead it punctuates the flow of all things: "in an epoch that privileges the mobilisation of mobility, still has to be stilled; turned into a stop that is just waiting to go again. Waiting to be re-moved." This resonates with Chapter 4, and work in carceral geography by Gill (2009b), Moran et al. (2013) and Gill et al. (2016) who refute the equation of movement with liberty, and apparent stillness with control; turning instead to note how movement is a technique of governance within carceral systems.

explore these matters of resistance, examining the politics of materiality for thinking about resistance.

3. Resistance and 'creative materials' in the UK asylum system

The relationship between creative materials and resistance in the context of immigration, has been predominantly framed by accounts that explore the use of materials to intentionally disrupt or intervene within a particular configuration of sovereign power; with a particular focus upon the politics of visibility. Of particular importance to conversations on immigration and artwork has been Marciniak and Tyler's edited volume: '*Immigrant Protest: Politics, Aesthetics, and Everyday Dissent*' (2014) which argues that to discuss artwork around immigration is to explore the relationship between visibility, power, representation and political agency.[142] Through a rich variety of empirical examples, Tyler and Marciniak's contributors argue that 'art-activism' creates alternative forms of visibility, disrupting the prevailing norms of representation: "documenting resistance and protest involves the creation of new aesthetics of migration which, in turn, can be used to question the inclusive/exclusive logic of citizenship and the language and economics of illegality" (2014, 287).

Whilst not denying the importance of this analysis, this reading of artwork by Marciniak and Tyler (2014) negates the *vitality* of materials, how they always exceed the relations in which they are held, resulting in futures beyond that expected or can be known. This 'vibrant materiality', Bennett (2010) argues runs alongside human beings, seeing things as having the

---

[142] This artwork contains commentary on the work of migrant arts and artwork around issues of migration. Whilst there is an important plethora of artwork created around issues of immigration and by 'immigrant artists' (see, for example work by Isabel Lima, Natasha Davis, Tania Bruguera, Bouchra Khalili, Laura Malacart), this thesis' focus on resistance within the asylum system is limited to analysing art and music created detainees/asylum-seekers who do not necessarily identify as professional artists.

capacity to act as quasi agents and as forces of their own. Such a view, Braun and Whatmore (2010, xxi) note means that it is not enough to see materials as disruptive, but to acknowledge that when combined in relation to countless other objects they "open us to a future that we cannot fully appropriate even as they render us subject to a past that is not of our own making". This becomes pertinent when developing articulations of resistance through the potential futures that open up, through the array of relations that materials form and reform within this system.

So far in this chapter I have advanced the argument that when considering resistance in the UK asylum system, there is a need to pay attention to the material as agentic, lively and disconnected from a purely human frame of reference. I have explored the governance of circulating materials to highlight how the fragmented legal guidelines intersect with significant individual and institutional consequences, resulting in an underlying logic of paranoia that attempts to prevent objects circulating and forming unwanted relations. The next section of this chapter continues to develop the nuances of this argument for consideration of lively materialism within accounts of resistance within the UK asylum system. I do this through an attention to the multiple paths of three circulating materials: first I explore the lively matter of an .MIDI file to illustrate how materials cannot be fully known or governed; second, I examine artwork from Campsfield IRC to argue that in gathering a community of practices resists tidy classification; thirdly I analyse a CD from a community exchange project to examine how materials can land in unexpected places, and have affects that cannot be anticipated. Through these examples, I weave together multiple accounts of materiality as excessive, showing how attentiveness to the non-human as agentic disrupts narratives of resistance as intentional deployments of creative art/music against the state and in opening up relations allows for alternative futures to be imagined.

3.i Digital Files (.MIDI): lively matter

Music in Detention run exchange projects between immigration detainees and community groups based locally to the IRC. These exchange projects are premised around an encounter between the two groups who, despite being unable to meet, communicate via music and recorded message, writing songs together and finding links across common themes. In doing so they aim to bring immigration detainees and local communities together: "to share, create and enjoy music, enabling often-ignored voices to be heard in new ways" (Music in Detention 2017). These community projects result in an album being created, taking the material form of a CD and also hosted as digital files on Music in Detention's website.[143] In the two sections that follow (music as translation and music as lively matter) I trace one path of a .MIDI file[144] which moves between the centres to explore the materiality of resistance.

(a) Music as translation

---

[143] See Chapter 3 for more information on the logistics of researching the Music in Detention community exchange.

[144] A .MIDI file (Music Instrument Digital Interface) does not contain music or sounds (unlike for example, an MP3 or WAV file). Instead it is comprised of messages which inform an electronic device how to generate a sound (Middleton and Gurevitz 2013). As such the file size is much smaller.

Music in Detention bring their own instruments into the workshops,

Figure 18: Technical equipment at community exchange project, Base 33. Image taken: 24th February 2016

Figure 19: Image showing some of the materials used whilst recording at Base 33. Image taken: 24th February 2016.

comprising of djembe drums, acoustic and electric guitars, and a single octave electric keyboard. These are combined with the centres' drums, which have 'Campsfield House' written across the drum skins in large black letters. Music in Detention also bring in recording and editing equipment: four microphones, two MacBooks with the editing software Logic Pro X installed, a mixing deck, drum machine, speakers, cables, chargers, plug sockets and extension cables [Figure 18]. When assembled in particular ways this heterogeneous mix of actors becomes translated into a recording apparatus, one that combined with the host of materials enabling the production of sound (the slap of a hand on a drum skin, the vibrations of a voice box, the pluck of a guitar-string) produced the capacity to capture sounds from the workshop [see Figure 19 and Figure 18 for wider images of materials at the workshop].

Furthermore, whilst the specific material qualities of many of the materials in this project were relatively durable and persistent, they always needed to be

carefully arranged in relation to one another in order for participants' voices to be heard, beats felt, melodies interpreted. The ways in which they were arranged and combined with other people and things in the locations of musical encounters could never be precisely the same. This difference was, as will be demonstrated, generative of highly particular affective atmospheres that influenced participants' responses and the claims that were made (even if the specific political productivity of these actions are impossible to pinpoint). A kink in wire, for example, might create a crackle. A different speaker might emphasize certain frequencies over others. The acoustics of a venue may obscure certain musical features whilst making audible others, and different listeners may possess different histories, experiences, and emotions that cause them to be more or less affected by the music within the currents of their own, multiple space-times.[145]

For example, to record into the microphone there needs to be relative quiet in the room. James from Music in Detention, who was leading the workshop, explained that whilst he can edit out some background noise from the track afterwards, the music/voice of one individual or group does need to stand out from the rest of the noise in the room [Interview, James, Music in Detention, 16th March 2016]. This is important to think about in relation to materiality beyond human exceptionalism as it highlights that music is a vibrating sound wave, a wave that vibrates other vibrations in the room (the creaking of chairs, the wind in the trees outside, the gurgle of piped water in the walls): plucking a guitar string vibrates the string, the body of the guitar, the other strings, the body of the guitarist, the air around the guitar, the material fabric of the room, and the bodies of the listeners (Evans 2002).

Indeed, sound is a longitudinal wave; it exists as it passes through matter and cannot travel within a vacuum. A body perceives it as variations in

---

[145] See Chapter 4.

pressure, which contracts the wave into a sound. This wave is a "variation in pressure over time" and has the discrete characteristics of frequency, amplitude, phase and shape (Evans 2002, 171). Furthermore, the embodied experience of sound, not only pertains to conscious hearing, but to those "unconscious vibrations of bodies", sound is lived and embodied as much as it is recognised (Evans 2002, 176). The vibrations arising from the heterogeneous grouping of diverse actors in the music room at Campsfield House IRC illustrate how music arises as a translation from other materials, including the drums, guitars and vocal chords, yet is also something that has its own distinct material qualities. Crucially music is always already in excess, folded through space and time in ways that cannot always be consciously known. Sound vibrations do not disappear, they dissipate; the

Figure 20: Screen of Logic Pro X illustrating how soundwaves are translated into lines on a screen. Image taken: 18th February 2016.

energy of their vibrations remain in the room, in bodies moving matter, long after the audible traces of vibration have faded (Evans 2002).

These vibrations then pass into the head of the microphone where they are "transformed into the variation of a specific property of the recording medium" (Evans 2002, 174). Music changes during the digital recording, the waves are not fixed or immutable. The sound waves from a detainee's drum beat enter the head of a microphone, and cause the plastic diaphragm inside to vibrate at the same frequency of these waves; a coil of wire attached to the diaphragm then begins to move back and forth around a permanent magnet inducing a current at the same frequency of the sound waves. This current is very low, and to be useful for recording requires amplifying after it passes down a wire to the computer. Furthermore, any electrical noise that the microphone produces will be amplified, commonly arising from the wire connecting the microphone to the sound deck. These traces of sound are made visible by Logic Pro X, a piece of software that translates this pulse of the drum into images, signals on screen to be edited [Figure 20]. This illustrates how the messy and complex process of music recording within the IRC is always a translation of the other objects.

Sound waves are a material form of this translation, it is not possible to know all the vibrations that music causes, and these endure in the material fabric of the room, after any audible trace of their presence has left. These soundwaves are further distorted when recorded through a microphone, through feedback caused by the unwanted amplification of materials within the microphone system. The music changes its form when it is translated into Logic Pro X, as its visualisation on a screen allow it to be rendered visible without being audible. This has implications for thinking about resistance for it demonstrates how these materials forming music cannot simply be reduced to a technology deployed by humans, instead they can "intervene actively to push action in unexpected directions" (Callon and Law 1997, 178), forming and reforming new relations that cannot be fully known or governed. That music is an always becoming matter, is "produced and productive, generative" (Barad 2007, 137) resonates with attention to the

261

multiple, as-yet unknown relations that it may (or may not) form. These relations are potential, they may move the listener to think anew about immigration, yet these relations may be unwanted by Music in Detention as the music travels to the far-right, tabloid newspapers or reinforcing detainees as unwanted 'others.'

Interestingly however, the lyrics of music are not checked for possible subversive or problematic messages when leaving the centre. Music in Detention volunteer Emily commented upon this:

> We don't have any control on anything that has been sung in a foreign language we don't understand so God knows what happens! That is another thing you know, God knows what we are censoring or we are not, and what we want to censor and what we do not, but I guess, yeah, we don't really censor much [laughing].

[Interview, Emily, Music in Detention volunteer, 17th February 2016]

James also commented upon translation issues when comprising the CD:

> Saying negative things obviously needs to get taken out, but if it is in a different language and it is singing then you know, you can kind of get the mood of it though - so if it is gentle and melodic, I dunno, you can't really imagine it being like that.

[Interview, James, Music in Detention, 16th March 2016]

The contrast of these two comments reflects the complexities of working in this area. The importance of remaining specific to form when exploring the circulation of materials, becomes apparent here, as this impacts upon how these materials are attempted to be governed and known. The language of the lyrics, the melody of the song, all have implications for how it is governed. Following Barad (2007) it is not possible to separate materials and affects, music takes on different forces, new understandings and intensities as it presses upon the audience in unanticipated ways. Music as a vital material therefore "mobilises bodies, objects, flows, entire landscapes by unhinging potentialities that no one knew where even there" (Saldanha 2005, 717).

(b) Music as lively matter

> After the IRC session finishes, the recording equipment is packed up into three large suitcases and, together with the guitars, drums and keyboard, is driven out of the centre and directly to Witney, some 10miles away. A trestle table is set up at Base 33 to accommodate the equipment and Music in Detention volunteers James, Simon and Emily begin the process of reassembling it. The music recorded from the IRC lies dormant within this grouping of materials; it exists as a virtual within the Macbook computer's hard drive, reliant upon the combination of charger, extension cable, cable, speakers and James' password to be actualized.
>
> [Field-notes, Music in Detention Exchange Project, 16th February 2016]

As described above, a diverse collection of materials moved between Base 33 and Campsfield House IRC during the two-week music exchange project.

These materials were afforded a freedom to traverse the IRC walls that was not extended to the detainees within the centre, nor to the members of Base 33. Through their collective interaction, multiple encounters between IRC detainees and Base 33 members were facilitated, and in the process, new spaces were opened up in which certain kinds of political claim could be made.

The materials that were permitted to travel between the IRC and Base 33 facilitated the construction and playback of music and also physically constituted it. Drums, keyboards, microphones, computers, cables, speaker systems and so forth, all crossed the IRC threshold and were combined with the material 'stuff' of the IRC music room, becoming assembled in such a way that the voices and sounds produced by the detainees could be recorded. After this recording session, the materials were packed up, transported the 10 miles to Witney, and reassembled in a different space (the community room of Base 33), which was comprised of different people and furnishings. Through the reassembly of these components, the detainees' music was able to be played back, and Base 33 members were able to record their responses to it.

Yet such materials were not just facilitative of political claims; they were actively involved in their articulation. In this project, both the members of Base 33 and the detainees at Campsfield House IRC constituted themselves as political subjects through challenging the forces that physically separated them. These political claims can be considered resistant through a variety of conceptual lens, for although they took place within an activity permitted by, and dependent upon the IRC management, via their multiple materially-mediated encounters, these participants not only made claims for their rights to be heard, but also challenged their subjectification as depoliticised 'others'. Direct political claims were also made through these encounters which align with more traditional understandings of resistance as counter-

movement. For example, over the course of the project, the young people at Base 33 listened to the music recorded by detainees and responded by making recordings of their own raps, writing their lyrics over the top of detainees' beats.

Such lyrics were often scribbled on pieces of paper before being performed and recorded, and in one set of lyrics [Figure 21], Base 33 attendee Mike vocalises his solidarity with the detainees, positioning himself and the other members of his group in direct opposition to the state. Through these lyrics, Mike is making an explicit political claim. However, an understanding of creativity as *poiesis* has further implications for how this material is conceptualised as resistance. As previously discussed, I understand resistance to be emergent and characterized by the disruption of power relations, and therefore unable to be predetermined prior to the present becoming. Mike here can be seen to be participating in an act of resistance in which he constitutes himself as a political subject by reaching out to and advocating on the behalf of, detainees in Campsfield House IRC.
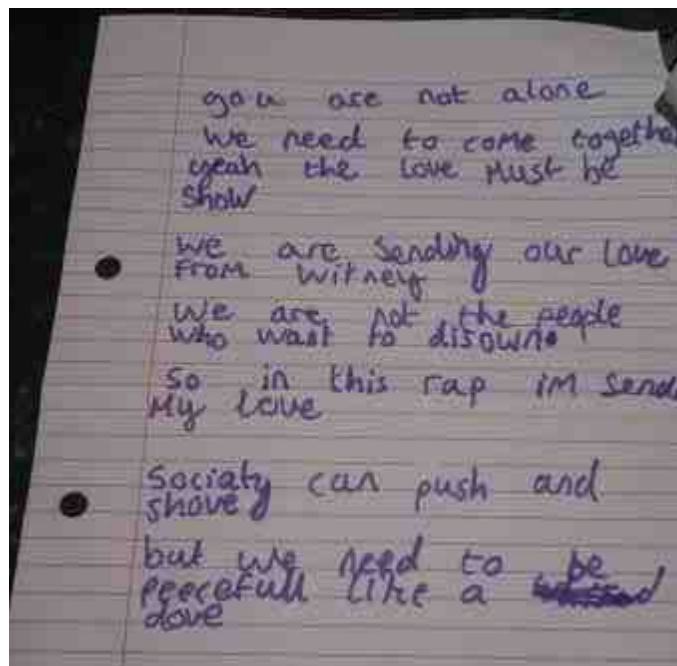

Figure 21. Lyrics of rap written by Base 33 member Mike. Image taken: 10th February 2017.

Yet on his own, Mike did not speak out to the detainees in Campsfield House IRC. On his own, he did not hear the detainees speak, understand their vulnerability, or become moved by their songs. These things were achieved through the combined work of Mike, of Music in Detention staff, the microphones, drum kits, keyboards and various speaker systems, and cumulatively, these actors worked to allow Mike to renegotiate his political relationship with the state. Potentially resistant relations therefore cannot be seen as simply the work of human actors; they are conducted by heterogeneous collectives that, in this instance, included (but were not necessarily limited to); human bodies, instruments, recording equipment and, of course, the musical materials themselves (CDs, .MP3s, etc.).

My contention therefore is that, through an attention to creativity as *poiesis* we can recognize that these heterogeneous collectives of lively materials help condition the kinds of action that can be made in a given moment. That an appreciation of the alignment of (in)coherent subjects and lively materials can impact upon the practices of resistance that are possible in a given moment. The acts described here did not occur on an empty stage: the spaces of the IRC music room and Base 33's meeting place were not passive backdrops. Such space-times were contingently constituted through the unique arrangement and interactions of lively materials and bodies, and these performed environments conditioned the kinds of claim that could be made. As such, the materials in this project not only made possible the encounters between detainees and Base 33 members by their traversal of IRC walls; they were active in the formation of participant responses and were physically involved in the development of practices of resistance. Humans, as in Chapter 5, consequently cannot be seen to be "fully formed, preexisting subjects, but […] subjects [that are] intra-actively constituted through the material discursive practices that they engage in" (Barad 2007, 168). Put

simply, the material is active in, and integral to, the processes through which different forms of resistance emerge.

However, the translation of these performances into recorded music involves a series of omissions. Whilst the experiences and emotions of participants can, to a certain extent, be conveyed through music, their names, faces, life histories, nationalities, and other details are frequently obscured. There is always something that is lost in processes of translation. As Music in Detention volunteer Emily reflected during the project for example, the music's context, the collective atmosphere created in that particular moment, can never be completely replicated or enabled to travel beyond the IRC walls. She explained:

> I mean there is no way that these two groups can meet anyways, so how can you bring you know, the atmosphere or the… that is something that you cannot import fully.
>
> [Interview, Emily, Music in Detention volunteer, 11th March 2016]

This loss of detail that is produced through the mediation of encounters by materials is important, for it can have a variety of political implications. One consequence is that the affective intensity of encounters and the forcefulness with which resistance may emerge is reduced. Indeed, this might be a contributing reason for why music is permitted to circulate out of IRCs, whilst photographs of detainees' incarceration are not permitted to leave (for the may be more readily circulated in print media, photocopied, display images of staff, detainees and of conditions inside the centre). Music's inability to convey certain aspects of the contexts of its production may be being perceived by IRC stakeholders as inhibitive of the formation of particular kinds of affected political subject.

At the same time however, the ways in which these collectives come together to create music must be appreciated for the way that they can potentially produce particularly intense affects: affects that written lyrics, photographs, or spoken word cannot. Whilst certain elements may be lost through music's production, others may be amplified, presenting opportunities for powerful forms of affective encounter. As Mike noted:

> "If I said to you, 'hi my name's Mike, and I'm supporting your cause', it's different if you have a beat to it as well".

> [Focus group, Base 33, 2nd March 2016]

Another important implication is that these materials may emphasize the distances between detainees, Base 33 members and the various members of the public who might listen to these recordings either online, or through the CDs that are distributed by Music in Detention. Whilst the points of contact between these groups are facilitated through the movement of music, the voices, melodies and drumbeats that are captured by Music in Detention's equipment also speak of the absence and distancing of the people being recorded. The reproduction of these sounds and the awareness that they can create of the details that are being left behind (the performer's faces, names, and stories, for example) can work to emphasize that the recordings are only ever traces, or echoes, of distanced events.[146] Therefore whilst musical encounters may, in one sense, break down distances created by IRCs in their attempts to construct 'us'/'them' binaries, the music created through these projects may simultaneously be productive of this dichotomy through the way in which it draws attention to these distances.

---

[146] See the opening vignettes of this chapter.

However, an attention to materiality as neither "fixed nor given nor mere end result of different processes" (Barad 2007, 137) disrupts this view of an end product circulating as potential resistance. Instead, viewing resistance through *poiesis* means that the process and product of creation cannot be separated. Such accounts of the liveliness of materials, that form new relations beyond (although not excluding) human intent, resonate with Bennett's concept of distributed agency, which "does not posit a subject as the root cause of an effect" (2010, 31). Here Bennett disrupts traditional notions of agency – of the liberal agentic subject – as a moral capacity, linked to "an advance plan or intention", instead noting that "there are instead always a swarm of vitalities at play" (2010, 31, 32). This can be seen through the relations of materials that come together to perform a musical piece, objects coming together beyond human action to have effects and affects, press upon one another and realise capacities. An attention to resistance though lively materials necessitates an acknowledgement of how materials have immanent potential to disrupt, destabilise and reaffirm the entanglements of forces in which they are held.

3.ii Artwork: gathering a community

> Sue and Erica tell the story of Fang[147], a Chinese artist who was detained at Campsfield House IRC. Fang wrote to the Queen, Prince Charles and David Cameron, including a copy of his work, detailing his case and claiming that he was the 'artist in residence' at the IRC. David Cameron never replied and the Queen sent a stock letter, but Prince Charles allegedly wrote back saying that he wished Fang all the best with his asylum case. The paper this letter was printed upon contained

---

[147] I use Fang's real name here, for it is cited publically online (Bosworth and von Zinnenburg Carroll 2017)

the heading of the Royal Household, and Fang took this with him when he was eventually deported as a sign of his unacknowledged right to remain into the UK. His artwork however is still in the IRC, decorating the boardroom and the visitor centre.

Fang's story has become akin to folklore for staff and detainees as Campsfield House IRC, yet there is no proof of its validity.

[Notes from conference 'Border Control: Artist's responses to incarceration', Oxford University, 23rd May 2016]

The story of Fang, whether true or not, is illustrative of the importance of exploring the agentic, vital materiality of artwork circulating within and outside the IRCs. The letter from Prince Charles, imprinted with the heading of the Royal Household seemingly has, for Fang, a greater affective charge as it symbolises for him acceptance within a state that has paradoxically rejected his presence within its territory. Copies of Fang's paintings of these three state-figures leave the IRC forming new relations and having impacts that cannot be fully known or governed. The originals now hang in the centre: The Queen looks down upon a staff boardroom table [Figure 22]; David Cameron stared out at the visitor centre until the 2015 General Election forced staff to take the image down, and Prince Charles is hung on the wall behind the visitor reception desk. There is something disquieting to

Figure 22: Fang's painting on the wall of the Boardroom of Campsfield House IRC. (Image by von Zinnenburg Carroll, taken from Bosworth and von Zinnenburg Carroll 2017)

me about these images, produced by an individual who has been forcibly ejected from the nation-state and yet decorating the walls of an institution premised upon categorising people to control their movement.

Yet the liveliness of these "polychromic" images extends beyond their content (Serres and Latour 1990, 60); their intensity presses upon the observer and they gather to them what Daston terms a community of practices: "like seeds around which an elaborate crystal can suddenly congeal, things in a supersaturated cultural solution can crystallize ways of thinking, feeling, and acting. These thickenings of significance are one way that things can be made to talk" (2004, 20). Artwork, like all groupings of materials, resists tidy classification and instead always contains the potential to overflow its outlines; the *thing* has the power to gather to it a community of practices. The paintings gather to them things as diverse as letters, Prince Charles, boardrooms, art exhibitions and academic theses; they themselves form relations that exceed any intention, or known outcome. These images highlight how we cannot separate the product from the process of creation as well as the impossibility of ever fully knowing or following the thing. This also raises the importance of remaining specific to form whilst writing across multiple creative genres, as there is something specific to art in this material form of a painting in that it can be photocopied, sent in the post and hung on display that can gather practices, circulate and have affects. This section develops these themes of gathering, disruption and excess to disrupt the prevailing view within much literature that resistant artwork is that which is deployed to disrupt, or depicts disruptive scenes, by exploring the circulation of artwork from Campsfield House IRC, how it gathers to it a community of practices and in doing so resists the tidy classification of the state.

Here, I draw upon the vital materialism of Bennett and Daston's talkative things, to develop the argument that materials are always already in excess

and it is not possible to govern or control their circulation, nor the impacts that they may or may not have. Furthermore, objects gather to them a variety of practices, resisting tidy classification as "variously things knit together matter and meaning" (Daston 2004, 10) and in doing so disrupt the view that it is possible to know the impact of an image. This resonates with accounts of creativity as *poiesis* as it disrupts the distinction between the process and product of creation. Further, it multiplies the potentiality for resistant artwork beyond intentionality and turning to look at how the art talks, has intensity and presses upon the observer in unanticipated ways: "Even if they do not literally whisper and shout, these things press their messages on attentive auditors – many messages, delicately adjusted to context, revelatory, and right on target" (Daston 2004, 12).

Oxford University's Border Criminology department are compiling an archive of artwork from inside Campsfield House IRC (Bosworth and von Zinnenburg Carroll 2017). This artwork has circulated beyond the centre, and whilst it now resides in the art archive it also travels on through to art exhibitions, Powerpoint screens and has been digitised (Bosworth and von Zinnenburg Carroll 2017). The creative process does not 'end' with the production of an image, but continues as these objects travel and form relations beyond the centre. Furthermore, the copyright of these images has been signed over from the IRC to Oxford University; the control over their circulation has been removed from the creator, who may or may not have known that this artwork would be used in this way as the art teacher at Campsfield House IRC passes any unclaimed artwork onto Oxford University for their archive.[148]

---

[148] I put this question to an artist from Oxford University who is also troubled by it. They cannot know whether the individuals are happy with their work being used like this, but they would prevent anything from being circulated if any problems arose.

When I first encountered the artwork, it was held in a series of large flat boxes each containing an assortment of paintings, together with a few mosaics, trinket boxes, Music in Detention CDs and poetry. Also in these boxes were items collected by Oxford University that related to the art or centres in some way: weekly art activity sheets [Figure 23]; a SERCO employee's Yarl's Wood calendar depicting landscapes from the world; a 'Shut Down Yarl's Wood tshirt', an Order of Service for a carol service at

Figure 23: Art Activities poster from Oxford Archive stating: Everyone Welcome. © Oxford University Border Criminologies.
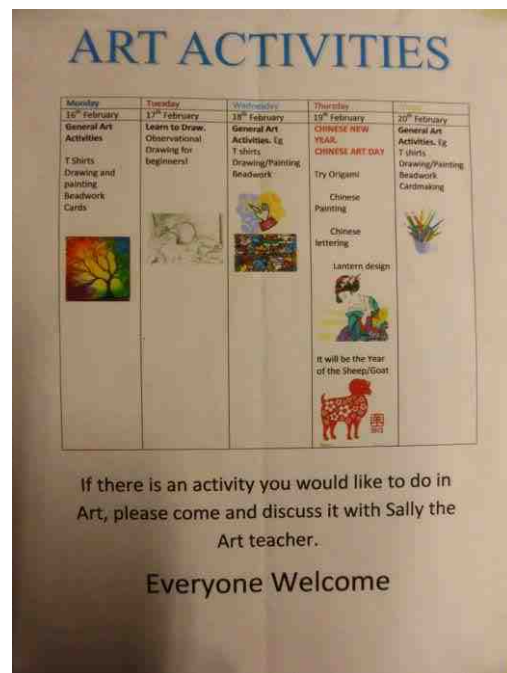
Campsfield House IRC.

This eclectic mix of objects accompanies the 'traditional' artwork, framing it and impacting upon its reception. The artwork itself contains images of people, landscapes, fantasy-creatures, eyes and many flags; there is little that thematically holds it together. Whilst there are images in the archive of a satirical zebra from 'Zebraland', a guard and a dog and what appears to be a border crossings [see: Figure 24; Figure 25; Figure 26] that would 'fit' expected resistant material that disputes the system of power the images are produced within, there are also images of a pineapple, and young girl [see: Figure 27; Figure 28]. Given that I cannot know the context in which the artwork was produced, and nor could I speak to the artists, there are many

unanswered questions: Was the content instructed? Why were certain scenes depicted? Who is the girl? This art, following Bennett and Daston resists tidy classification and disrupts what can be considered a matter of resistance, beyond the content depicted. It is not possible to know, for example, whether the Zebracard is intended to be as satirical as I am reading it, or if the Dog and Guard are representing situations found at 'home', at a border, the IRC, or are fictional.
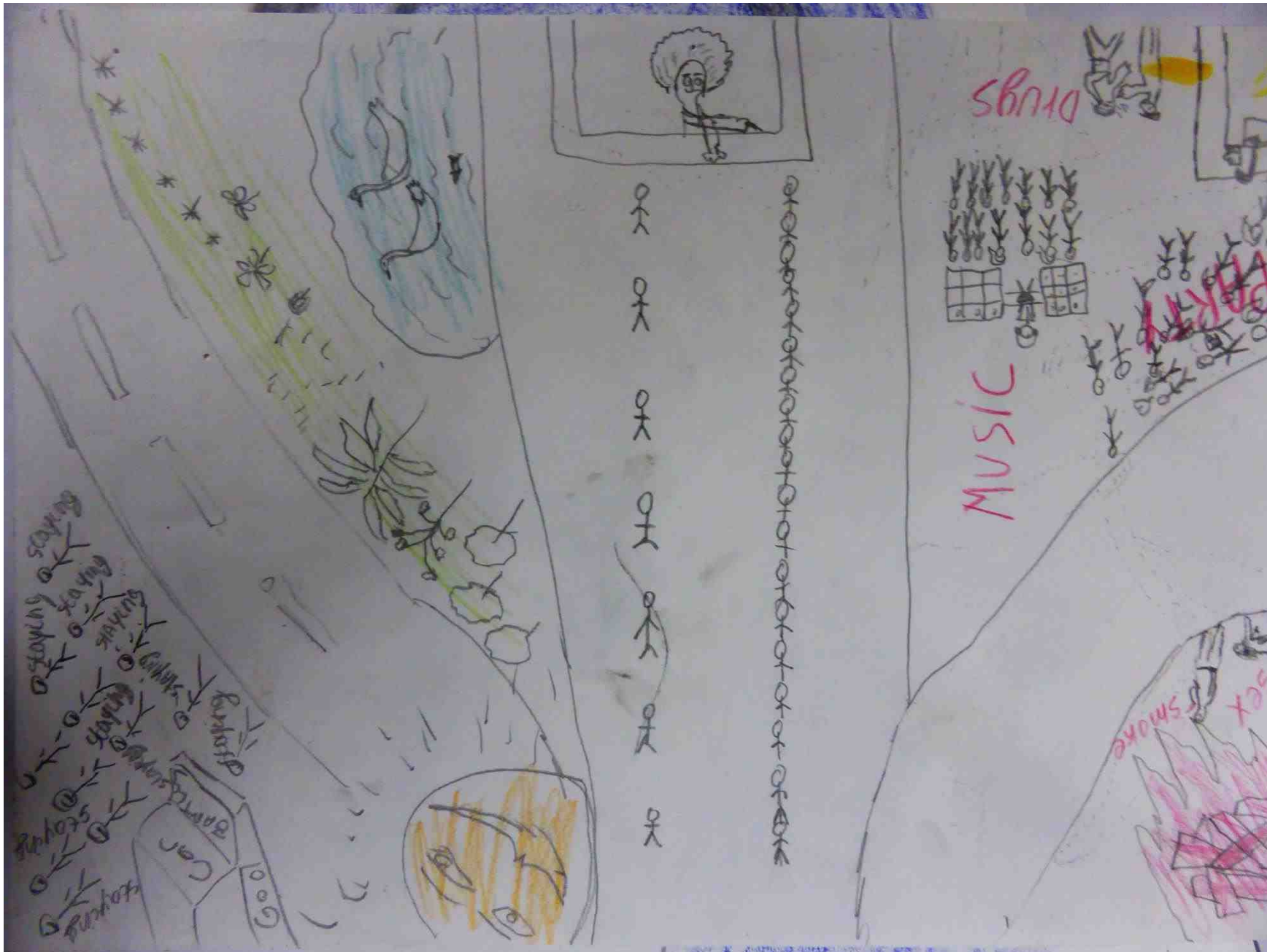
Figure 24: Image from Campsfield House IRC. This appears to be depicting a border control, with two queues. Smiling people with the word 'staying' next to them are in the bottom right. People having sex, taking drugs and playing music are in the top left. © Oxford University Border Criminologies.

Figure 25: Dog and Guard, Campsfield House IRC. ©
*Oxford University Border Criminologies.*
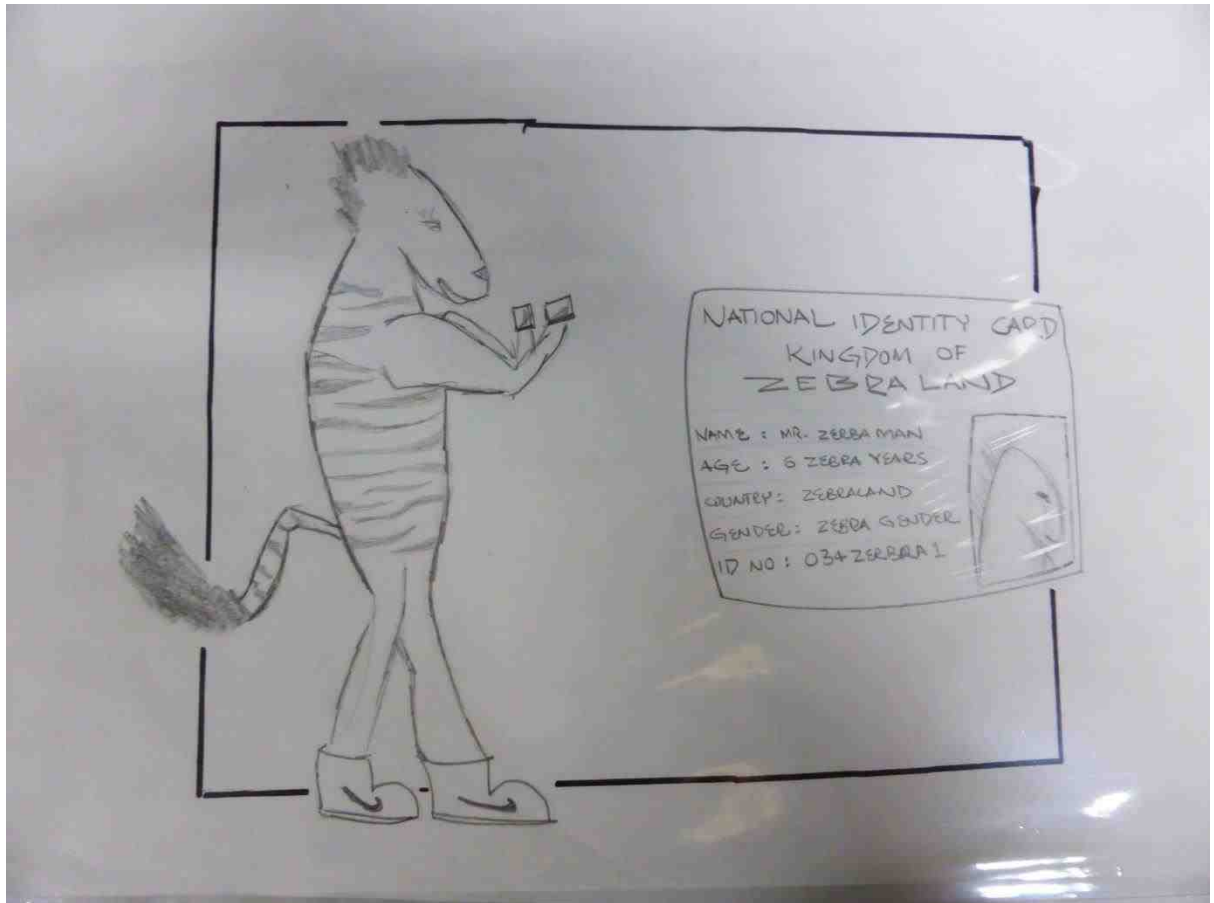
Figure 26: (Satirical?) Zebraland from Campfield House IRC. © Oxford University Border Criminologies.

*Figure 27: Image of a girl from Campsfield House IRC. ©
Oxford University Border Criminologies.*
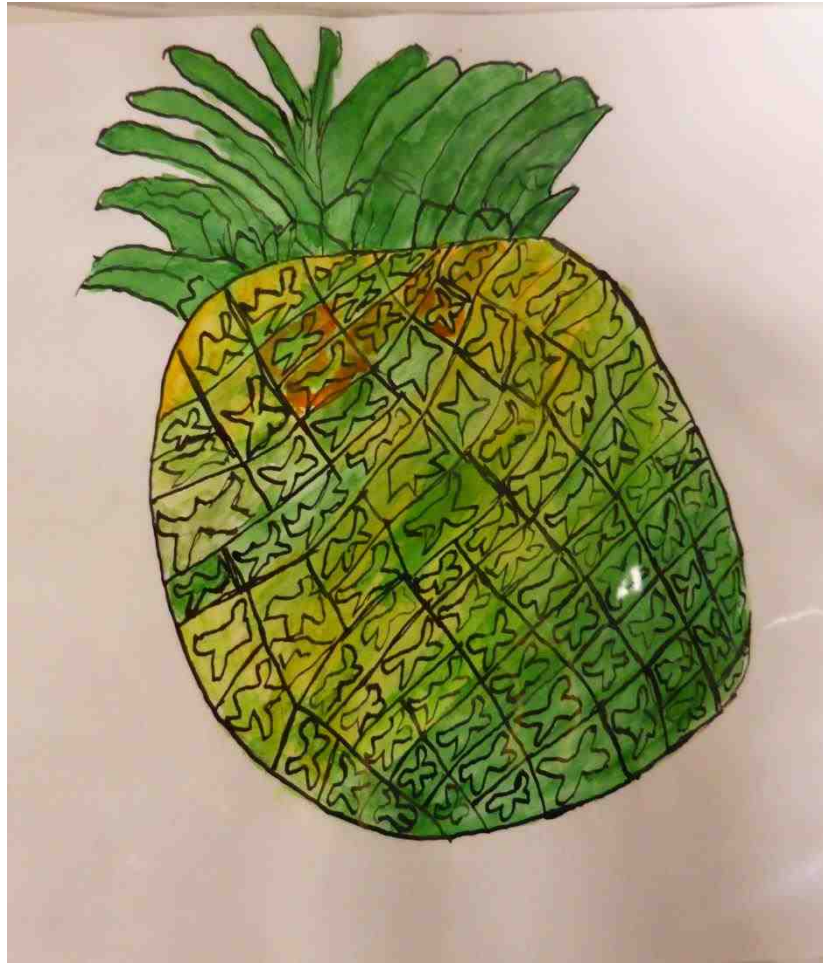
Figure 28: Image of Pineapple from Campsfield House IRC. ©
Oxford University Border Criminologies.

The artwork presents itself in the archive, as a fragment of life from within the centre, yet without the identification of the artist upon it. Mary Bosworth from Oxford University has only obtained the nationality of the individual from the art teacher, which is written onto the back of the work together with a note about its production [Figure 29]. The drawing of the peacock below is unlikely to be presented as a matter of resistance, yet there is something desperately sad, and almost comical to me about its 'unknown nationality' label. It reminds me of a teacher writing the name of a pupil on a painting, attaching this object to a person, yet this object has been attached to the nationality of an individual (in this case unknown). I assume that this label has been attached for future thematic analysis, yet it seems farcical that
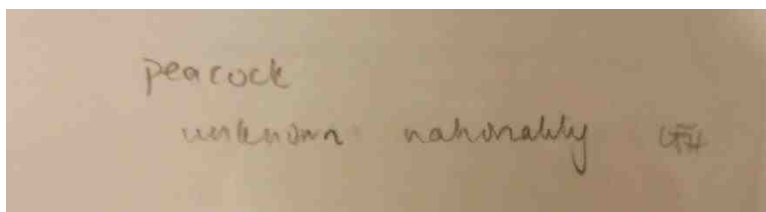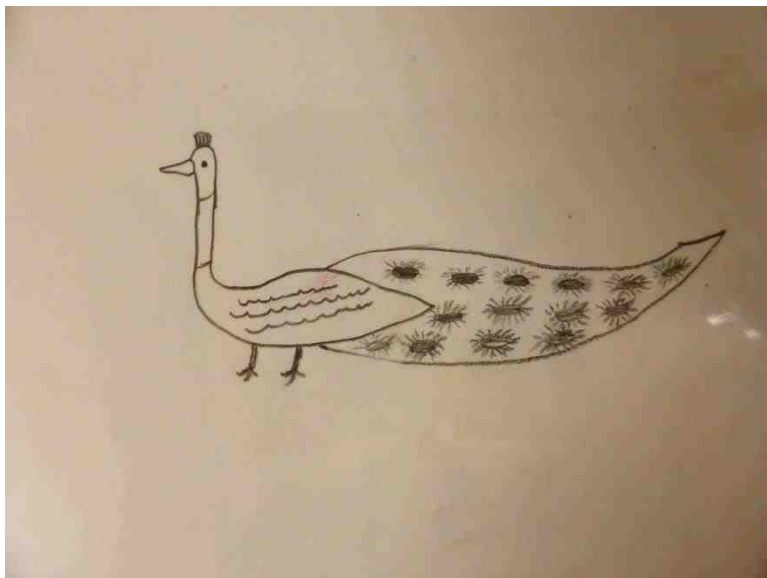

Figure 29: Peacock, Unknown nationality, Campsfield House IRC. © Oxford University Border Criminologies.

drawing of a peacock has this label in the archive: Why does it matter where the person who drew it came from? Do they want this label attached to it? This is reflective of the fact that we cannot know the intention of the artist, or whether or not they are happy with their work circulating and being depicted in this way. However, attaching a nationality to a drawing of a peacock can be considered political, a matter of resistance, as in its circulation outside of the centre attached to this label within the Oxford University archive, it resonates to me with the arbitrariness of nationality, the bizarre nature of defining objects, materials and bodies through a nation-state and whilst in doing so disrupts the logic of the detainees' exclusion.

It is not possible to ever know the consequences of circulation, nor of ever fully knowing or following this thing. This is important in the context of understanding resistance because it disrupts the idea that artwork as only political in its intent, taking "politics to be the activity of collective or group decision-making that also affects other groups within that social body" (Mesch 2013, 2), and the idea that artwork in the context of immigration detention can be considered resistant if it depicts 'political' content or is circulated with the intention of disruption (see Marciniak and Tyler 2014). Instead it is the "the thingness of the thing lies in its power to 'gather' other elements to it" (Daston 2004, 16, 24); the artwork can "threaten to overflow their outlines" and form previously unthinkable combinations.

3.iii CD: Into unknown

Music in Detention produce CDs from the community exchange workshops. The music recordings captured through the translation of sound waves vibrating through the components of the recording equipment, become further translated as they are edited, and converted into .mp3 format on a CD. These files are also available on Music in Detention's website, placed

there deliberately so that detainees can access them (for sites such as YouTube are blocked by most IRCs) (Music in Detention 2017).

The material qualities of the CD permit it to remain in the UK or travel abroad, to circulate beyond the walls of the centres and to "land in unexpected places and form shapes…never thought of" (Foucault 2000, 321), and as such, it troubles the notion of intentionality with regards to understanding resistance. The circulation of the CD highlights how it is not possible to untangle the process and product of creation – *poiesis* –, as this material manifestation of the workshops is itself a new beginning, folded through with traces of its past, and disrupting the view of a linear temporality to or of coherent subjects of resistance (both human and non-human). Moreover, the CD can circulate and form relations with unknown actors, having affects that cannot be known. This lack of control over the direction of the CD came up in a focus group with Base 33 members:

> Chris: It's gonna spread all round the world innit. We'll be on TV, next, turn it on, and they're just blasting out our tunes. It's actually on BBC news, like this mixtape went worldwide today after 6 men bought it back from Syria.

> Mel: (Base 33 staff): Do you know what? You're joking about it but you never know. You never know.
>
> [Focus group, Base 33, 2nd March 2016]

Whilst CDs are initially distributed to those involved in the project, and then to anyone who is interested, this is only one beginning of where the CDs could end up; the imagined future of the CD cannot be anticipated, its journey cannot be known. I have handed out several CDs: during presentations including in Canada, Germany and in the United States; to charities and to my colleagues, friends and family, yet where they end up

and the context that they will be heard is not something that either I or Music in Detention, the Home Office, Base 33, Mitie or the participants can know. Indeed, a new political potential emerges when this material manifestation of music emerges; in circulating 'outside' the sovereign apparatus (yet unable to be disconnected from it) the CD has the potential to reconfigure the way in which bodies and materials are arranged in relation to one another as to structure the agential "fields of possibilities and impossibilities" (Barad 2007, 170). Crucially, neither the IRC management nor Music in Detention can govern, predict or fully control the path that the CD may follow. They also cannot manage the reactions and responses the CD may (or may not) bring. This makes it particularly important to explore in relation to resistance because, in a system that is premised upon the governance of circulation, the movement of the CD from this socio-material assemblage (although it is unable to be fully disconnected from it) has the potential to travel to places, combine in relation to countless other material things having unknown affects.

This point is put forward by Barad (2007, 183) who, conceptualising matter as "not a thing but a doing" argues that we cannot separate materials from their affects. That music is always becoming, is "produced and productive" (Barad 2007, 137), resonates with attention to the multiple, as-yet unknown relations that it may (or may not) form. These relations are potential. A seemingly rigid CD may pass through many hands, and might be played, perused, or contemplated upon in many different environments. The various relationships that align between bodies and materials to allow it to play in these environments will always be formed in novel ways that cannot be completely replicated. Crucially however, these potential relations may not be politically progressive; the CD may land with unsympathetic groups: those on the right, the tabloid press; those who will campaign to prevent music within IRCs due to concerns around government expenditure, or

those who argue that music within IRCs is futile, serving to perpetuate an unjust system.

Such an attention to materiality as neither "fixed nor given nor mere end result of different processes" (Barad 2007, 137) disrupts this view of an end product circulating as potential resistance. Instead, viewing resistance beyond intentionality and creativity through *poiesis* means that the process and product of creation cannot be separated and disrupts the requirement of a *telos.* It is worth noting here that not all objects are equal in their capacity to form and reform potentially troubling relations however, whilst in this chapter I have asserted the specificities of music and artwork, this is not the only kind of material that circulates from the centres: letters, staff, emails and food also enter and leave the IRC. As such, my point here is not that music or artwork are specific in their capacity to (re)form relations (for it is never possible to fully know the potential specific associations of any circulating object), but rather that the specific material qualities that are assumed by music and artwork at different moments affects the potential political relations that may, or may not, form in the future.

This unknowability and ambiguity diverges from prevailing accounts of materiality and acts of resistance that have explored the use of materials to intentionally disrupt or intervene within particular configurations of sovereign power. In focussing upon the circulating CDs' potentialities, it is possible to explore how these CDs have the *potential* to arise from such circulations; circulations that bring the humanity of the detainees into contact with the state and have the *potential* to destabilise the finality of their exclusion. Importantly however, as previously stated, potential does not translate to possibility. Furthermore, this circulation chimes with accounts of resistance that posit it as without, or beyond intent. The CD or artwork itself can be a 'knot' that travels, not in a "savage, spontaneous" way but in a manner that allows new potentials to emerge that cannot be fully governed

(Foucault 1978, 96). The focus on vital materials forming relations beyond human desire disrupts accounts of resistance as necessitating an end goal. Instead the CD is disruptive in its "thick potential" as it opens up a "sense of the possible" (Sharpe et al. 2014, 121), and alternative imaginings of a future, the precise contours of which are unable to be mapped out in advance.

This disruption may be momentary, and written out by the power of the state, yet this temporality of the interruption, and its contingency upon facets of the state for this CD's circulation is not to view these interventions as meaningless. Instead it is the *potentiality* of these CDs that is political, their paths cannot be dictated, their future interactions with other human and nonhuman entities cannot be fully governed and this unsettles the performance of the sovereign state. This has implications for understanding political subjectivity as an attention to these disensual, "knots of resistance" that bring detainees into contact with the political life of the state may further destablise the boundaries and logic of their exclusion, exposing their subject positions as "arbitrary, contingent, and unstable" (Foucault 1978, 96; Waller 2014, 257)

.

4. Conclusions

In this chapter I have argued for an attention to the potentiality of resistant relations. My contention has been that resistance must be understood as plural and distributed, operating without or beyond intention. I have considered the circulation of creative materials within the UK asylum system and pointed to the importance of accounting for an agentic materiality. This resonates with the focus upon creativity as *poiesis* that I have developed throughout this thesis. Drawing upon the turn towards the non-human and more-than-human within Human Geography, I viewed matter to be lively and agentic (Daston 2004; Barad 2007; Bennett 2010; Braun and Whatmore 2010; Darling 2014). I have demonstrated that, when understood through this

lens, materials can destabilise, disrupt and reaffirm entanglements of power and resistance; they are complex and cannot be fully known (Bennett, 2010). This grounding in materialism results in a departure from previous work considering the place of creative materials within the UK asylum system as I have argued for an attention to the material as potentially political beyond its interactions with the human. Such a framing challenges resistance that requires discrete causality, and intentional actions.

This chapter began by exploring the governance of circulation, to show how legal ambiguity contributed to a governing 'logic of paranoia' that is pervasive throughout the management of circulating materials. This paranoia results in some artists and organisations effectively undergoing a form of self-censorship, to protect themselves and their work from disrupting the Home Office. This removal of possibly disruptive lyrics or images from circulating would likely be read by many activists as unable to be resistant as it does not challenge the state, and neither does it necessarily conform to a linear time frame. As Darling (2017b, 730) further notes[149] "[a]n attention to the material constitution of the act, does not prioritise particular subjects, spaces, or actors, as the rightful authors of such acts." This resonates, as Darling further suggests (2017b), with Squire's call for a focus upon acts rather than intentions, for this requires becoming "attuned to the dynamics of power-resistance across concrete sites and pays attention to how far interventions by bodies in action effect a transformation in being through producing new subjects and scripts" (Squire 2017, 265). In this chapter therefore, I have developed the argument made in previous chapters, by arguing for an attention to multiple, circulating creative materials as agentic, as actions are taken to prevent them forming unwanted relations and leaving

---

[149] Darling's comments here are taken from the Afterword to a Special Issue (Maestri and Hughes 2017) where sections of this chapter were previously published (Hughes and Forman 2017). They are therefore directed to a previous iteration of this chapter.

the centre to have unknown, ungovernable impacts. Put another way, materials are excessive, and form relations beyond any human intent.

This argument that the liveliness of materials disrupts what matter can be considered resistant was then developed as it was woven through the paths of three circulating materials: a .MIDI file; artwork from Campsfield House IRC and a CD from a community exchange project. Together these examples demonstrate diverse traces of life within an IRC; they mutate as they circulate, they form new relations and they resist tidy classification. Crucially the content or form of these material traces does not need to be seen to be against the state to be considered political, or resistant. Neither the circulation of the painting of the Peacock by someone of 'unknown nationality', nor Music in Detention's self-censored CDs fit with the expectant resistant material containing a message of discontent within a situation of power, and yet the possible impacts that their circulation may (or may not) be fully known. The community these materials could gather to them, the affects that they have upon a viewer, and its path after leaving the centre cannot be mapped in advance. For in its ambiguity, the object's ability to land in unknown places, to form and reform relations, contains the potential to trouble the performance of the asylum system, revealing its contingencies.

Chapter Seven
Conclusions

"I can't help but dream about a kind of criticism that would not try to judge, but bring an oeuvre, a book, a sentence, an idea to life; it would light fires, watch the grass grow, listen to the wind, and catch the sea-foam in the breeze and scatter it. It would multiply, not judgments, but signs of existence; it would summon them, drag them from their sleep. Perhaps it would invent them sometimes – all the better. All the better. Criticism that hands down sentences sends me to sleep; I'd like a criticism of scintillating leaps of the imagination. It would not be a sovereign or dressed in red. It would bear the lightning of possible storms."

(Foucault 2000, 323)

In this thesis, I proposed an alternative approach to understandings of resistance within the UK asylum system. My contention has been that as border technologies are splintered and dispersed then, so too, are practices of resistance. To remain unambiguously oppositional, is to determine, and therefore to limit, resistance *a priori*. Through an attention to creativity, understood through *poiesis*, I have built upon the work of Foucault, to argue that through an attention to potentiality resistance may "bring…an idea to life" (Foucault 2000, 323). Crucially, understanding resistance as *potential* – present within all relations, an immanent force – does not mean that the plane of *possibility* for resistance is evenly distributed. Whilst resistance is an always present potential within relations of power, the capacity to negotiate, (re)configure and challenge is not. In the context of resistance in the UK

asylum system, I have argued that an attention to potentiality requires us to rethink what might come to be recognized as resistance, the norms governing what currently is written into narratives of resistance and, crucially, how resistance can appear otherwise.

In making this argument, my thesis was guided by two broad conceptual goals: first, I aimed to develop understandings of the relationship between creativity and resistance and second, to contribute to debates on resistance within and beyond Political Geography. I began the project with an understanding that the spaces of the UK asylum system were immanent and thus unable to be predetermined. In effect, my approach extended the scope of which spaces count as the UK asylum system. Therefore, across the research journey I engaged with multiple spaces of the UK asylum system including IRCs, coffee shops, museums and community halls. This research produced three main themes: (non)linear temporalities of resistance; (in)coherent subjects of resistance and lively materials of resistance which formed the focus of the empirical chapters of this thesis.

In its broader location within discussions around border politics, my thesis intersects with multiple debates surrounding the wider place of resistance, creativity and positionality within contemporary systems of asylum control. As such, my key arguments (that resistance cannot be determined *a priori;* that an attention to creativity as *poiesis* can develop understandings of the relationship between creativity and resistance, and that decentering intentionality can advance understandings of resistance) contribute to ongoing conversations on these themes. My work extends and resonates beyond the confines of the aims and research questions of this thesis. This conclusion to the thesis therefore should not be considered a definitive 'end' to the research project, but rather as a reflective pause during which I collate and condense the research so far. I outline the limits of this project, before identifying the key theoretical and methodological contributions, together

with the possible wider contributions of the thesis, including those beyond the academy. I then turn to outline three avenues of future research. I end this thesis where I began, reflecting upon the continued and increasing violence of border control and the urgent need for critically engaged scholarship to think anew about what it might mean to think and recognize resistance, otherwise.

1. Rethinking resistance within the UK asylum system

In this thesis, I developed understandings of resistance within the UK asylum system, arguing that resistance should be expanded beyond an intentional subject acting towards an end goal. Through an attention to creativity, understood as *poiesis*, I looked at alternative framings of temporality, subjectivity and materiality to show how they contain the immanent potential to disrupt the UK asylum system and therefore should be brought into narratives of resistance. I adopted ethnographic methods, for they enabled me to look at creativity as a process, resistance as emergent and subjects in formation. I showed how this allowed me to access, in part, the meanings that individuals ascribed to their engagement with creative activities in the UK asylum system.

In Chapter 4, I argued for (non)linear temporalities of resistance. I demonstrated how an attention to temporality as polyrhythmic and multiple disrupts the ontologically realist and homogenous, linear time of the state, revealing it to be neither fixed nor immutable. I demonstrated that waiting within the UK asylum system can be understood to be folded through with multiple temporalities. I showed how an attention to creativity as *poiesis* is important for this argument, for music and artwork can be considered to pulse with discordant rhythms, which bring multiple space-times into the 'present' and disrupt accounts of linear temporalities. Further, I suggested that this has consequences for how resistance is understood for, when

situated within a framing of time as polyrhythmic, the assumed linearity between action and future events is disrupted, and it is possible to remain open to the multiplicity of directions that these moments bring.

In Chapter 5 I developed this argument for a (non)linear temporality within understandings of resistance, moving to look at the possibilities of resistance that open up when focusing upon an (in)coherent subject. I looked at creative activities within the UK asylums to ask "what if the action did not fully belong to us?" (Manning 2016, 16). Here, I regarded subjects beyond volition, through attention to staff-detainee relations within a Music in Detention workshop in Campsfield House IRC. I focussed upon moments of apparent shared laughter, joy and childhood memories to argue that acknowledging the incoherence of subjects can bring ambiguities and messiness into narratives of resistance, which can disrupt and distort oppositional or binary framings. I turned to rethink the place of creative charities within framings of resistance for, as these organisations frequently directly work with facets of the state, they are often not recognised as resistant by those who argue for the need to remain oppositional. Instead through the research detailed into this chapter, I suggested that to write out the possibility for resistance is to delineate resistance *a priori* and miss that these moments, subjects and materials contain the immanent potential to disturb, distort and trouble the performance of the asylum system.

In Chapter 6, I examined the lively and agentic materials of resistance, focussing upon the potentiality of materials circulating beyond the IRC and therefore developing the decentring of human agency in Chapter 5, and, as noted in Chapter 4, reiterating that objects are polychromic. In this chapter I argued for understandings of resistance within the UK asylum system to be developed through an attention to more-than-human ontologies, drawing upon the work of Darling (2014) to argue that materials contain the potential to (re)form relations that cannot always be predetermined. In doing so, I

looked at the governance of creative activities, exploring the legalities of copyright law in IRCs and identifying a logic of paranoia undergirding much action within the system. I therefore examined the circulation of apparent 'end products' from the IRC, explaining how understanding creativity as *poiesis* chimes with a materialist framework. I explored the materials that circulated between Base 33 and Campsfield House IRC during a Music in Detention exchange workshop, the artwork that is permitted to leave the IRC and the potential of the CD of music from the Music in Detention exchange project to argue that materials are excessive, forming relations beyond any apparent human intention.

Throughout these chapters, I worked to destabilise the seemingly fixed coordinates of resistance which have come to undergird much scholarly attention within Political Geography and within literature on contemporary systems of asylum control: that a multiplicity of resistant relations dilutes the political purchase of the term resistance, and that resistance requires intentionality. Instead I built upon the work of those who unsettle these normative benchmarks of whether an action, subject or material is deemed resistant (Ní Mhurchú 2014; Tazzioli 2015; Squire 2017). This is important: first, because as academics delineating what is considered to be 'resistant' or 'political' (in)action, we are complicit in denying recognition to individuals and organisations within the UK asylum system; second, in expanding the conceptual purchase of the term resistance in the context of an increasingly violent system of immigration control we can encourage activities that open other ways of resisting and being political beyond a foreclosed possibility.[150]

1.i Research Questions

---

[150] See Introduction, however, for details of the possible problems of remaining with the term resistance.

Together these chapters addressed the project's research questions as follows:

1. **How are the creative practices of music and art governed and regulated in the UK asylum system?**

In the thesis, I examined the governance of music and artwork within the UK asylum system to move beyond the pervasive framing of these activities, which has predominantly been with regard to concerns around mental health (Dokter 1998; Wilson and Drozdek 2004) and wellbeing (Lenette and Procopis 2015; Lenette et al. 2015; Sunderland et al. 2015). Within IRCs these activities have been primarily explored through a focus upon the patronizing nature of art workshops, the infantilizing of detainees or through a focus upon mental health (Underhill 2011; Bosworth 2014; Gill 2016). Whilst I do not disagree with these readings of creative activities within the UK asylum system, through my research I argue that *only* understanding them through this lens, limits recognition of the political potential of these activities; that attention to the governance of these activities is important for developing accounts of resistance within the UK asylum system.

In Chapter 6, I explored the legalities of the governance of materials from UK IRCs, focusing upon the complexities surrounding copyright in this area. I identified confusion, discretion and a contagious logic of paranoia which, I argued, is likely to undergird the actions of artists, charities, IRC management and detainees within this area. The hypersensitivity of the Home Office and IRC management, around the potential relations that creative materials circulating from the centres may form resonates across many of the activities in this area, with artists and musicians commenting upon their fears of the removal of their citizenship, or that the tabloid press would pick upon the apparent 'good time' that the detainees were having. The form of the creative activity was important here, for example, radio shows were not permitted to be broadcast beyond the centre walls and

videos were considered riskier than artwork, regardless of the content, for their form impacts the circulation and potential relations that they may continue to make. Charities within IRCs also act with caution, self-governing their actions; Music in Detention for example, are careful about what lyrics they publish and remove anything deemed to be possibly problematic. Put another way, the chapter argued that the IRC management, musicians and artists are involved in a series of imaginative governing practices that seek to anticipate potentially threatening sets of socio-material relations and prevent them from actualizing.

This governing logic of paranoia extends to the role of academic research within UK IRCs. As detailed in Chapters 3 and 6, the concern of the Home Office regarding my application to conduct research within Music in Detention workshops, centered around the potential circulation of my thesis. In demanding a right to veto or to redact sections of my work, they sought to limit the potential relations that this project may form. This governance has percolated through the PhD thesis, impacting who I can talk to and what they will say. It is also a different form of governance, for unlike with creative activities, which are frequently permitted to continue to circulate, my movement was denied.

Further, in Chapter 5, I explored the role of DCOs within the music workshops, looking at how they may shut down moments deemed to be inappropriate; that they may exceed their subject positions in ways that may or may not be politically progressive. I also looked at encounters within music workshops where the multiplicity of a migrant officer's life exceeded capture by the governing categorisation of the state. In Chapter 4, I examined a painting of a Music in Detention workshop by ex-detainee Zbigniev Cedro noting how whilst the workshops may provide moments where detainees and officers can, through engagement with creative activities, escape from the governing rhythms of everyday life and into other space-times where the

usual hierarchies are disrupted; the solid wall behind this image, indicating that underlying, supporting and enabling this moment of alternative political imaginings is the very power that is curtailing and governing it.

For creative activities taking place in society, governance takes different forms. These activities are not legislated; they are likely not considered to be a concern. However, creativity is still enrolled within similar logics of governance. The activities of Crossings, The Koestler Trust or Music in Detention community exchange projects are considered to be problematic – and governed accordingly if by their form, or circulation they are considered to be disrupting the system. For example, Crossings are careful to focus upon their aforementioned aims to be a "welcoming, fun and safe place to be and to sing, learn and perform music" (2016), and through their activities (e.g. the Crossings' Onion) focus upon breaking down barriers and to prevent any direct conflict from occurring. Similarly, The Koestler Trust do not publish artwork without the centre's permission, and, as previously mentioned, Music in Detention remove potentially problematic lyrics from the community group's workshops. Furthermore, within these groups, subtle forms of governance take place such as the gender dynamics of the choir room and the dominance of those who spoke English at Crossings. This is also reflected in the funding cuts which forced Crossings to be closed; activities for asylum seekers are likely not a priority for the council in the wider context of austerity politics.

This is not to say however, that the governance of music and art activities within the UK asylum system results in their futility; that because charities such as Music in Detention are not oppositional, and are governed within the system, that they should be written out of narratives of resistance. Instead what these moments show is that as the governance of creative activities is splintered, so are moments of potential resistance. As the next research question continues to address, resistance is already entangled within power,

so the potential for resistance and progressive politics emerges through the cracks, fractured, contradictory and ambiguous moments.

2. In what ways can the creative practices of music and art be understood to intervene as resistance within the UK asylum system?

In the thesis, I have developed understandings of how music and art can be recognized to intervene as resistance practices within the UK asylum system. Departing from the traditional perception of creative practices as resistant if in what they represent, or in their (intended) impact they disrupt the practices or underlying principles of asylum control, I move instead to focus upon creativity through *poiesis.* As detailed in Chapter 2, I draw upon this term to decentre creativity from human intention and also to use this lens to align with a Deleuzian philosophy of the world in constant creation. In applying *poiesis* to creative activities, I recognize that there is no clear binary between the product and process of creation. I show throughout the thesis that this has three main implications for understanding how music and artwork can intervene as resistance within the UK asylum system for it enables attention to: (non)linear temporalities, (in)coherent subjects and lively materials.

First, an attention to creativity as *poiesis* disrupts the linear temporality of state time and opens up new ways of thinking about resistance in the UK asylum system. This is because, as Chapter 4 discusses, understanding creativity as part of a world in constant becoming, means that the multiple process of art and music chime discordantly with other space-times. For example, music makes the multiple, pulsating polyrhythms that comprise the world audible, and art renders them (in part) visible: "rhythm runs through a painting just as it runs through a piece of music" (Deleuze 2003, 43). Perceiving art and music as woven in and through the polyrhythmic forces of life, means accepting their immanent potentiality. Further, as Deleuze (1994) argues, there is always something unforeseen that introduces

itself into rhythm, which disrupts the temporal grammar of linear state time, for a focus upon creativity as *poiesis* shows how creativity intersects with multiple and co-existing space-times. For example, memories stimulated by music or artwork can interrupt the so-called 'present', meaning that experiences of the UK asylum system are not linear. This has implications for understanding the temporality of resistance, for conceptualised in this way, music and art are "the opening up of the universe to becoming-other" (Grosz 2008, 23), the potential to be otherwise. In the context of the UK asylum system, this disrupts the seemingly linear trajectory towards deportation or a resident status within the UK; this is not to say that it can necessarily change this system, but alter an individual's relationship to it, revealing it to be contingent.

In Chapter 5, I developed the relationship between creativity and resistance through attention to an (in)coherent subject. I explored how a focus upon *poiesis* allows for the removal of complete association with human intention. Further, it is hard to isolate what constitutes the 'subject' or 'creative' as, for Deleuze, resistance to capture is a key part of becoming-subject. For example, this chapter discussed how music played by Joseph from his home country resonated with the detainees, revealing how in his irreducible multiplicity he resisted full capture by the state. The music here, as it does for Crossings' members Zaweel and Adonay discussed in Chapter 4, stimulates memories beyond any apparent human intentionality. In Chapter 5, I further argued that the actions of creative charities, individuals and activities can be seen to expose subjects to be (in)coherent and, developing Chapter 4, by showing the present to be contingent. Importantly, for understanding resistance within the UK asylum, this opens up possibilities for alternative imagined futures. This does not mean that these imagined futures are politically progressive, but instead that they can destabilise the present, highlighting how another game can be played "another hand, with other trump cards" (Foucault 1994, 295).

Finally, in Chapter 6, I draw upon creativity as *poiesis* to further disrupt the perception that resistance requires conscious, purposeful and intentional action in response to particular power relations. This further moves to refute the assumption that a multiplicity of resistant relations dilutes the political purchase of the term. I do this by adopting a materialist approach and looking at the complex interactions of bodies and things involved with creative activities, to argue that agency is "not aligned with human intentionality" (Barad 2007, 177); for the becoming-world exceeds any human ability to know or control it. As such, its "effervescence, its exuberant creativeness, can never be contained or suspended" and the "future is radically open at every turn" (Barad 2007, 178). I illustrated throughout the PhD that an attention to the CDs, .Midi files and recording equipment circulating from a Music in Detention exchange project; the artwork displayed as part of a Crossings' exhibition in the Discovery Museum and within the Oxford Border Criminologies department, means that we cannot know *a priori* what relations these materials may or may not form. Therefore, in focusing upon *poiesis* to examine the potential of the material to "act in the world at large, not just on us" (Harman 2005, 125) and its capacity to form and reform relations, I move to disrupt accounts of resistance within the UK asylum system that posit a linear, discrete temporal causality.

3. How can an attention to potentiality challenge and advance understandings of resistance in the study of Political Geography?

This engagement with creativity as *poiesis* brings a focus upon potentiality,[151] to both challenge and advance understandings of resistance within the wider field of Political Geography. In Chapter 2, I explain how exploring the concept of resistance within Political Geography reveals a certain paradox, for resistance is simultaneously everywhere, and yet, over the last decade,

---

[151] See Chapter 2 for further details on the lineage of *poiesis* and potentiality through the philosophy of Aristotle, Deleuze and Agamben.

there has been little interrogation or development of conceptualisations of resistance. I further demonstrate however, that following the post-structualist trajectory within the sub-discipline, framings of resistance have largely moved away from binary accounts and towards an understanding of resistance as necessarily entangled with power relations. Yet drawing upon Rose's (2002, 383) comments that the wider discipline of Geography has reached a "theoretical crossroads" concerning understandings of resistance, I demonstrate how two logics have come to undergird much scholarly attention within this area: First that, "if we accept every moment of contradictory practice as an example of resistance, our concepts of resistance become devoid of any practical use" (Rose 2002, 383); that recognizing resistance everywhere becomes "increasingly meaningless" (Jones 2012, 687). Second, that resistance requires intentionality: "I use the term 'resistance' to refer to any action imbued with intent that attempts to challenge" (Routledge 1997, 360). This is not to say that all conceptualisations within Political Geography fall within these logics, but instead to note how they dominate many discussions of resistance within the sub-discipline. In short, resistance within Political Geography has become a totemic concept that is rarely rigorously engaged.

In this thesis, I show how an attention to potentiality can advance understandings of resistance within Political Geography, destabilizing the seemingly fixed coordinates (of intentional action, towards a *telos*, coherent subjects) that emerge from the aforementioned logics. I draw upon the work of scholars such as Amoore and Hall (2010, 2013), Puumala et al. (2011), Conlon (2013), Tazzioli (2015), King (2016), Ní Mhurchú (2016) and Squire (2017) to argue that:

> 1. A multiplicity of resistant relations is a catalyst for, not a dilution of, the potential for progressive politics. I make this claim through an attention to the implications of the unknowability of all potential

relations, a recognition that acknowledging a lively materiality and an (in)coherent subjectivity, emerge from this multiplicity, containing the immanent potential to disrupt the relations in and through which they take form. Through this lens, resistance cannot be pre-determined, opening broader questions concerning the political and practical implications of an openness "to the future, the shape of which is as yet unknowable" (Sharpe et al. 2014, 116).

2. Resistance can be understood beyond intentionality. Here, I recognize that (in)coherent subjects can make claims to intentional actions, and that intention is not a binary, but I move to argue how accounts of resistance within Political Geography can be developed through an acknowledgement that subject and action cannot always be conclusively linked. As the subject emerges through and with multiple forces, action may not fully belong to 'us' (Manning 2016). I argue that this is important for developing accounts of resistance within Political Geography for it opens up wider questions as, writing at the time of the hospitality crisis, and the associated rise in migrant camps, reception and detention centres across Europe, such an approach raises questions concerning the importance of being able to imagine other futures. What might it mean to conceive of a ('progressive') politics of resistance when thinking beyond intentionality?

3. That a focus upon potentiality means that we cannot know in advance what resistance looks like, what spaces, subjects, materials and temporalities may be woven into particular systems. This has implications for researching resistance within Political Geography, for to set fixed perimeters (e.g. oppositionality, intentionality, coherence) is to risk participating in denying recognition to those enmeshed within systems of violence.

2. *Limits of Theoretical and Methodological Approach*

Whilst I have demonstrated in this thesis that developing a Foucauldian reading of resistance can advance understandings of resistance within the UK asylum system, there are inevitable limits to this approach. This is important to address for although I have decentered the "conditions of possibility for the thinking of resistance" (Caygill 2013, 10), other framings are neglected. Foucault has been criticized for his lack of grounding within specific examples and further that structural inequalities, for example of race, gender and citizenship, are absent from his work. I have attempted to develop readings of Foucault in this vein, for in distinguishing between the potentiality and possibility of resistance, I have argued that whilst resistance may exist as a potential within relations of power, the conditions for the possibility of resistance being actualized are not. Whilst the plane of potentiality is smooth, the topology of possibility is striated, continually weathered by structural inequalities.

Yet this approach does not negate Butler's critique of Foucault: "What good is thinking otherwise, if we don't know in advance that thinking otherwise will produce a better world?" (2001). This question haunts this thesis; Butler argues that this concern reduces debates on resistance and critique to an impasse "within the critical and post-critical theory of our time" (Butler 2001). However, Butler and Foucault both work to destabilize the norms of the present, just as I have argued for here. I cannot move past this impasse, for we cannot know what the future brings. Yet I remain convinced that there is value in keeping the future open; to work to prevent foreclosure; to remain with ambiguity, uncomfortable uncertainty and to kindle hope within these discordant splinters of resistance. I use the term 'hope' here, in recognition that "hope is not a faith that delivers a future. Rather, it is an attention to the present and the expectation that something will happen that will be unexpected and this will gift an unforeseen opportunity" (Back 2015).

Hope is not necessarily positive, it is not inherently progressive: "[h]ope is not a destination; it is perhaps an improvisation with a future not yet realized" (Back 2015).

Despite this however, questions of 'the point' of using the term resistance to analyse these entangled forces remain, particularly within the context of violent and unjust system of border control. My argument throughout the thesis has been that there are multiple points to resistance, which cannot be determined in advance, and further, that there are conceptual and empirical benefits to framing these conversations through this lens. Whilst holding other lenses to these relations (for example, of care, persistence and love) would likely develop conclusions, this extends beyond the confines and questions of this thesis.

There are further methodological parameters to this thesis. There are partly practical and stem from the financial and time restrains of conducting a PhD project in three years. For example, I followed the sites of the UK asylum system as they emerged, but predominantly within the North East of England. For example, I did not research resistance within the UK asylum system as it manifested beyond the UK; either for those who are aiming to arrive here, or have been deported following an unsuccessful claim, or are having to appeal a decision from overseas. Attending to creativity within these spaces would likely have impacted how resistance is understood. Further, I only explored adults involved in the creative practices of music and art (rather than, gardening, quilting, sewing, crafting and sculpting), due to the activities available within the local area, who were willing to have a researcher involved. This will have impacted the conclusions drawn, particularly around the governance of creative activities, and the importance of remaining attentive to form, in the potential relations that materials involved in creative activities may form.

I have previously discussed the gender bias within this thesis, but it is worth reiterating here. My research was predominantly with men. This is a significant, and yet unavoidable, limitation to my research. I could not, and will never, push for interviews with those who are reluctant to be involved in a research project. In this case, the women at Crossings did not wish to speak to me. Outside of the women's choir, the spaces of Crossings are dominated by men. Further, I only conducted research within Campsfield House IRC, which contains male detainees (although, as previously noted, I contacted charities working at Yarl's Wood IRC to attempt to involved women in this area). The gender relations within and beyond involvement creative activities are an aspect of this research that I hope to take into further projects. This was partly due to the further limitations of language; I speak English and conversational French. I do not speak Arabic, Tigrinya or Urdu, common languages across my research sites[152] and this inevitably impacted who I could interview.

Furthermore, the focus upon potentiality, intentionality and (in)coherence within this project raises inevitable methodological questions. How do you research potentiality? How do you write the acknowledgement of the unknown? How do you identify a subject's 'lack' of agency? Whilst there are no definitive answers to these questions, I have attempted to address them throughout the thesis, expanding upon how ethnographic methods, an attention to creativity as *poiesis*, and a consequent focus upon the *processes* of creation, means that we are able to glimpse some of these relations in their continual becoming.

---

[152] I did not employ a translator, for I wished the interviews to be as 'informal' as possible, and given the personal nature of discussions (asylum case, journey, feelings), the additional presence of a translator would likely have had ethical implications (Bryman 2008; see Chapter 3).

My choice of qualitative, ethnographic methods may also impact upon the reception of the dissemination of my research findings. As McIntyre argues, science is often seen as the most valid way of knowing, and statistics are most likely to produce policy change (2005). The use of ethnographic methods, grounded within specific space-times of the research sites, will impact upon any reception of my research within media, policy and practice. Thus, despite qualitative research methods being the current hegemony within Human Geography, it is worth noting here that the reception of these methods outside the academy may make a significant difference to the impact of the research findings.

3. Key contributions of the thesis

This section distills the key theoretical and methodological[153] contributions of this thesis, before turning to discuss the possible wider implications of these contributions.

3.i Theoretical contributions

Key theoretical contribution 1: That resistance cannot be determined a priori.

The first key theoretical contribution this thesis makes to wider literature is that resistance should not be determined *a priori*. Instead, resistance is entangled, always-already an existing potential with power relations and – whilst the possibility of resistance is not equally distributed – I argue for recognition of resistance in this continual emergence. Destabilising the fixed coordinates of resistance brings multiple space-times, subjects and materials into narratives of resistance. To critique theorizations of resistance is to question the boundaries of politics, the conceit of intention and to stay with

---

[153] Understanding of course, that it is not possible to fully separate the theoretical approach from the methods deployed.

indeterminacy. This means, for example, that the subject cannot therefore be determined in advance, which makes "the question of 'the subject'… crucial for politics" (Butler 2006, 3). This has important implications for research on resistance within asylum systems; first that claims to a coherent subjectivity, framed as oppositional are still indeterminate in their outcomes, and second, it suggests that there is a tendency to interpret asylum seeker and migration politics through pre-defined grids of intelligibility. This I suggest, is important for an attention to ambiguous moments, (in)coherent subjects, messy materialities and (non)linear temporalities contain the immanent potential to disrupt the smooth running of the system.

Key theoretical contribution 2: That an attention to poiesis can develop understandings of the relationship between creativity and resistance within Political Geography.

The second key theoretical contribution is that an attention to *poiesis* can develop accounts of the relationship between resistance and creativity within Political Geography. Conceptualising creativity thus refutes a clear binary between the process and product of creativity as they are unable to be fully separated. This means that accounts of resistance that focus upon the end product of creativity are disrupted. Instead, a focus upon *poiesis* can open up attention to multiplicity of resistant relations, looking at the lively materiality that contributes to creativity and how temporalities are opened up beyond linear understandings, subjects beyond coherence, for *poiesis* removes the need for intentional, oppositional, action.

Key theoretical contribution 3: That decentering intentionality can advance understandings of resistance.

The third key theoretical contribution is decentering intentionality from accounts of resistance, which can, I argue, advance conceptualisations of resistance within the UK asylum system, and also within wider discussions within and beyond Political Geography. As Squire (2017, 254) has argued with regard to intentionality and the structure-agency debate "the grounding

of this framework in questions of intentionality risks reproducing assumptions about subjects whose decision to migrate is more or less free from constraint", and further that the assumption of intentionality is problematic for it involves "a simplification of the processes of subjectivity formation." I build upon Squire's comments to argue that decentering the requirement for intentionality, and highlighting the complexity of subject formation, the (in)coherence of subjects and the fallibility of the link between subject and action can enhance accounts of resistance because in this messiness they contain the potential to disrupt, disturb or interrupt the practices and premise of the UK asylum system. Further, I show how an attention to lively materialities can decentre human intentionality, for materials contain capacity to form relations beyond any apparent human intention.

3.ii Methodological contributions

Key methodological contribution 1: That the spaces of the UK asylum system are immanent.

This thesis began from the premise that the spaces of the UK asylum system are relational, multiple and therefore unable to be pre-determined. This means that the system travels with the asylum seeker, and therefore has the potential to extend beyond the expected spaces of dispersal accommodation, tribunal hearings and IRCs into the everyday spaces of living rooms, supermarkets and mobile phones screens, what Coddington (2017, 7) terms the "less tangible forms of enclosure and containment." Therefore, countless spaces may become enmeshed within the UK asylum system. This has important methodological implications for, in not assuming the spaces *a priori*, I could not fully know in advance what spaces may emerge, and did not wish to limit the project by foreclosing them. This focus upon spaces as immanent further contributes to current work within Carceral Geography on extending the spectrum of carcerality beyond 'traditional' spaces. This study

therefore cut across sites that are frequently contained for analysis (although, of course their wider place within the asylum system is acknowledged). In analysing creative activities within IRCs and those put on for individuals living in dispersal accommodation, a richer understanding of the UK asylum system is developed.

Key methodological contribution 2: That discussions of research access should be placed within scholarly work.

The second methodological contribution concerns the 'denial' of access for my research within UK IRCs. I argue in this thesis that it is important that such encounters with state institutions remain within the research project. Access is not a binary, and debates around 'entering' the IRC extend further into the research project. Furthermore, as Belcher and Martin (2013, 404) argue: "[a]s researchers, our access to state institutions and agencies is embedded in – and productive of – this larger discursive struggle over the boundaries of state and public knowledge about the state." Questions of access are important to foreground for they speak to broader questions around the role of researchers, knowledge production and accountability within publically funded state institutions.

3.iii Wider implications of the thesis argument

In exploring creativity, potentiality and resistance within the UK asylum system, the influence of the thesis' argument may extend beyond these directed methodological and theoretical contributions to Political Geography and the literature on resistance to contemporary systems of asylum control. I suggest that there are three main questions that arise from this thesis that intersect and may contribute beyond the targeted interventions detailed previously: First, to what degree does my argument for an advancement of resistance resonate more broadly within literature in the wider Social Sciences? Second, how does the empirical grounding within the UK asylum system enhance debates on resistance? Finally, what does an attention to

intentionality as emergent bring to the coherent liberal subject, which forms the foundation for so much of Western philosophical tradition, and legal systems? Whilst I cannot fully expand upon what contributions, if any, my thesis argument may bring to these conversations, I move in this section to signal some potentially fruitful areas of future dialogue.

First, in Chapter 2, I outlined the trajectory of resistance within the Social Sciences, demonstrating how it predominantly originated from a structural understanding of resistance as counter-hegemonic, exploring how "collective actors strive to create the identities and solidarities that they defend" (Sharp et al. 2000, 9; see Laclau and Mouffe 1985; de Certeau 1988; Polanyi 2001; Gramsci 2007). I further examined how with moves towards post-structuralism across the Social Sciences, conceptualisations of resistance have frequently – although not totally – turned towards a framing of power-resistance as entanglements of forces. This approach has been taken up by some disciplines more than others (e.g. psychology retains a largely positivist ontology) and, as demonstrated by my discussions around the complexity of resistance within Political Geography, a single (sub)discipline may approach the term through multiple ontologies. However, what my thesis argument can therefore bring to the (fractured, (non)linear) trajectory of the term resistance within the Social Sciences is an advancement of post-structural approaches through an attention to potentiality, and a refusal to delineate what counts as resistance *a priori*.

This engagement with the temporalities, subjects and materials of resistance in their continual becoming therefore advances framings of resistance within the Social Sciences. For example, I have taken my thesis argument into wider conversations beyond Geography on the relationship between resistance and acts of citizenship, arguing that a decentering of intentionality can advance a material politics of citizenship (see Hughes and Forman 2017) and that an acknowledgement of (non)linear, polyrhythmic temporalities can develop

conceptualisations of resistance, subjectivity and citizenship within UK IRCs (see Hughes 2016). In attending to resistance as splintered, my research may also contribute to recent developments across the Social Sciences regarding the framing of 'activism' (see Larner and Craig 2005; Horton and Kraftl 2009; Chatterton and Pickerill 2010; Askins 2014; Pottinger 2017). Finally, I hope that my conversations around research access to state institutions further the ongoing debates (Belcher and Martin 2013; Maillet et al. 2016; Bosworth and Kellezi 2017) around the role of knowledge construction and accountability within these publically funded bodies.

Second, what does a focus upon the UK asylum system bring to expansions of the conceptual purchase of resistance within and beyond Political Geography? Here, I suggest that whilst, as Chapter 2 explains, there are important specificities to my research approach which cannot merely be extrapolated to other space-times (for example, one individual's experience cannot neatly be mapped onto another's), as shown previously there are multiple points where my arguments resonate across the wider Social Sciences. To focus upon the UK asylum system is to locate discussions of resistance within a system of violence, constrained agency and categorization. It is also to explore what resistance might mean in the context of the very real possibility of deportation from the state. Resistance, as explained in Chapter 2, is frequently understood to be narrowed in systems of immigration control; the spaces comprising asylum systems have been framed through an Agambenian lens, reducing asylum seekers and immigration detainees to bare-life, with, at best, constrained possibilities of resistance and subject to the full force of sovereign power (e.g. Edkins and Pin-Fat 2004, 2005). Examining resistance in these spaces brings into sharp relief the realities of violence and structural inequalities (racism, lack of citizenship, categorization, gender-politics) that regrettably, resonate beyond this framing and into other space-times.

Finally, my thesis' contribution to discussions of intentionality as emergent can contribute to work that aims to destabilize the foundations of the coherent liberal subject that underpins so much of Western philosophy, society and legal systems. As Squire (2017, 264) argues an attention to "how subjects are constituted through relations of power-resistance […] problematises the idea of 'agency' more fundamentally." Adopting a Foucauldian approach to understanding subject formation, together with a focus upon lively, agentic materials undermines the assumption of a coherent, agentic subject, for there is no 'free' agent; subjects and materials are held within ever-changing and entangled webs of power-resistant relations. Squire (2017, 265, 268) suggests that scholars focus upon acts, to explore the "dynamics of power-resistance across concrete sites" looking at the effects of interventions and how they relate to subjects "sheds light on the ambiguities and messiness of acts involve the dynamics of power resistance." In this thesis, I develop Squire's approach to acts and incoherent subjects through a focus upon agentic materiality and (non)linear temporalities which further contributes to her disruption of the coherent subject which continues to emerge within and beyond the academy.

3.iv Dissemination: impact beyond the academy

I do not presume that I have the capacity, nor indeed the right, to claim that the intended dissemination of my PhD will actually translate into any meaningful social or policy change. Dissemination literally means 'seed sowing' and, mirroring the conceptual approach of this thesis, I cannot know in advance which (if any) seeds will bear fruit and grow. I hope that by working to disseminate in conversation with charities already active in this field throughout the research process, some level of positive change may occur for those within the UK asylum system. I am convinced that there are "many good reasons to engage beyond the academy", beyond the

requirements of funders and this is something that has motivated my research from the start (Gardner et al. 2010, 2).

Ideally my PhD research will contribute to challenging the UK Government's asylum and detention policies, but I realise that this is an ambitious aim. However, given my intentions of impact, early in the research process, I examined how academics working in the area focused upon dissemination. I noted how Conlon et al. (2014) explain their attempts to work their research into the policy and practice of immigration charities. They note the lack of success in running workshops and sending out research summaries to charities, who are already stretched for time and resources (Conlon et al. 2014). I therefore decided to ask the charities I worked with what would most benefit them before I started research; Music in Detention have already received one report on my research, and I will write further summaries of my findings (which will help support their evaluation procedures and thus make them more attractive to funders) and Crossings also wanted a report and presentation to their trustees. I have offered this to the new iteration of the charity. I have also used my work to feed into the development of a new constitution for Crossings' as the new charity takes shape.[154] I also have written blog posts for Music in Detention's website and for Oxford Universities' Border Criminologies blog to further highlight my work outside of academic paywalls.[155]

---

[154] Including, for example, discussions around gender relations and music workshops.

[155] See: Hughes, S. (2016) Creativity and Resistance within UK Immigration Removal Centres. Available at: https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/research-subject-groups/centre-criminology/centreborder-criminologies/blog/2016/04/creativity-and. (Accessed 17th July 2017)

Hughes, S. (2016) Border Control: Reflections on Artwork in Spaces of Incarceration. Available at: https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/research-subject-groups/centre-criminology/centreborder-criminologies/blog/2016/06/border-control (Accessed 17th July 2017)

Hughes, S. (2016) "I don't know you and you don't know me… but we are listening": Reflections on a community exchange project. Available at: http://www.musicindetention.org.uk/news/blog-by-sarah-hughes-i-dont-know/ (Accessed 17th July 2017).

My aim with dissemination is to, by interrogating the concept of resistance in further detail, open up additional spaces, times, subjects and materials into how academics, charities and policy makers consider the UK asylum system. This will hopefully provide a small addition to existing the body of work in this area, and provide further nuance to understandings of what resistance could look/feel/sound like within the UK asylum system. Of course, as previously mentioned,[156] this is not necessarily progressive and brings risks, for I do not want the Home Office to take the understanding of creativity and resistance to mean that no music or artwork should be permitted inside detention. My argument for a theorization and analysis of resistance that does not prescribe its emergence, means bringing a more detailed understanding of resistance, which may open up new possible spaces of politics, and other ways of thinking about what the future could bring.

4. Future research directions

As explained at the beginning of this chapter, throughout the PhD many avenues for further research opened up that extended beyond the scope of this particular project. Furthermore, since I began my PhD in 2014, there have been significant transformations to the wider context of asylum (geo)politics. These include (but are by no means limited to): the 'refugee' or 'hospitality crisis', which began in 2015 and the resultant upheaval in the asylum landscape of Europe, with the questioning of The Schengen Agreement and Germany's temporary suspension of Dublin III legislation for Syrian Refugees; the 2016 UK 'Brexit' vote and associated rise in anti-immigration sentiment together with the threat of a withdrawal from the European Court of Human Rights and the 2016 US election of President Donald Trump and his 'travel ban' for those from predominantly Muslim

---

[156] See Introduction

states. These events have been accompanied by, and in-part emergent from, a rise in anti-immigration sentiment and a surge in far-right nationalism that is taking root and blooming – albeit not homogenously – across much of the West. Therefore, while this section continues to outline three areas of future research, it is with dismay that so many empirical avenues have opened up; that rethinking resistance to systems of asylum control, finding ways to be and live otherwise, is an ever increasing imperative.

Future research direction 1: To critically interrogate the place of intentionality within contemporary systems of asylum control

That subjects are coherent and imbued with intent is, I suggest, a fundamental set of assumptions that underlie much academic scholarship and legal frameworks. In the context of scholarly work on immigration control, this is reflected in the privileging of the need for migrant voices within research (Coddington 2016b); the expectation of the resistant subject or organisations remaining oppositional. I have explained throughout the thesis how locating intentionality within a decentered, emergent and (in)coherent subject decoupled from any action, can enhance understandings of resistance within the UK asylum system. In doing so, I have built upon the work of Ash and Simpson (2016) and Squire (2017) to refute the assumption that intentionality exists pre-subject. I have further developed this work, looking at lively, agentic materials to advance the argument that resistance can be conceptualised as plural and operating beyond intention.

Further research in this area is required to continue unpacking what a decentering of intentionality, and an acknowledgement of an ambiguous, messy and splintered subjectivity could bring to wider understandings of resistance and migration. This could extend into the multiple, immanent spaces of global immigration systems, including: interrogating the relationship between intentionality and algorithms; critiquing the structure-agency; victim-villain (Squire 2017) framings within academia and the

media; exploring the circulation of materials associated with migration as agentic, for example, the objects that travel alongside or separately from people (life jackets, passports, money, packages sent from 'home'). A focus upon intentionality would likely bring nuance and depth to discussions of the migration of people and objects.

Future research direction 2: To examine the politics of laughter within wider systems of immigration control

Laughter erupted throughout my PhD research. Future research on the politics of laughter within wider systems of immigration control would draw upon recent work by Emmerson (2017) to decouple laughter from humour, and building upon my argument in Chapter 5 that laughter contains the potential to subvert "the expected" through moments of uncontrollable hilarity (Amoore and Hall 2013, 99). Laughter exceeds intention, it destabilises norms, and therefore it is pertinent to examine in relation to resistance. This is further important in the context of the plethora of comedy, satire and ridicule in the face of Trump and Brexit, extreme violence and rupture, but also in the designation that some things should not be rendered comic (Khomami 2017). As Bernhardt (2017) puts it in the context of the UK: "Politics has become angrier, violent, extreme, hateful – but our satire hasn't quite caught up." An attention to comedy, and to laughter as more-than-representational, how it reconfigures relations between bodies and spaces would also allow for a link to potentiality and the framing of possible futures that was explored in my PhD project.

For example, future research could look at the politics of comedy, humour and laughter within refugee camps. Clearly an attention to laughter here is not to negate the violence of these spaces. Instead to examine what laughter, and separately, organized comedy bring to experiences of these spaces and whether an attention to the activities of *Clowns without Borders* (2015) in Lesbos, *Clowns who Care* in Jordan (2016) and more broadly, *Borderline* a

comedy play centred around the so-called 'Jungle' camp in Calais (Lyons 2017) can develop understandings of resistance within contested, immanent spaces of the border.

Future research direction 3: Through an attention to creativity further analyse the (non)linear temporalities of waiting in systems of asylum control

In the thesis, I demonstrated how the multiple spaces of the UK asylum system are shot through with multiple temporalities. Building upon the work of Bissell (2007, 279), I argued that that the condition of stasis, or stilling, contains the "potential to be otherwise" (Bissell 2007, 279); to wait is not to be spatially or temporally still, and is not necessarily aligned with the linear 'political' time of the state. Further, I explored how materials coalesce polyrhythmic temporalities, and the potentiality of the unforeseen which introduces itself into rhythms (Deleuze 1994). This is an extension to current literature on waiting within systems of immigration control, and research in other sites would further develop this claim.

Furthermore, the work of *Good Chance Calais* (2017) theatre who previously facilitated music, artwork and theatre within the so-called 'Jungle' camp in Calais and have now built a temporary theatre in Paris for refugees and asylum seekers, would be interesting to explore in this regard. I visited the *Good Chance Calais* Encampment outside the Southbank Centre on the 1st August 2016 to explore the different temporalities and spaces that emerged here. This Encampment included a reconstruction of the theatre, virtual reality headsets allowing visitors to 'walk' through the Jungle camp and an audio-tour of the nearby area, using headphones and geo-tagged so that as a participant walked past particular sites, different music, voices and sounds were stimulated:

> I click play and a chorus of birdsong fills my ears. A
> women's voice begins – speaking softly with an 'English'

accent, she informs me that voices contain journeys, that she is sitting in the Somerset Levels sharing how we can hear birds from across the globe in that space; migration without borders; how beautiful is this? The birdsong crescendos as I walk the audio-tour route across the bridge to Embankment Station. As I continue the route along the river, up Sowby Street then down through Somerset House and back across the bridge, music, voices and birdsong appear at particular moments, stimulated by my location. As I walk past monuments dedicated to the Empire, the Commonwealth, voices of those at Calais speak to me, explaining how these events contributed to current patterns of migration. They reiterate: No one is illegal. I can hear the rustle in the background of these recordings, the sounds of people within the camp shouting, laughing and murmuring and – as I walk – intersecting with the sounds of central London around me.

[Notes, Good Chance Calais, 1st August 2016]

This very preliminary research indicates that future study in this area, exploring what a focus upon creativity as *poiesis* can bring to understandings of waiting within the multiple, immanent spaces of the UK asylum system (which here, extended from the Calais camp onto the streets of London), could bring interesting new angles to discussions of the temporalities, spatiality, subjects and materials of resistance.

5. A return to the border

I end this thesis where I began, in anger, sorrow and disgust at the violence intrinsic to border control. That those seeking sanctuary are dying – ontologically, politically and physically – in increasing numbers (Mountz,

forthcoming); that profit and 'secure borders' are valued more than life lived in fullness; that we are all complicit in the processes of border control and that, simply put, things are getting worse.

And yet resistance remains. Extending beyond the marches, protests and support groups, the potential for resistance is always-already entangled within the exercise of power; found within the messiness, the fractures and the ambiguities that saturate the UK asylum system. These splinters of resistance cannot be determined in advance, for to do so, is to risk contributing to the denial of recognition to those within systems of immigration control. Further, to sideline subjects, materials or actions that do not take an oppositional form is to miss the politics of the entanglements of power and resistance. My contention in this thesis has been to rethink resistance within the UK asylum system through a focus upon creativity, to acknowledge that a focus upon (non)linear temporality, (in)coherent subjectivity and lively materiality allows for a critical engagement with ambiguous moments, materials and subjects that contain the immanent *potential* to disrupt both the practices and premise of the UK asylum system; to imagine, and thus to open up the possibility, that things can become otherwise.

Appendices

Appendix 1:

[This section of the thesis has been removed prior to publication due to ethical responsibilities to my participants]

Appendix 2: Dates and times of Music in Detention Exchange workshops

Date	Time	Location	Attended
10th February 2016	2:00-4:00pm	Campsfield House IRC	No
	4.30-8:00pm	Base 33, Witney	Yes
15th February 2016	1:30-3:30pm	Base 33 Witney	Yes
	4:30-8:30pm	Campfield House IRC	No
16th February 2016	1:30-3:30pm	Base 33 Witney	Yes
	4:30-8:30pm	Campfield House IRC	No
17th February 2016	1:30-4:00pm	Base 33 Witney	Yes
	6:30-8:30pm	Campfield House IRC	No
18th February 2016	12:30-3:30pm	Base 33, Witney	Yes
	6:30-8:30pm	Campsfield House IRC	No
24th February 2016	2:00-4:00pm	Campsfield House IRC	No
	4.30-8:00pm	Base 33, Witney	Yes
2nd March 2016 Focus Group	4.30-8:00pm	Base 33, Witney	Yes
5th April 2016 Focus Group	Unknown	Campsfield House IRC	No

Appendix 3: Example Artist's Log. Music in Detention Workshop. Campsfield House IRC.

Q1: Date of activity (YYMMDD):
16/02/16

Q2: Name of artist completing log:
REMOVED

Q3: Name of other artist leading session (If there wasn't one, say "none"):
REMOVED

Q4: Who contracted you for this work?
Music for Change

Q5: In which local area did the activity take place?
Oxford/Campsfield House IRC

Q6: Venue (e.g. IRC or name of community setting):
IRC Campsfield

Q7: Scheduled start and finish times:
1830-2030hrs

Q8: Actual start and finish times (if different from above):
1830-2030hrs

Q9: Type of activity:
Community Exchange - workshop with detainees

Q10: Total number of detainees / community participants attending:
55

Q11: Number of detainees / community participants who stayed for more than half of the session:
44

Q12: Number of detainees / community participants who actively participated in the session:
25

Q13: Can you indicate the regions and countries most participants came from (e.g majority from West Africa, several from South Asia, several from Middle East):

Middle East, Africa, Asia

Q14: Wellbeing (detainees only) The majority of detainees:
Worked well with other participants: Yes, very much
Showed autonomy in the activity: Yes, very much
Visibly enjoyed the activity: Yes, very much

Q15: Sounding out and being heard (detainees only) The majority of participants:
Were able to express themselves through music: Yes, very much
 Were involved in the creative direction of the activity: Yes, very much
Visibly improved in confidence during the activity: Yes, very much

Q16: Staff involvement (in IRCs only) Staff in the session:
Actively involved in the activity: Yes, very much
Positively engaged with detainee participants: Yes, very much
Visibly enjoyed the activity: Yes, very much

Q20: Tell us what happened in the activity today: For example:- What was the overall shape of the activity?- What was good about the activity? - What did not work in the activity? (If there was a specific problem relating to an individual detainee or staff member during your work, please let us know via Qu 12. This space is intended for more general feedback that others can also learn from)- What did you do that you would recommend to other artists?- Were there any parts of the session (planning, delivery or on reflection) where MID could offer you more support?
The activity went very well as planned and had the detainees participating well. It was good in a way that every one in the activity was involved and there were no problems.
The session was planned and delivered as planned which worked well.

Q21: How active were participants in shaping the creative direction of the activity?For example:- Did the majority of participants actively take part in the activity?- How did they shape creative content?- Were some more dominant than others?- How did you manage this?
The detainees took the stage and were singing their songs from their countries. This shaped the activity into a sharing event. They were sharing songs teaching each other with help of staff and artists.

Q22: Was it possible for participants to explore their own and each other's cultural backgrounds through the activity? For example:- What kinds of music did you explore?- Can you give examples of different musical styles fusing together during the activity?- Do you think this was an effective way of creating something new?
The detainees sang their own songs and also participated singing other songs from other countries. there was some Punjab songs fused with hip hop which everyone loved very much

322

Q23: Were you able to keep the activity flexible today? For example:- How fluid was the session?- Did operating flexibly cause limitations? Did it improve the session?- Did you deliver the session more or less as planned? How did you adapt it?- Do you feel the session aims were still achieved?

The event was so fluid that everyone wanted to take part all the time. It was flexible allowing anyone to play their own thing but being controlled. The aim of the activity was highly achieved.

Q24: Please outline the key achievements of the activity today, either for individual participants or the group as a whole: For example:- Did the activity culminate in a performance or recording?- Did any participants learn new skills?- Did you observe personal achievements within participating detainees, for example increased confidence throughout the activity?

The detainees were able to express their feelings in music and drumming. Some detainees enjoyed trying to do hip hop songs which they had not done before. They gained confidence at the end.

Q25: Are there any points from your activity today that you would like to highlight as examples of good practice for artists and others involved in MID to learn from?

The good practice about today's event was that it was left to be flexible to everyone but with control and letting everyone do their stuff with support.

Q26: Were there any challenges in the session, or issues arising from it, which you would like to discuss with artists and others involved in MID's work?

The challenges we had was that some guys wanted only to sing their own songs not other people's stuff. This was nicely controlled with talking to them making them realise that there many nationalities there and the aim is to share and learn other cultures.

Q27: Do you have any concerns about the activity today that you wish to share with MID staff? No concerns

Q28: Were there any visitors present in the workshop? (eg volunteers, observers, researchers)
Yes

Q29: If yes, did the visitor affect the session in any way, positively or negatively?
The volunteer was very helpful in a way that supported the activity. She played bass guitar and that helped a lot.

Appendix 4: Community Participants' Focus Group

Community
Participants Focus' Group
To be used six months after project completion

Please use these questions as prompts to guide and shape a discussion rather than as a questionnaire

_____

Interviews preferably recorded digitally and passed directly to MID to be transcribed by the evaluator. Interviewer to get consent to record the session from participants in advance. Interviewees to be offered confidentiality e.g. their personal names will not appear anywhere in any future report or funding bid.

Project   location:
……………………………………………………………………………………

 date:
…………………………………..……………………………………………..

Participant   group   (e.g   school   students,   youth   club   etc):
……………………………

Number of interview participants:
………………………………………………………..

Participant ages (if relevant):
……………………………………………………………………

Introduction
- What do you remember about the MID project?

- Why did you want to get involved with the project, what did you want to get out of it?

- What did you think about immigration detention before you took part in the project?

- What do you think about the project now? Have your feelings about it changed or stayed the same?

Music as a method of delivery

- What do you remember about the music project you took part in?

- How was this music project different from other music activities at your school/youth club/community centre etc?

- Have you maintained any musical skills you developed during the project?

- Do you still play or listen to the music you created with the detainees?

Greater awareness of immigration detention and detainees

- What new things did you learn about immigration removal centres?

- What new things did you learn about detainees, and what it is like for them in detention, and how they feel?

- What do you think about detention centres?

- Do you feel that you are more aware about immigration? And do you think you react differently to it now? For example:

- Do your ears prick up more to issues surrounding immigration that you hear about in the media?

- Do your ears prick up more to conversations surrounding immigration in your local community?

- If you disagree with things you read or hear, do you do anything about it now that you didn't do before the project?

Prolonged engagement with the IRCs and detainees

- Have you maintained contact with the detainees you worked with, or other detainees in the IRC?

- If so, what activities have you been involved in?

- If not, is this because you are not interested in maintaining contact or because there are practical barriers preventing you from staying involved?

- Do you plan on having any contact with the detainees or other detainees in the IRC in future? Are there any ways you would like to support to make this contact?

Other comments

- Has anything else happened as a result of you being involved in the projects not already covered? Have you learnt anything else?

- Have you done anything differently since the project?

- Do you have any comments on the project and how it could be delivered in future?

- Would you recommend it to other people, and why?

- Can you recommend any other groups that MID could work with in this area?

- How did it make you feel to know that the detainees were listening to your music?

- Did you imagine what it might be like for them to hear your voices? if so, what do you think they might have felt?

- Why/is music a good way to communicate with people inside the detention centre?

- Did you feel a 'connection' with those inside – if so how? If not, why not?

Appendix 5: Dates of fieldwork at Crossings, Newcastle.

Date	Location	Activity
5th October 2015	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
10th October 2015	Heaton Baptist Church.	Fundraising event and concert
12th October 2015	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
19th October 2015	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
26th October 2015	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
2nd November 2015	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
9th November 2015	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
16th November 2015	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
23rd November 2015	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
30th November 2015	Key Change House, Jesmond	Annual General Meeting
7th December 2015	Discovery Museum, Newcastle	Visit to Destination Tyneside exhibition
12th December 2015	Discovery Museum, Newcastle	People Like Us exhibition launch
14th December 2015	Key Change House, Jesmond	Last session before winter break

11th January 2016	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
18th January 2016	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
25th January 2016	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
1st February 2016	Northumbria University Key Change House, Jesmond	Platforma Event, 2-5pm Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
8th February 2016	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
15th February 2016	I cannot attend as I am doing research in Oxford	
22nd February 2016	I cannot attend as I am in Oxford	
29th February 2016	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
7th March 2016	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
14th March 2016	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
21st March 2016	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
28th March 2016	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
4th April 2016	Key Change House,	Monday Night Sessions

	Jesmond	5-9pm
11th April 2016	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
18th April 2016	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
25th April 2016	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
2nd May 2016	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
9th May 2016	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm
16th May 2016	Key Change House, Jesmond	Monday Night Sessions 5-9pm

Appendix 6: Table of Interviews

Pseudonym	Category [Not mutually exclusive, but capacity in which they were involved in project.]	Date	Location	Recorded
Amir	Ex Detainee	28th July 2014	Starbucks, Oxford Street, London	Yes
Bekhim	Ex Detainee	13th May 2015	Durham University, Durham	Yes
Merlind	Ex Detainee	17th September 2015	Pret a Manger, Canterbury	No
Adonay	Asylum Seeker	19th November 2015	Starbucks, Newcastle	No
Habtom	Refugee	13th November 2015	Starbucks, Newcastle	Yes
Marooh	Asylum Seeker	30th November 2015	Starbucks, Newcastle	Yes
Zaweel	Asylum Seeker	17th December 2015	Starbucks, Newcastle	Yes
Adam	Musician, IRC	26th November 2015	Skype	Yes
Amy	Ex Artist, IRC	15th July 2015	Skype	No
Catherine	Ex Artist, UK IRC Currently based in Australian Detention Centres	30th July 2015	Skype	No

Ian	Musician, IRC	2nd February 2016	Skype	Yes
Enid	Curator, Discovery Museum Photographer/artist	12th December 2015	Discovery Museum Newcastle	No
Leah	Koestler Trust	27th April 2016	Phone	No
Harriet	Koestler Trust	27th April 2016	Phone	No
Matilda	Artist, IRC	18th January 2016	Oxford	Yes
Tina	Artist, currently based in Australian Detention Centres	3rd April 2016	San Francisco	No
Emily	Music in Detention Volunteer	15th August 2014	Skype	Yes
		10th February 2016	Bus from Campsfield House	Yes
		15th February 2016	Bus to Base 33	Yes
		17th February 2016	Bus to Base 33	Yes
		24th February 2016	Bus to Base 33	Yes
		11th March 2016	Skype	Yes
James	Music in Detention Workshop Leader	16th March 2016	Skype	Yes
John Speyer [Real name]	Director, Music in Detention	20th April 2016	Music in Detention Offices, London	Yes
Michael	Music in Detention Workshop Leader	9th July 2014	Skype	No

Appendix 7: Interview Questions: Asylum seekers and Refugees at Crossings

[This is a rough sheet of guideline questions that I used for interviews with asylum seekers and refugees at Crossings. As these interviews were iterative and semi-structured, I followed up on specific comments that were made throughout]

1. Attending
- How did you come to be going to Crossings?
    - How did you hear about Crossings?
- How long have you been coming here?
- Why do you come along?

2. The music
- What music activities do you take part in at Crossings?
    - Song writing:
        - why/what do you enjoy/not enjoy?
        - What about the games we played like last week – important/interesting? Why?
        - I've noticed that we sing in different languages a lot, is that something that you think is important?
        - Is music universal?
        - Can it bring back memories?

    - Drumming
        - why/what do you enjoy/not enjoy?
        - Is this something you've done before coming to Crossings?
        - What do you feel when you are drumming?

- I'm interested in whether you come along for the music? Or for other reasons?
    - What is it about music that makes you come along to Crossings?
    - Does music ever make you feel any different?
        - If so, is it possible to explain how?
    - Does that feeling change when you've left Crossings?
        - Does the music stick with you?
- Do you do any other music activities?

2A De-stress [If bought up]
- What do you think it is about music that makes you de-stress? Helps you cope?
- Is it the music or the community? – both?

3. Crossings
- Are there any things at Crossings that you're not allowed to do?
- Do you think that the government is interested in Crossings?
    - Do you think music can be dangerous?
- Is there anything about Crossings that you would like them to do differently? [explain how this will anonymously feedback to them]
- Do you think it is important that Crossings performs/music is heard around Newcastle? Why/not?
    - Do you ever get feedback from performances?

4. Futures
- Does music make you think about the future?
- Hope [if comes up]

5. Other aspects
- Are there any other arts/music activities you're aware of?
- Would you go along to them if you were aware of them? Why/not?

6. I'm also interested in how people might try and resist their situation – is this something that you feel is part of what happens at Crossings?

[Detention Not going to ask but if it comes up]
- Did you get involved in any arts/music activities whilst in detention?
- Why/not?
- What did they bring to daily life at the centre?

Appendix 8: Information Sheet and Consent Form for Interviews

This form was approved by Durham Geography Department's Ethics Committee

(a) Consent Form

This form is to make sure that you have been given information about this project. It is to confirm that you know what the project is about and that you are happy to take part.

Please circle the answer you agree with below:

- I know what this research project is about: Yes/No

- I know I don't have to answer all the questions I'm being asked: Yes/No

- I know I can stop the interview at anytime: Yes/No

- I agree with the interview being recorded: Yes/No

- I agree that an anonymous record of my interview be securely kept for future reference: Yes/No

- I agree to take part in this research project Yes/No

Name: _____

Signed: _____Date: _____

Signed: (researcher) _____ Date: _____

If you want to withdraw from the project at any time, or have any further questions please do not hesitate to contact me:

Sarah Hughes
Email. s.m.hughes@durham.ac.uk
Address: Sarah Hughes, Geography Department, Durham University, Lower Mountjoy, South Road, Durham, DH1 3LE, UK

(b) Information Sheet

[This is amalgamation of the three versions of the Information sheet I used. The specific alterations are indicated below]

Title
Research project on creativity and resistance in the UK's asylum system.

Invitation
I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. This research project is for the PhD project I am undertaking at Durham University, in the Geography Department. Before you decide whether to take part you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read/listen the following information carefully. Please do ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

What is the purpose of this study?
This project is looking at creativity and resistance in the UK's asylum system. I am interested in:

- [Ex-detainee] whether you took part in any organized or self-started music, arts or crafts workshops or other creative activities whilst in detention.
- [Asylum seeker or Refugee, Crossings] your participation at Crossings.
- [Artist] your role in the creative arts in the UK's asylum system.

Who is organising and funding the research?
I am completing this research as part of my PhD research. I am in the Geography Department at Durham University. The Economic and Social Research Council is sponsoring the research. I do not work for the Home Office, for a detention centre. I am doing independent research at Durham University in association with the charity Music in Detention/Crossings.

Do I have to take part?
It is up to you to decide. I will describe the study and go through this information sheet, which I will then give to you. You are free to withdraw at any time until October 2017, without giving a reason. [Asylum seekers] This would not make any difference to your case or situation here.

What will happen to me if I take part?
With your permission, I will take notes or record our interview. [Asylum seekers] These recordings are confidential and will not impact upon your immigration case.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?
All information which is collected about you during the course of this research will be kept confidential, and any information about you will have your name and identifying details removed so that you cannot be recognised. Myself and my research supervisors are the only people that will have access to the data. All recordings will be erased immediately after they have been transcribed. All data will be collected in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

What will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?
You can cancel your participation in the research at any time until October 2017 without giving a reason. Any information that I have taken from you will be destroyed and no record will be kept. [Asylum seekers] Withdrawing from the study will not make any difference to your case or your situation here.

What if there is a problem?
If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to me (Sarah Hughes) and I will do my best to answer your questions. If you have further concerns you may contact the Geography Department at Durham University [details below]

What will happen to the results of the research study?
The research will form my PhD research project. It may also be used in conference presentations and for publication in journals and other media. The research may contain quotes from your interview, but all identifying information will be removed.

Who has reviewed the study?
All Geographical research at Durham is looked at by an independent group of people called a Research Ethics Committee to protect your safety, rights, wellbeing and dignity. This study has been approved by Durham University's Geography Department.

Contact details:

Sarah Hughes
Department of Geography
Durham University
Lower Mountjoy
South Road, Durham
DH1 3LE, UK
s.m.hughes@durham.ac.uk
Telephone: +44 (0) 191 33 41817

If you wish to raise a concern, please contact:
Prof. Louise Amoore
Department of Geography
Durham University
Lower Mountjoy
South Road, Durham
DH1 3LE, UK
Geography Department Telephone: 0191 3341800

Reference List

Agamben, G. (1998). *Homo Sacer. Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Agamben, G. (1999). *Potentialities: Collected Essays in Philosophy*. Standford: Stanford University Press.

Agamben, G. (2000). *Means without End. Note on Politics. Translated by Vincenzo Binetti and Cesare Casarino.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Agamben, G. (2002). "What Is a Paradigm?" *Lecture at European Graduate School.* http://www.egs.edu/faculty/giorgio-agamben/articles/what-is-a- paradigm/. Accessed 11th October 2016.

Agamben, G. (2005). *State of Exception*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Agamben, G. (2009). *What Is an Apparatus?: And Other Essays*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

Agamben, G. (2014). Resistance in Art. European Graduate School Video Lectures. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=one7mE-8y9c&feature=youtube_gdata_player. Accessed 30th September 2014.

Agar, M. (2006). "An Ethnography By Any Other Name." *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 7(4): 1-24

Agnew, J. (1999). "Mapping Political Power beyond State Boundaries: Territory, Identity, and Movement in World Politics." *Millennium* 28 (3): 499–521.

Ainsworth, R., Morell, T., and Carey, J. (1823). "Intendus." *Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary*. London: C. and J. Rivington.

Ajana, B. (2013). "Asylum, Identity Management and Biometric Control." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 26 (4): 576–95.

Akšamija, A. (2014). "Dare to Wear - a Mosque! Immigrant Protest as Cross-Cultural Pedagogy." In *Immigrant Protest: Politics, Aesthetics, and Everyday Dissent*, edited by Marciniak, K and Tyler, I. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Algers, T, and Phelps, J. (2011). "Fast Track to Despair" The Unnecessary Detention of Asylum-Seekers." London: Detention Action.

Allen, J. (2004). "The Whereabouts of Power: Politics, Government and Space." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 86 (1): 19–32.

Allen, J. (2006). "Ambient Power: Berlin's Potsdamer Platz and the Seductive Logic of Public Spaces." *Urban Studies* 43 (2): 441–55.

Allen, J. (2010). "Assemblages of State Power: Topological Shifts in the Organization of Government and Politics." *Antipode* 42 (5): 1071–1089.

Allen, J. and Cochrane, A. (2007). "Beyond the Territorial Fix: Regional Assemblages, Politics and Power." *Regional Studies* 41 (9): 1161–1175.

Allen, W., Anderson, B., Van Hear, N., Sumption, M., Düvell, F., Hough, J., Rose, L., Humphris, R. and Walker, S. (2017). "Who Counts in Crises? The New Geopolitics of International Migration and Refugee Governance." *Geopolitics*, early access, 1–27.

Allsopp, J., Chase, E. and Mitchell, M. (2015). "The Tactics of Time and Status: Young People's Experiences of Building Futures While Subject to Immigration Control in Britain." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 28 (2): 163–82.

Amilhat-Szary, A-L, and Giraut, F. (2015). "Borderities and the Politics of Contemporary Mobile Borders." In *Borderities and the Politics of Contemporary Mobile Borders.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Amoore, L. (2005a). "Conceptualising Resistance. Theories and Problematics." In *The Global Resistance Reader*, edited by Amoore, L. Abingdon: Routledge.

Amoore, L. (2005b). "Introduction: Global Resistance - Global Politics." In *The Global Resistance Reader*, edited by Amoore, L. Abingdon: Routledge.

Amoore, L. (2006). "Biometric Borders: Governing Mobilities in the War on Terror." *Political Geography* 25 (3): 336–51.

Amoore, L. (2007). "Vigilant Visualities: The Watchful Politics of the War on Terror." *Security Dialogue* 38 (2): 215–32.

Amoore, L. (2013). *The Politics of Possibility: Risk and Security beyond Probability*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Amoore, L, and de Goede, M. (2008). "Transactions after 9/11: The Banal Face of the Preemptive Strike." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 33 (2): 173–85.

Amoore, L, and Hall, A. (2010). "Border Theatre: On the Arts of Security and Resistance." *Cultural Geographies* 17 (3): 299–319.

Amoore, L and Hall, A. (2013). "The Clown at the Gates of the Camp: Sovereignty, Resistance and the Figure of the Fool." *Security Dialogue* 44 (2): 93–110.

Anderson, B. (2004). "Recorded Music and Practices of Remembering." *Social & Cultural Geography* 5 (1): 3–20.

Anderson, B. (2010). "Preemption, Precaution, Preparedness: Anticipatory Action and Future Geographies." *Progress in Human Geography* 34 (6): 777–98.

Anderson, B., Morton, F. and Revill, G. (2005). "Practices of Music and Sound: Editorial." *Social & Cultural Geography* 6 (5): 639–44.

Anderson, B, and Wylie, J. (2009). "On Geography and Materiality." *Environment and Planning A* 41 (2): 318–35.

Anderson, B. R. (1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Anderson, B. (2013). *Us and Them? The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Anderson, B., Gibney, M. J. and Paoletti, E. (2011). "Boundaries of Belonging: Deportation and the Constitution and Contestation of Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 15 (5): 543–45.

Anderson, B., Sharma, N. and Wright, C. (2012). "'We Are All Foreigners' No Borders as a Practical Political Project." In *Citizenship, Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement*, edited by Nyers, P. and Rygiel, K. New York: Routledge.

Andersson, R. (2014). "Time and the Migrant Other: European Border Controls and the Temporal Economics of Illegality: Time and the Migrant Other." *American Anthropologist* 116 (4): 795–809.

Andrijasevic, R. (2010). "From Exception to Excess. Detention and Deportation across the Mediterranean Space." In *The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space and the Freedom of Movement*, edited by De Genova, N. and Peutz, N. Durham: Duke University Press.

Arksley, H, and Knight, H. (1999). *Interviewing for Social Scientists*. London: Sage Publications.

Ash, J, and Simpson P. (2016). "Geography and Post-Phenomenology." *Progress in Human Geography* 40 (1): 48–66.

Askins, K. (2014). "A Quiet Politics of Being Together: Miriam and Rose: A Quiet Politics of Being Together: Miriam and Rose." *Area* 46 (4): 353–54.

Askins, K. (2016). "Emotional Citizenry: Everyday Geographies of Befriending, Belonging and Intercultural Encounter." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 41 (4): 515–27.

Askins, K, and Pain, R. (2011). "Contact Zones: Participation, Materiality, and the Messiness of Interaction." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29 (5): 803–21.

Ataç, I. (2016). "'Refugee Protest Camp Vienna': Making Citizens through Locations of the Protest Movement." *Citizenship Studies* 20 (5): 629–46.

Ataç, I., Rygiel, K. and Stierl, M. (2016). "Introduction: The Contentious Politics of Refugee and Migrant Protest and Solidarity Movements: Remaking Citizenship from the Margins." *Citizenship Studies* 20 (5): 527–44.

Association of Visitors to Immigration Detainees (AVID) 2016. "AVID Detention." http://www.aviddetention.org.uk/. Accessed 9th October 2016.

Azadehfar, M. R. (2006). *Rhythmic Structure in Iranian Music*. Tehran: Tehran University of Art.

Back, L. (2015). "Blind Pessimism and the Sociology of Hope." *Discover Society*. http://discoversociety.org/2015/12/01/blind-pessimism-and-the-sociology-of-hope/. Accessed 2nd February 2016.

Back, L. (2016). "Moving Sounds, Controlled Borders: Asylum and the Politics of Culture." *Young*, 24(3): 185-203

Bagelman. J. (2013). "Sanctuary: A Politics of Ease?" *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 38 (1): 49–62.

Bagelman, J. (2016). *Sanctuary City: A Suspended State*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bagelman, J, and Wiebe S M. (2017). "Intimacies of Global Toxins: Exposure and Resistance in 'Chemical Valley.'" *Political Geography* 60 (3): 76–85.

Bail For Immigration Detainees (BID). (2016). "Bail For Immigration Detainees." http://www.biduk.org/information-detainees. 10th July 2017.

Bailey, R. (2009). "Up Against the Wall: Bare Life and Resistance in Australian Immigration Detention." *Law and Critique* 20 (2): 113–32.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1984). *Rabelais and His World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Balibar, É. (2009). *We, the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Barad, K. M. (2007). *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Barnhart, R. K, and Steinmetz, S. (1988). "Create." *Chambers Dictionary of Etymology*. Edinburgh: Chambers.

Bauman, Z. (2004). *Wasted Lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

BBC. (2017). "What I Saw When I Went Undercover: The 21-Year-Old Whistleblower at the Immigration Removal Centre." *BBC News*. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/idt-sh/g4s_brook_house_immigration_removal_centre_undercover. Accessed: 15th October 2017.

Belcher, O, and Martin, L. (2013). "Ethnographies of Closed Doors: Conceptualising Openness and Closure in US Immigration and Military Institutions: Ethnographies of Closed Doors." *Area* 45 (4): 403–410

Belcher, O., Martin, L., Secor, A., Simon, S and Wilson, T. (2008). "Everywhere and Nowhere: The Exception and the Topological Challenge to Geography." *Antipode* 40 (4): 499–503.

Benjamin, W. (1999). *Illuminations*. London: Pimlico.

Bennett, J. (2010). *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Berlant, L. G. (2011). *Cruel Optimism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Bernhardt, J. (2017). "Politics Has Gone beyond Satire – Can the Mash Report Catch Up?" *The Guardian*. July 18. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jul/18/politics -daily-mash-report-satirical. Accessed: 19th July 2017

Bhabha, H. K. (2004). *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Billo, E, and Mountz, A. (2016). "For Institutional Ethnography: Geographical Approaches to Institutions and the Everyday." *Progress in Human Geography* 40 (2): 199–220.

Bissell, D. (2007). "Animating Suspension: Waiting for Mobilities." *Mobilities* 2 (2): 277–98.

Bissell, D, and Fuller, G. (2011). "Stillness unbound" In *Stillness in a Mobile World* edited by Bissell, D, and Fuller, G. London: Routledge.

Bleiker, R. (2000). *Popular Dissent, Human Agency and Global Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bleiker, R. (2012). *Aesthetics and World Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Blinder, S, and Allen, W. L. (2016). "Constructing Immigrants: Portrayals of Migrant Groups in British National Newspapers, 2010-2012." *International Migration Review* 50 (1): 3–40.

Borsilā, R. (2014). "The Political Aesthetics of Immigrant Protest." In *Immigrant Protest: Politics, Aesthetics, and Everyday Dissent*, edited by Marciniak, K and Tyler, I. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Bosworth, M. (2012). "Subjectivity and Identity in Detention: Punishment and Society in a Global Age." *Theoretical Criminology* 16 (2): 123–40.

Bosworth, M. (2014). *Inside Immigration Detention*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bosworth, M, and Kellezi, B. (2017). "Doing Research in Immigration Removal Centres: Ethics, Emotions and Impact." *Criminology & Criminal Justice* 17 (2): 121–37.

Bosworth, M, and Slade, G. (2014). "In Search of Recognition: Gender and Staff–detainee Relations in a British Immigration Removal Centre." *Punishment & Society* 16 (2): 169–86.

Bosworth, M, and von Zinnenburg Carroll, K. (2017). "Art and Criminology of the Border: The Making of the Immigration Detention Archive." *OAR: The Oxford Artistic and Practice Based Research Platform*. http://www.oarplatform.com/art-criminology-border-making-immigration-detention-archive/. Accessed: 16th October 2017.

Boyer, K. (2006). "Reform and Resistance: A Consideration of Space, Scale and Strategy in Legal Challenges to Welfare Reform." *Antipode* 38 (1): 22–40.

Braun, B, and Whatmore, S. (2010). "The Stuff of Politics: An Introduction." In *Political Matter: Technoscience, Democracy, and Public Life*, edited by Braun, B and Whatmore, S. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

British Red Cross. 2016. "The Azure Card Report – a Life without Cash for Asylum Seekers." http://www.redcross.org.uk/About-us/Advocacy/Refugees/Azure-payment-card. Accessed: 20th December 2016.

Brown, M. (1997). "Radical Politics out of Place: The Curious Case of ACT UP in Vancouver." In *Geographies of Resistance*, edited by Pile, S. and Keith, M. London: Routledge.

Brown, W. (1995). *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bruce, K. 2015. "Evaluation Report. Community Exchange Project between Detainees at Harmondsworth Immigration Removal Centre (IRC) and Young People at West London YMCA, Hayes. March-April 2015." *Music in Detention*. http://www.musicindetention.org.uk/news/evaluation-report-released/. Accessed: 15th August 2016.

Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burridge, A. (2009). "Differential Criminalization under Operation Streamline: Challenges to Freedom of Movement and Humanitarian Aid Provision in the Mexico-US Borderlands." *Refuge* 26 (2): 78–91.

Burridge A. 2017. "Reporting to the Home Office: Exploring Connections to Detention and Solidarity." *Right to Remain*. http://www.righttoremain.org.uk/legal/reporting-to-the-home-office-exploring-connections-to-detention-and-solidarity/. Accessed 2nd May 2016.

Burridge, A., and Gill, N. (2016). "Conveyor-Belt Justice: Precarity, Access to Justice, and Uneven Geographies of Legal Aid in UK Asylum Appeals." *Antipode*, 49(1): 23-42.

Burridge, A., Gill, N., Kocher, A. and Martin, L. (2017). "Polymorphic Borders." *Territory, Politics, Governance* 5 (3): 239–51.

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies That Matter. On the Discursive Limits Of "sex."* London: Routledge.

Butler, J. (2000). "Restaging the Universal: Hegemony and the Limits of Formalism." In *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left*, edited by Butler, J., Laclau, E. and Žižek, S. London: Verso.

Butler, J. (2001). "What Is Critique? An Essay on Foucault's Virtue." *European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policies*. http://eipcp.net/transversal/0806/butler/en. Accessed: 30th September 2017.

Butler, J. (2004). *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London: Verso.

Butler, J. (2005). *Giving an Account of Oneself*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Butler, J. (2006). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.

Cadman, L. (2010). "How (Not) to Be Governed: Foucault, Critique, and the Political." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28 (3): 539–56.

Callon, M, and Law, J. (1997). "After the Individual in Society: Lessons on Collectivity from Science, Technology and Society." *Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie* 22(2): 165-182.

Campesi, G. (2015). "Hindering the Deportation Machine: An Ethnography of Power and Resistance in Immigration Detention." *Punishment & Society* 17 (4): 427–53.

Carter, P. (2009). *Dark Writing: Geography, Performance, Design*. Writing Past Colonialism. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Caygill, H. (2013). *On Resistance: A Philosophy of Defiance*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Channel 4. (2015). "Yarl's Wood: Undercover in the Secretive Immigration Centre," March. http://www.channel4.com/news/yarls-wood-immigration-removal-detention-centre-investigation. Accessed: 20th January 2016.

Chatterton, P, and Pickerill, J. (2010). "Everyday Activism and Transitions towards Post-Capitalist Worlds." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35 (4): 475–90.

Clark, N., Massey, D. Sarre, P., (2008). *Material Geographies: A World in the Making*. (eds) London: Sage Publications.

Cloke, P., Sutherland, C. and Williams, A. (2016). "Postsecularity, Political Resistance, and Protest in the Occupy Movement: Postsecularity in the Occupy Movement." *Antipode* 48 (3): 497–523.

Closs Stephens, A. (2013). *The Persistence of Nationalism : From Imagined Communities to Urban Encounters*. New York: Routledge.

Clowns who Care. (2016). "Clowns Who Care." *Clowns Who Care*. https://clownswhocare.wordpress.com/. Accessed: 12th September 2017.

Clowns without Borders. (2015). "Lesvos, Greece 2015." *Clowns without Borders*. https://clownswithoutborders.org/projects/lesvos-greece-2015/. Accessed: 12th September 2017.

Coddington, K. (2016a). "Contagious Trauma: Reframing the Spatial Mobility of Trauma within Advocacy Work." *Emotion, Space and Society*, 24 (3):66-73

Coddington, K. (2016b). "Voice Under Scrutiny: Feminist Methods, Anticolonial Responses, and New Methodological Tools." *The Professional Geographer*, 67(2):314-320

Coddington, K. (2017). "Intimate Economies of Ambiguity and Erasure: Darwin as Australia's 2011-2012 'capital of Detention.'" In *Intimate Economies of Immigration Detention: Critical Perspectives*, edited by Conlon, D. and Hiemstra, N. London: Taylor & Francis Group.

Coddington, K, and Micieli-Voutsinas, J. (2017). "On Trauma, Geography, and Mobility: Towards Geographies of Trauma." *Emotion, Space and Society*, 24(3):52-56

Coddington, K, and Mountz, A. (2014). "Countering Isolation with the Use of Technology: How Asylum-Seeking Detainees on Islands in the Indian Ocean Use Social Media to Transcend Their Confinement." *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region* 10 (1): 97–112.

Conlon, D. (2010a). "Facinatin' Rhythm(s): Polyrhythmia and the Syncopated Echoes of the Everyday." In *Geographies of Rhythm: Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies*, edited by Edensor, T. Farnham: Ashgate.

Conlon, D. (2010b). "Ties That Bind: Governmentality, the State, and Asylum in Contemporary Ireland." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28 (1): 95–111.

Conlon, D. (2011a). "Waiting: Feminist Perspectives on the Spacings/Timings of Migrant (Im)mobility." *Gender, Place & Culture* 18 (3): 353–60.

Conlon, D. (2011b). "A Fractured Mosaic: Encounters with the Everyday amongst Refugee and Asylum Seeker Women." *Population, Space and Place* 17 (6): 714–26.

Conlon, D. (2013). "Hungering for Freedom: Asylum Seekers' Hunger Strikes - Rethinking Resistance as Counter-Conduct." In *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*, edited by Moran, D., Gill, N. and Conlon, D. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Conlon, D, and Gill, N. (2013). "Gagging Orders: Asylum Seekers and Paradoxes of Freedom and Protest in Liberal Society." *Citizenship Studies* 17 (2): 241–59.

Conlon, D., Gill, N., Tyler, I., and Oeppen. C. (2014). "Impact as Odyssey." *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 13(1):33-38

Conlon, D, and Himestra, N. (2017). "Mobility and Materialisation of the Carceral. Examining Immigration and Immigration Detention." In *Carceral Mobilities: Interrogating Movement in Incarceration*, edited by Turner, J and Peters, K A. New York: Routledge.

Connolly, W. (2005). *Pluralism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Connolly, W. (2007). "The Complexities of Sovereignty." In *Sovereign Lives. Power in Global Politics* edited by Edkins, J., Shapiro, M. and Pin-Fat, V. London: Routledge.

Corporate Watch. (2017). "The Round-Up: Rough Sleeper Immigration Raids and Charity Collaboration." *Corporate Watch*. https://corporatewatch.org/news/2017/mar/05/rough-sleeper-immigration-raids-charity-collaboration-st-mungos-thames-reach. Accessed: 5th March 2017.

Cowen, D. (2010). "A Geography of Logistics: Market Authority and the Security of Supply Chains." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 100 (3): 600–620.

Cox, R. W. (1983). "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method." *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 12 (2): 162–75.

Crampton, J. W., and Elden, S. (2007). *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*. (eds) Aldershot: Ashgate.

Crane, N J,. (2015). "Politics Squeezed through a Police State: Policing and Vinculación in Post-1968 Mexico City." *Political Geography* 47 (2): 1–10.

Crang, M. (2001). "Rhythms of the City: Temporalised Space and Motion." In *TimeSpace: Geographies of Temporality*, edited by May, J. and Thrift, N J. London: Routledge.

Crang, M. (2002). "Qualitative Methods: The New Orthodoxy?" *Progress in Human Geography*. 26(5): 647-655.

Crang, M, and Cook, M. (1995). *Doing Ethnographies*. London: SAGE Publishers Ltd.

Crang, M, and Cook, M. (2007). *Doing Ethnographies*. London: SAGE Publishers Ltd.

Crary, J. (2001). *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Cresswell, T. (1996). "Writing, Reading and the Problem of Resistance: A Reply to McDowell." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 21 (2): 420-424.

Cresswell, T. (2000). "Falling Down. Resistance as Diagnostic." In *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*, edited by Sharp, J. P., Routledge, P., Philo, C., and Paddison, R. London: Routledge.

Crossa, V. (2013). "Play for Protest, Protest for Play: Artisan and Vendors' Resistance to Displacement in Mexico City." *Antipode* 45 (4): 826–43.

Crossings. (2016). "Crossings: United Through Music." http://www.crossings.org.uk/. Accessed 30th September 2016.

Cwerner, S. B. (2004). "Faster, Faster and Faster: The Time Politics of Asylum in the UK." *Time & Society* 13 (1): 71–88.

Danchev, A, and Lisle, D. (2009). "Introduction: Art, Politics, Purpose." *Review of International Studies* 35 (4): 775–779.

Daniel, P. (2012). "A Story of What Otherwise Might Not Have Been Possible." The Helen Tetlow Memorial Trust Fund. https://camyorkshire.files.wordpress.com/2012/07/htmf_impact_report1.pdf. Accessed: 12th September 2017.

Darling, J. (2009). "Becoming Bare Life: Asylum, Hospitality, and the Politics of Encampment." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27 (4): 649–55.

Darling, J. (2010). "A City of Sanctuary: The Relational Re-Imagining of Sheffield's Asylum Politics: A City of Sanctuary." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35 (1): 125–40.

Darling, J. (2011). "Domopolitics, Governmentality and the Regulation of Asylum Accommodation." *Political Geography* 30 (5): 263–71.

Darling, J. (2014). "Another Letter from the Home Office: Reading the Material Politics of Asylum." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 32 (3): 484–500.

Darling, J. (2016). "Privatising Asylum: Neoliberalisation, Depoliticisation and the Governance of Forced Migration." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 41 (3): 230–43.

Darling, J. (2017a). "Forced Migration and the City: Irregularity, Informality, and the Politics of Presence." *Progress in Human Geography* 41 (2): 178–98.

Darling, J. (2017b). "Acts, Ambiguities, and the Labour of Contesting Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 21 (6): 727–36.

Daston, L. (2004). "Glass Flowers." In *Things That Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science*, edited by Daston, L. Cambridge: MIT Press

de Certeau, M. (1988). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. London: University of California Press.

de Goede, M. (2005). "Carnival of Money. Politics of Dissent in an Era of Globalising Finance." In *The Global Resistance Reader*, edited by Amoore, L. Abingdon: Routledge.

De Genova, N. (2010). "The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space and the Freedom of Movement." In *The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space and the Freedom of Movement*, edited by De Genova, N. and Peutz, N. Durham: Duke University Press.

De Genova, N, and Peutz, N. (2010). "Introduction." In *The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space and the Freedom of Movement*, edited by De Genova, N. and Peutz, N. Durham: Duke University Press.

de Vries, L. A., and Rosenow, D. (2015). "Opposing the Opposition? Binarity and Complexity in Political Resistance." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 33 (6): 1118–34.

Deakin, H, and Wakefield, K. (2014). "Skype Interviewing: Reflections of Two PhD Researchers." *Qualitative Research* 14 (5): 603–16.

DeFilippis, J. (2001). "Our Resistance Must Be as Local as Capitalism Place, Scale and the Anti-Globalization Protest Movement." *City* 5 (3): 363–73.

Deleuze, G. (1987). *On Cinema: What Is the Creative Act - 1987*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_CI_PkcIwKM&feature=youtube_gdata_player. Accessed: 30th September 2014.

Deleuze, G. (1988). *Spinoza, Practical Philosophy*. San Francisco: City Lights Books.

Deleuze, G. (1992). "Postscript on the Societies of Control." *October* 59: 3–7.

Deleuze, G. (1994). *Difference and Repetition*. London: Athlone Press.

Deleuze, G. (2001). *Pure Immanence: Essays on a Life*. New York: Zone Books.

Deleuze, G. (2003). *Francis Bacon the Logic of Sensation*. London: Continuum.

Deleuze, G, and Guattari, F. (1987). *A Thousand Plateaus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Deleuze, G, and Parnet, C. (2006). *Dialogues II*. London: Continuum.

DeNora, Tia. (1999). "Music as a Technology of the Self." *Poetics* 27 (1): 31–56.

Denzin, N K. (2001). "The Reflexive Interview and a Performative Social Science." *Qualitative Research* 1 (1): 23–46.

Depraetere, A, and Oosterlynck, S. (2017). "'I Finally Found My place' A Political Ethnography of the Maximiliaan Refugee Camp in Brussels." *Citizenship Studies* 21 (6): 693–709.

Derrida, J. (1995) *Archive Fever: a Freudian Impression.* Translated by Prenowitz, E. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Detention Action. (2016). "Detention Action." http://detentionaction.org.uk/. Accessed: 12th May 2016.

Dines, N., Montagna, N. and Ruggiero, V. (2015). "Thinking Lampedusa: Border Construction, the Spectacle of Bare Life and the Productivity of Migrants." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38 (3): 430–45.

Dokter, D. (1998). "Introduction." In *Arts Therapists, Refugees, and Migrants: Reaching across Borders*, edited by Dokter, D. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Dudley, S. (2011). "Feeling at Home: Producing and Consuming Things in Karenni Refugee Camps on the Thai-Burma Border." *Population, Space and Place* 17 (6): 742–55.

Dunn, K. (2000). "Interviewing." In *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, edited by Hay, I. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Easterling, K. (2016). *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space*. London: Verso.

Edensor, T. (2010). "Introduction: Thinking about Rhythm and Space". In *Geographies of Rhythm: Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies* edited by Edensor, T. Farnham: Ashgate.

Edkins, J. (2003). *Trauma and the Memory of Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Edkins, J, and Pin-Fat, V. (2004). "Introduction: Life, Power, Resistance." In *Sovereign Lives*, edited by Edkins, J., Pin-Fat, V, and Shapiro, M. J. London: Routledge.

Edkins, J, and Pin-Fat, V. (2005). "Through the Wire: Relations of Power and Relations of Violence." *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 34 (1): 1–24.

Ehrkamp, P. (2016). "Geographies of Migration I: Refugees." *Progress in Human Geography*, Online First.

Eisenbichler, K. (1999). "Introduction." In *Carnival and the Carnivalesque: The Fool, the Reformer, the Wildman, and Others in Early Modern Theatre*, edited by Eisenbichler, K. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I, and Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Emmerson, P. (2017). "Thinking Laughter beyond Humour: Atmospheric Refrains and Ethical Indeterminacies in Spaces of Care." *Environment and Planning A*, 49(9): 2082-2098.

European Commission. (2017). "Identification of Applicants (EURODAC)." *Migration and Home Affairs*. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/identification-of-applicants_en. Accessed 23rd August 2017.

European Parliament, Council of the European Union. (2013). *Regulation (EU) No 604/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2013. Establishing the Criteria and Mechanisms for Determining the Member State Responsible for Examining an Application for International Protection Lodged in One of the Member States by a Third-Country National or a Stateless Person*. Vol. OJ L 180.

Evans, A. (2002). "Sound Ideas." In *A Shock to Thought: Expressions after Deleuze and Guattari*, edited by Massumi, B. London: Routledge.

Faulkner, S. (2014). "On Israel/Palestine and the Politics of Visibility." In *Immigrant Protest: Politics, Aesthetics, and Everyday Dissent*, edited by Marciniak, K. and Tyler, I. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Ferguson, M. and Golding, P. (1997). "Cultural Studies in Question. An Introduction." In *Cultural Studies in Question*, edited by Ferguson, M. and Golding, P. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E., and Qasmiyeh, Y. M. (2010). "Muslim Asylum-Seekers and Refugees: Negotiating Identity, Politics and Religion in the UK." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23 (3): 294–314.

Flusty, S. (2000). "Thrashing Downtown: Play as Resistance to the Spatial and Representational Regulation of Los Angeles." *Cities* 17 (2): 149–58.

Flynn, M. (2012). "Who Must Be Detained? Proportionality as a Tool for Critiquing Immigration Detention Policy." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 31 (3): 40–68.

Fontanari, E. (2015). "Confined to the Threshold: The Experiences of Asylum Seekers in Germany." *City* 19 (5): 714–26.

Foucault, M. (1972) *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* London: Tavistock Press.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. London: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1978). *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Vintage.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* edited by Gordon, C. Harlow: Pearson Education.

Foucault, M. (1988). *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings, 1977-1984* edited by Kritzmann, L. D. London: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1990). *The Will to Knowledge*. The History of Sexuality, Volume 1. London: Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. (1991a). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. 1926-1984*. Volume 1. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. (1991b). *Remarks on Marx: Conversations with Duccio Trombadori*. Edited by Trombadori, D., Goldstein, J. D, and Cascaito, J. New York: Autonomedia.

Foucault, M. (1991c). *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality: With Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault* edited by Miller, P., Burchell, G., and Gordon, C. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, M. (1994). "The Ethics of the Concern for Self as a Practice of Freedom." In *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, edited by Rabinow. P. Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, Vol. 1. London: Penguin Press.

Foucault, M. (1998). "What Is an Author?" In *Aesthetics, Method and Epistemology*, edited by Rabinow, P. The Essential Works of Foucault. 1954-1984. Vol. 2 New York: The New Press.

Foucault, M. (2000). "Interview: The Masked Philosopher in 'Entretiens Avec Le Monde'." In *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, edited by Rabinow, P. Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984. Vol. 1. London: Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. (2002). "Space, Knowledge, and Power." In *Power*, edited by Faubion, J. D. London: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (2008). *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76*. Lectures at the Collège de France. London: Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. (2009). *Security, territory, population: lectures at the Collège de France*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gabrielatos, C, and Baker, P. (2008). "Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding: A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press, 1996-2005." *Journal of English Linguistics* 36 (1): 5–38.

Gacek, J. (2017). "Doing 'Time' Differently: Imaginative Mobilities To/From Inmates' Inner/Outer Spaces." In *Carceral Mobilities: Interrogating Movement in Incarceration*, edited by Turner, J. and Peters, K. A. Abingdon: Routledge.

Gardner, R., Dodds, K, and Souch, C. (2010). "Introduction." In *Communicating Geographical Research Beyond the Academy. A Guide for Researchers.*, edited by Gardner, R., Dodds, K, and Souch, C. and McConnell, F. London: The Royal Geographical Society.

Giaccaria, P, and Minca, C. (2016). "Hitler's Geographies, Nazi Spatialities." In *Hitler's Geographies: The Spatialities of the Third Reich*, edited by Giaccaria, P, and Minca, C. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Gibney, M. J. (2008). "Asylum and the Expansion of Deportation in the United Kingdom." *Government and Opposition* 43 (2): 146–67.

Gill, N. (2009a). "Governmental Mobility: The Power Effects of the Movement of Detained Asylum Seekers around Britain's Detention Estate." *Political Geography* 28 (3): 186–96.

Gill, N. (2009b). "Presentational State Power: Temporal and Spatial Influences over Asylum Sector Decisionmakers." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 34 (2): 215–233.

Gill, N. (2010). "New State-Theoretic Approaches to Asylum and Refugee Geographies." *Progress in Human Geography* 34 (5): 626–45.

Gill, N. (2016). *Nothing Personal?: Geographies of Governing and Activism in the British Asylum System*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Gill, N., Conlon, D., and Moran, D. (2013). "Dialogues across Carceral Space: Migration, Mobility, Space and Agency." In *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*, edited by Moran, D., Gill, N., and Conlon, D. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Gill, N., Conlon, D., and Moran, D. and Burridge, A. (2016). "Carceral Circuitry: New Directions in Carceral Geography." *Progress in Human Geography*, Online First.

Gill, N., Conlon, D., Tyler, I and Oeppen, C. (2014). "The Tactics of Asylum and Irregular Migrant Support Groups: Disrupting Bodily, Technological, and Neoliberal Strategies of Control." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 104 (2): 373–81.

Giudice, C, and Giubilaro, C. (2015). "Re-Imagining the Border: Border Art as a Space of Critical Imagination and Creative Resistance." *Geopolitics* 20 (1): 79–94.

Good Chance Calais. (2017). "Good Chance Calais." *Good Chance Calais*. https://www.goodchance.org.uk/. Accessed 16th October 2017.

gov.uk. (2017a). "Claim Asylum in the UK." *Visas and Immigration*. https://www.gov.uk/claim-asylum/after-your-screening. Accessed 15th August 2017.

gov.uk. (2017b). "Set up a Charity." *Charities, Volunteering and Honours*. https://www.gov.uk/setting-up-charity/set-up-a-charity. Accessed 17th September 2017.

Gramsci, A. (2007). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Edited by Hoare, Q, and Nowell-Smith, G. Reprinted. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Gregory, D. (2004). "The Angel of Iraq." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 22: 314–324.

Gregson, N, and Crang, M. (2010). "Materiality and Waste: Inorganic Vitality in a Networked World." *Environment and Planning A* 42 (5): 1026–32.

Griffiths, M. (2013). "Frenzied, Decelerating and Suspended: The Temporal Uncertainties of Failed Asylum Seekers and Immigration Detainees." *Centre of Migration, Policy and Society. Working Paper No. 105*. Oxford: University of Oxford.

Grosz, E. A. (1999). "Becoming: An Introduction" In *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory, and Futures* edited by Grosz, E. A. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Grosz, E. A. (2008). *Chaos, Territory, Art: Deleuze and the Framing of the Earth*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Guattari, F. (2006). *Chaosmosis: An Ethico-Aesthetic Paradigm*. Sydney: Power Publications.

Haas, B. M. (2017). "Citizens-in-Waiting, Deportees-in-Waiting: Power, Temporality, and Suffering in the U.S. Asylum System: Waiting and Suffering in the U.S Asylum System." *Ethos* 45 (1): 75–97.

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.

Hall, A. (2012). *Border Watch. Cultures of Immigration, Detention and Control*. London: Pluto Press.

Halvorsen, S. (2017). "Spatial Dialectics and the Geography of Social Movements: The Case of Occupy London." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 42(3): 455-457.

Hanna, P. (2012). "Using Internet Technologies (such as Skype) as a Research Medium: A Research Note." *Qualitative Research* 12 (2): 239–42.

Harman, G. (2005). *Guerrilla Metaphysics: Phenomenology and the Carpentry of Things*. Chicago: Open Court.

Hasselberg, I. (2016). *Enduring Uncertainty Deportation, Punishment and Everyday Life*. New York: Berghahn.

Ho, E. L-H, and Hatfield (née Dobson), M. E. (2011). "Migration and Everyday Matters: Sociality and Materiality." *Population, Space and Place* 17 (6): 707–13.

Hodge, P. (2015). "A Grievable Life? The Criminalisation and Securing of Asylum Seeker Bodies in the 'violent Frames' of Australia's Operation Sovereign Borders." *Geoforum* 58 (1): 122–31.

Hollander, J. A., and Einwohner, R. L. (2004). "Conceptualizing Resistance." *Sociological Forum* 19 (4): 533–54.

Home Office and Immigration Enforcement. (2011). "Detention Services Operating Standards Manual for Immigration Service Removal Centres." London: Home Office.

Home Office. (2016). "Biometric Data-Sharing Process (Five Country Conference (FCC) Data-Sharing Process). Version 7.0." Home Office: London

Home Office. (2017). "Immigration Rules Appendix K: Shortage Occupation List." London: Home Office.

Horton, J, and Kraftl, P. (2009). "Small Acts, Kind Words and 'not Too Much Fuss': Implicit Activisms." *Activism and Emotional Sustainability* 2 (1): 14–23.

House of Commons. (2017). "Asylum Accommodation. Twelfth Report of Session 2016–17." London: House of Commons.

Hoy, D. C. (2005). *Critical Resistance: From Poststructuralism to Post-Critique.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Hughes, J. (1990). *The Philosophy of Social Research.* Harlow: Longman.

Hughes, S. M. (2016) "Beyond Intentionality: Exploring Creativity and Resistance within a UK Immigration Removal Centre." *Citizenship Studies*, 20(3-4): 427-443.

Hughes, S. M., and Forman, P. (2017). "A Material Politics of Citizenship: The Potential of Circulating Materials from UK Immigration Removal Centres." *Citizenship Studies* 21(6): 675–92.

Humphrey, C. (2001). *The Politics of Carnival: Festive Misrule in Medieval England.* Manchester Medieval Studies. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hutchings, K. (2008). *Time and World Politics: Thinking the Present.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Huysmans, J. (2002). "Migration and the Question of the Political in the EU." In *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, Security and Community*, edited by Kelstrup, M. and Williams, M. C. London: Routledge.

Huysmans, J. (2006). *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU.* London: Routledge.

Hyndman, J. (2001). "The Field as Here and Now, Not There and Then." *Geographical Review* 91 (1/2): 262–72.

Hyndman, J. (2004). "Mind the Gap: Bridging Feminist and Political Geography through Geopolitics." *Political Geography* 23 (3): 307–22.

Ikizoglu Erensu, A. (2016). "Notes from a Refugee Protest: Ambivalences of Resisting and Desiring Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 20 (5): 664–77.

Ikoniadou, E. (2014). *The Rhythmic Event: Art, Media, and the Sonic*. Technologies of Lived Abstraction. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Immigration and Asylum Act (1999). London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Immigration Act. (2016). London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Innes, A J. (2014). "Performing Security Absent the State: Encounters with a Failed Asylum Seeker in the UK." *Security Dialogue* 45 (6): 565–81.

Isin, E. F., and Nielsen, G. M. (2008). "Introduction." In *Acts of Citizenship*, edited by Isin, E. F., and Nielsen, G. M. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Isin, E. F, and Rygiel. K (2007) "Abject Spaces: Frontiers, Zones, Camps." In *Logics of Biopower and the War on Terror*, edited by Dauphinee, E and Masters, C. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jeffrey, A. S. (2013). *The Improvised State: Sovereignty, Performance and Agency in Dayton Bosnia*. Malden: Wiley & Sons.

Jeffrey, C. (2012). "Geographies of Children and Youth II: Global Youth Agency." *Progress in Human Geography* 36 (2): 245–53.

Jewkes, Y. (2013). "On Carceral Space and Agency." In *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*, edited by Moran, D., Gill, N., and Conlon, D. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Jones, R. (2012). "Spaces of Refusal: Rethinking Sovereign Power and Resistance at the Border." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 102 (3): 685–99.

Jones, R., Johnson, C., Brown, W., Popescu, G., Pallister-Wilkins, P., Mountz, A. and Gilbert, E. (2017). "Interventions on the State of Sovereignty at the Border." *Political Geography* 59 (4): 1–10.

Jones, R., Goodwin, M., Jones, M. and Simpson, G. (2004). "Devolution, State Personnel, and the Production of New Territories of Governance in the United Kingdom." *Environment and Planning A* 36 (1): 89–109.

Joppke, C. (2016). "Terror and the Loss of Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 20 (6–7): 728–48.

Joronen, M. (2011). "Dwelling in the Sites of Finitude: Resisting the Violence of the Metaphysical Globe." *Antipode* 43 (4): 1127–54.

Joronen, M. 2017. "'Refusing to Be a Victim, Refusing to Be an Enemy'. Form-of-Life as Resistance in the Palestinian Struggle against Settler Colonialism." *Political Geography* 56 (1): 91–100.

Kalhan, A. (2010). "Rethinking Immigration Detention." *Colombia Law Review Sidebar* 110(42): 42-58.

Kanellopoulos, P. A. (2011). "Freedom and Responsibility: The Aesthetics of Free Musical Improvisation and Its Educational Implications—A View from Bakhtin." *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 19 (2): 113–35.

Katz, C. (2004). *Growing up Global: Economic Restructuring and Children's Everyday Lives*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Katz, C. (2008). "Cultural Geographies Lecture: Childhood as Spectacle: Relays of Anxiety and the Reconfiguration of the Child." *Cultural Geographies* 15 (1): 5–17.

Kent Police. (2017). "Operation Stack." https://www.kent.police.uk/advice/operation-stack/. Accessed: 17th July 2017.

Kent Refugee Help. (2017). "Kent Refugee Help: About KRH." https://kentrefugeehelp.org.uk/. Accessed: 20th April 2017.

Khomami, N. (2017). "Private Eye Flourishes in Satire's New Golden Age of Ridicule." *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/media/2017/feb/11/private-eye-flourishes-satires-new-golden-age-ridicule. Accessed: 2nd March 2017.

Khosravi, S. (2016). "Deportation as a Way of Life for Young Afghan Man." In *Detaining the Immigrant Other: Global and Transnational Issues*, edited by Furman, F., Epps, D., and Lamphear, G. New York: Oxford University Press.

King, N. (2016). *No Borders: The Politics of Immigration Control and Resistance*. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Kirsch, S. (2013). "Cultural Geography I: Materialist Turns." *Progress in Human Geography* 37 (3): 433–41.

Koelsch, S. (2009). "Music-Syntactic Processing and Auditory Memory: Similarities and Differences between ERAN and MMN." *Psychophysiology* 46 (1): 179–90.

Krumhansl, C. L. (1991). "Music Psychology: Tonal Structures in Perception and Memory." *Annual Review of Psychology* 42 (1): 277–303.

Laclau, E, and Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso.

Lamb, E. C. (2014). "Resisting Marginalisation: Changing Representations of Migrants and Refugees in UK Text and Talk since the 1960s." *Journal of Language and Politics* 13 (3): 403–33.

Langer, S. (1953). *Feeling and Form: A Theory of Art Developed from Philosophy in a New Key*. London: Routledge.

Larner, W, and Craig, D. (2005). "After Neoliberalism? Community Activism and Local Partnerships in Aotearoa New Zealand." *Antipode* 37 (3): 402–24.

Larsen, M, and Piché, J. (2009). "Exceptional State, Pragmatic Bureaucracy, and Indefinite Detention: The Case of the Kingston Immigration Holding Centre." *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 24 (2): 203–29.

Laurier, E. (2010). "Participant Observation." In *Key Methods in Geography*, edited by Clifford, N. J., French, S. and Valentine, G. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd.

Leblanc, L. (1999). *Pretty in Punk: Girls' Gender Resistance in a Boys' Subculture*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Lebrun, B. (2006). "Music for *Sans-Papiers* in the Republic." *Third Text* 20 (6): 711–21.

Lee, S-O., Jan, N., and Wainwright, J. (2014). "Agamben, Postcoloniality, and Sovereignty in South Korea." *Antipode* 46 (3): 650–68.

Lefebvre, H. (2004). *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time, and Everyday Life*. London: Continuum.

Leitner, H., Sheppard, E. and Sziarto, K. M. (2008). "The Spatialities of Contentious Politics." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 33 (2): 157–72.

Lenette, C, and Procopis, B. (2015). "They Change Us?: The Social and Emotional Impacts on Music Facilitators of Engaging in Music and Singing with Asylum Seekers." *Music and Arts in Action* 1 (5): 56-68.

Lenette, C., Weston, D., Wise, P., Sunderland, N. and Bristed, H. (2015). "'Where Words Fail, Music Speaks': The Impact of Participatory Music on the Mental Health and Wellbeing of Asylum Seekers." *Arts & Health*, (2), 1–15.

Lewis, H. (2015). "Music, Dancing and Clothing as Belonging and Freedom among People Seeking Asylum in the UK." *Leisure Studies* 34 (1): 42–58.

Lilja, M., Baaz, M. and Vinthagen, S. (2015). "Fighting with and Against the Time: The Japanese Environmental Movement's Queering of Time as Resistance." *Journal of Civil Society* 11 (4): 408–23.

Longhurst, R. (2010). "Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Groups." In *Key Methods in Geography*, edited by Clifford, N. J., French, S. and Valentine, G. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd.

Loyd, J. M., Mitchelson, M. L. and Burridge, A. (2012). "Introduction Borders, Prisons, and Abolitionist Visions." In *Beyond Walls and Cages*, edited by Loyd, J. M., Mitchelson, M. L. and Burridge, A. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Luke, T. W. (1992). *Shows of Force: Power, Politics, and Ideology in Art Exhibitions*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Lukes, S. (2017). "'Music In Detention?' people say. 'Brilliant Idea: Where Did It Come From?'" *Music In Detention*. http://www.musicindetention.org.uk/news/blog-music-in-detention-people-s/ Accessed: 24th February 2017.

Lynn, N., and Lea, S. (2003). "'A Phantom Menace and the New Apartheid': the Social Construction of Asylum-Seekers in the United Kingdom." *Discourse & Society* 14 (4): 425–52.

Lyons, K. (2017). "Borderline: The Play Finding the Funny Side of the Calais Migrant Camp." *The Guardian*. June 21. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/21/borderline-the-play-finding-the-funny-side-of-the-calais-migrant-camp. Accessed: 25th September 2017.

Maestri, G., and Hughes, S. M. (2017). "Contested Spaces of Citizenship: Camps, Borders and Urban Encounters." *Citizenship Studies* 21 (6): 625–39.

Maillet, P., Mountz, P. and Williams, K. (2016). "Researching Migration and Enforcement in Obscured Places: Practical, Ethical and Methodological Challenges to Fieldwork." *Social & Cultural Geography*, (2), 1–24.

Mandel, J. L. (2003). "Negotiating Expectations in the Field: Gatekeepers, Research Fatigue and Cultural Biases." *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 24 (2): 198–210.

Manning, E. (2016). *The Minor Gesture. Thought in the Act.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Marciniak, K., and Tyler, I. (2014). "Introduction." In *Immigrant Protest: Politics, Aesthetics, and Everyday Dissent*, edited by Marciniak, K. and Tyler, I. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Martin, D. G., and Pierce, J. (2013). "Reconceptualizing Resistance: Residuals of the State and Democratic Radical Pluralism." *Antipode* 45 (1): 61–79.

Martin, L. (2015). "Deportation and the Dispossession of Time." *Dark Matter* 12 (3). http://www.darkmatter101.org/site/2015/10/05/deportation-and-the-dispossession-of-time/. Accessed: 18th April 2017.

Marx, K., and Engels, F. (2008). *The Communist Manifesto*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative Researching*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Massey, D. (2000). "Entanglements of Power. Reflections." In *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*, edited by Sharp, J. P., Routledge, P., Philo, C. and Paddison, R., London: Routledge.

Mauthner, N. S., and Doucet, A. (2003). "Reflexive Accounts and Accounts of Reflexivity in Qualitative Data Analysis." *Sociology* 37 (3): 413–31.

May, J., and Thrift, N. J., (2001). "Introduction." In *TimeSpace: Geographies of Temporality* edited by May, J., and Thrift, N. J. London: Routledge.

Mayblin, L. (2016). "Troubling the Exclusive Privileges of Citizenship: Mobile Solidarities, Asylum Seekers, and the Right to Work." *Citizenship Studies* 20 (2): 192–207.

McCann, A. (2001). "All That Is Not Given Is Lost: Irish Traditional Music, Copyright, and Common Property." *Ethnomusicology* 45 (1): 89-95.

McConnell, F. (2009). "Governments-in-Exile: Statehood, Statelessness and the Reconfiguration of Territory and Sovereignty." *Geography Compass* 3 (5): 1902–19.

McDowell, L. (1992). "Doing Gender: Feminism, Feminists and Research Methods in Human Geography." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 17(4): 399–416.

McGregor, J. (2011). "Contestations and Consequences of Deportability: Hunger Strikes and the Political Agency of Non-Citizens." *Citizenship Studies* 15 (5): 597–611.

McIntyre, L. J. (2005). *Need to Know: Social Science Research Methods*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.

McNevin, A. (2006). "Political Belonging in a Neoliberal Era: The Struggle of the Sans-Papiers." *Citizenship Studies* 10 (2): 135–51.

McNevin, A. (2011). *Contesting Citizenship: Irregular Migrants and New Frontiers of the Political*. New York: Columbia University Press.

McNevin, A. (2013). "Ambivalence and Citizenship: Theorising the Political Claims of Irregular Migrants." *Millennium* 41 (2): 182–200.

Medby, I. A. (2017). "Peopling the State: Arctic State Identity in Norway, Iceland, and Canada." PhD Thesis. Durham: Durham University.

Meehan, I., Shaw, G.R, and Marston, S. A. (2014). "The State of Objects." *Political Geography* 39 (2): 60–62.

Megoran, N. (2006). "For Ethnography in Political Geography: Experiencing and Re-Imagining Ferghana Valley Boundary Closures." *Political Geography* 25 (6): 622–40.

Mesch, C. (2013). *Art and Politics: A Small History of Art for Social Change since 1945*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Mezzadra, S. (2011). "The Gaze of Autonomy. Capitalism, Migration, and Social Struggles." In *The Contested Politics of Mobility: Borderzones and Irregularity*, edited by Squire, V. London: Routledge.

Mezzadra, S, and Neilson, B. (2003). "Ne Qui, Ne Al Trouve - Migration, Detention, Desertation: A Dialogue." *Borderlands Ejournal* 2 (1). http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol2no1_2003/mezzadra_neilson.html. Accessed: 9th May 2015.

Michalon, B. (2013). "Mobility and Power in Detention: The Management of Internal Movement and Governmental Mobility in Romania." In *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*, edited by Moran, D., Gill, N., and Conlon, D. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Middleton, P., and Gurevitz, S. (2013). *Music Technology Workbook: Key Concepts and Practical Projects*. London: Taylor & Francis.

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): 320–28.

Mitchell, K. (2006). "Geographies of Identity: The New Exceptionalism." *Progress in Human Geography* 30 (1): 95–106.

Monforte, P. (2016). "The Border as a Space of Contention: The Spatial Strategies of Protest against Border Controls in Europe." *Citizenship Studies* 20 (3–4): 411–26.

Montanari, F. (2015). *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*. Boston: Brill.

Montange, L. (2017). "Hunger Strikes, Detainee Protest, and the Relationality of Political Subjectivization." *Citizenship Studies*, 21(5): 509-526.

Moran, D., Conlon, D., Gill, N. (2013). "Introduction." In *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*, edited by Moran, D., Gill, N., and Conlon, D. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Moran, D., Conlon, D., Gill, N. (2013). *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Morrison, I. (2008). "Unintentional Acts of Citizenship (The Joke)." In *Acts of Citizenship.*, edited by Isin, E. F. and Neilson, B. London: Zed Books.

Mountz. A. (2011). "Where Asylum-Seekers Wait: Feminist Counter-Topographies of Sites between States." *Gender, Place & Culture* 18 (3): 381–99.

Mountz. A. (2013a). "On Mobilities and Migrations." In *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*, edited by Moran, D., Gill, N., and Conlon, D. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Mountz, A. (2013b). "Political Geography I Reconfiguring Geographies of Sovereignty." *Progress in Human Geography* 37 (6): 829-841.

Mountz, A. (2015). "Political Geography II: Islands and Archipelagos." *Progress in Human Geography* 39 (5): 636–46.

Mountz, A. (2017). "Island Detention: Affective Eruption as Trauma's Disruption." *Emotion, Space and Society*, 24(3):74-82.

Mountz, A. (forthcoming). *The enforcement archipelago: Hidden Geographies and the Death of Asylum.* Author's manuscript.

Mountz, A., Miyares, I. M., Wright, R., and Bailey, A. J. (2003). "Methodologically Becoming: Power, Knowledge and Team Research." *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 10 (1): 29–46.

Mountz, A., Coddington, K., Catania, R. T., and Loyd, J. M. (2013). "Conceptualizing Detention: Mobility, Containment, Bordering, and Exclusion." *Progress in Human Geography* 37 (4): 522–541.

Munt, S. R. (2012). "Journeys of Resilience: The Emotional Geographies of Refugee Women." *Gender, Place & Culture* 19 (5): 555–77.

Music in Detention. (2017). "Music in Detention." www.musicindetention.org. Accessed: 2nd April 2017.

National Audit Office. (2014). "COMPASS Contracts for the Provision of Accommodation for Asylum Seekers." *National Audit Office*. https://www.nao.org.uk/report/compass-contracts-provision-accommodation-asylum-seekers/. Accessed: 13th November 2016.

National Offender Management Service. (2017). "Research at NOMS." https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/national-offender-management-service/about/research. Accessed: 8th July 2016.

Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act (2002). London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Nealon, J. T. (2008). *Foucault beyond Foucault: Power and Its Intensifications since 1984*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Nelson, L. (1999). "Bodies (and Spaces) Do Matter: The Limits of Performativity." *Gender, Place & Culture* 6 (4): 331–53.

Newcastle City Council. (2016). "Budget 2016-17." *Newcastle City Council*. https://www.newcastle.gov.uk/your-council-and-democracy/budget-annual-report-and-spending/budget/budget-2016-17. Accessed: 14th September 2017.

Newcastle City Council. (2017). "Budget 2017-18." *Newcastle City Council*. https://www.newcastle.gov.uk/your-council-and-democracy/budget-annual-report-and-spending/budget/budget-2017-18. Accessed: 14th September 2017.

Ní Mhurchú, A. (2014). *Ambiguous Citizenship in an Age of Global Migration*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Ní Mhurchú, A. (2016). "Unfamiliar Acts of Citizenship: Enacting Citizenship in Vernacular Music and Language from the Space of Marginalised Intergenerational Migration." *Citizenship Studies* 20 (2): 156–72.

Nicholls, W. J. (2016). "Producing-Resisting National Borders in the United States, France and the Netherlands." *Political Geography* 51 (3): 43–52.

Nordling, V, Sager, M. and Söderman, E. (2017). "From Citizenship to Mobile Commons: Reflections on the Local Struggles of Undocumented Migrants in the City of Malmö, Sweden." *Citizenship Studies*. 21(6): 710-726.

Nyers, P. (2006). *Rethinking Refugees. Beyond States of Emergency*. New York: Routledge.

Nyers, P. (2008). "No One Is Illegal. Between City and Nation." In *Acts of Citizenship.*, edited by Isin, E. F. and Neilson, B. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Nyers, P. (2003) "Abject Cosmopolitanism: The Politics of Protection in the Anti-Deportation Movement." *Third World Quarterly* 24, (6): 1069–93.

Nyers, P. (2015). "Migrant Citizenships and Autonomous Mobilities." *Migration, Mobility and Displacement* 1 (1): 23–39.

Nyers, P., and Rygiel, K. (2012). *Citizenship, Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement*. (eds). London: Routledge.

O'Connor, H., and Madge C. (2016). "Online Interviewing." In *The Sage Handbook of Online Research Methods,* edited by Fielding, N., Raymond E., and Blank, G. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publishing Ltd.

Oliveri, F. (2012). "Migrants as Activist Citizens in Italy: Understanding the New Cycle of Struggles." *Citizenship Studies* 16 (5–6): 793–806.

O'Neill, M. (2011). "Participatory Methods and Critical Models: Arts, Migration and Diaspora." *Crossings: Journal of Migration & Culture* 2 (1): 13–37.

O'Neill, M, and Hubbard, P. (2010). "Walking, Sensing, Belonging: Ethno-Mimesis as Performative Praxis." *Visual Studies* 25 (1): 46–58.

Owens, P. (2009). "Reclaiming 'Bare Life'?: Against Agamben on Refugees." *International Relations* 23 (4): 567–82.

Oxford English Dictionary. (2017). "Journey." *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/journey. Accessed: 4th May 2017.

Painter, J. (2006). "Prosaic Geographies of Stateness." *Political Geography* 25 (7): 752–774.

Panagia, D. (2006). *The Poetics of Political Thinking*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Papadopoulos, D., Stephenson, N., and Tsianos, V. (2008). *Escape Routes: Control and Subversion in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Pluto Publishing.

Papadopoulos, D., and Tsianos, V. S. (2013). "After Citizenship: Autonomy of Migration, Organisational Ontology and Mobile Commons." *Citizenship Studies* 17 (2): 178–96.

Perera, S. (2002). "What Is a Camp...?" *Borderlands Ejournal* 1 (1). http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol1no1_2002/perera_camp.html. Accessed 2nd May 2015.

Peretz, I, and Zatorre, R. J. (2003). "Preface." In *The Cognitive Neuroscience of Music* edited by Peretz, I, and Zatorre, R. J. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peters, E. J. (1998). "Subversive Spaces: First Nations Women and the City." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 16 (6): 665–85.

Philo, C. (2012). "A 'new Foucault' with Lively Implications - or 'the Crawfish Advances Sideways.'" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 37: 496–514.

Piacentini, T. (2014). "Everyday Acts of Resistance." In *Immigrant Protest: Politics, Aesthetics, and Everyday Dissent*, edited by Marciniak, K., and Tyler, I. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Pickering, A. (1993). "The Mangle of Practice: Agency and Emergence in the Sociology of Science." *American Journal of Sociology* 99 (3): 559–89.

Pidd, H. (2016). "Asylum Seekers' Doors Repainted in Stockton and Middlesbrough." *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jan/26/asylum-seekers-red-doors-repainted-stockton-middlesbrough. Accessed: 9th November 2016.

Pile, S. (1997). "Introduction: Opposition, Political Identites and Spaces of Resistance." In *Geographies of Resistance*, edited by Pile, S. and Keith, M. London: Routledge.

Pile, S., and Keith, M. (1997). *Geographies of Resistance*. (eds). London: Routledge.

Polanyi, K. (2005). "The Self-Regulating Market and the Fictitious Commodities. Labour, Land and Money." In *The Global Resistance Reader* edited by Amoore, L. Abingdon: Routledge.

Polanyi, K. (2001). *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Pottinger, L. (2017). "Planting the Seeds of a Quiet Activism." *Area* 49 (2): 215–22.

Povinelli, E. A. (2011). *Economies of Abandonment.* Durham: Duke University Press Books.

Pratt, G. (2004). *Working Feminism*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Pratt, G. (2005). "Abandoned Women and Spaces of the Exception." *Antipode* 37 (5): 1052–78.

Puchta, C., and Potter, J. (2004). *Focus Group Practice*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publishing Ltd.

Puggioni, R. (2014). "Speaking through the Body: Detention and Bodily Resistance in Italy." *Citizenship Studies* 18 (5): 562–77.

Pugh, J. (2014). "Resilience, Complexity and Post-Liberalism: Resilience, Complexity and Post-Liberalism." *Area* 46 (3): 313–19.

Puumala, E., Vayrynen, T., Kynsilehto, A., and Pehkonen, S. (2011). "Events of the Body Politic: A Nancian Reading of Asylum-Seekers' Bodily Choreographies and Resistance." *Body & Society* 17 (4): 83–104.

Rajaram, P. K., and Grundy-Warr, C. (2004). "The Irregular Migrant as Homo Sacer: Migration and Detention in Australia, Malaysia, and Thailand." *International Migration* 42(1): 33–64.

Ramadan, A. (2013). "Spatialising the Refugee Camp." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38 (1): 65–77.

Ramadan, A., and Fregonese, S. (2017). "Hybrid Sovereignty and the State of Exception in the Palestinian Refugee Camps in Lebanon." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 107 (4): 949–63.

Refugee Studies Centre. (2007). "Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 26 (3): 162–72.

Revill, G. (2016). "How Is Space Made in Sound? Spatial Mediation, Critical Phenomenology and the Political Agency of Sound." *Progress in Human Geography* 40 (2): 240–56.

Richardson, E. (2015). "Performing Bristol: Towards a Cultural Politics of Creativity." PhD Thesis. Durham: University of Durham

Right to Remain. (2017a). "Asylum Interview." *Right to Remain*. http://righttoremain.org.uk/toolkit/asylumiv.html. Accessed: 10th February 2017.

Right to Remain. (2017b). "Asylum Screening Interview." *Right to Remain*. http://righttoremain.org.uk/toolkit/screening.html. Accessed: 10th February 2017.

Rose, G. (1997). "Situating Knowledges: Positionality, Reflexivities and Other Tactics." *Progress in Human Geography* 21 (3): 305–320.

Rose, M. (2002). "The Seductions of Resistance: Power, Politics, and a Performative Style of Systems." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 20 (4): 383–400.

Rose, M. (2006). "Gathering 'dreams of Presence': A Project for the Cultural Landscape." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24 (4): 537–54.

Rosol, M. (2014). "On Resistance in the Post-Political City: Conduct and Counter-Conduct in Vancouver." *Space and Polity* 18 (1): 70–84.

Rotter, R. (2016). "Waiting in the Asylum Determination Process: Just an Empty Interlude?" *Time & Society* 25 (1): 80–101.

Routledge, P. (1996). "Critical Geopolitics and Terrains of Resistance." *Political Geography* 15 (6–7): 509–31.

Routledge, P. (1997). "The Imagineering of Resistance: Pollok Free State and the Practice of Postmodern Politics." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22 (3): 359–76.

Routledge, P. (2009). "Activism." In *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, edited by Gregory, D. Malden: Blackwell.

Rubin, H. J., and Rubin, I. (2005). *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publication Ltd.

Rygiel, K. (2011). "Bordering Solidarities: Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement and Camps at Calais." *Citizenship Studies* 15 (1): 1–19.

Sager, M. (2014). "Pushing the Boundaries of Asylum. Everyday Resistance in Swedish Clandestinity." In *Immigrant Protest: Politics, Aesthetics, and Everyday Dissent*, edited by Marciniak, K. and Tyler, I. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Saldanha, A. (2005). "Trance and Visibility at Dawn: Racial Dynamics in Goa's Rave Scene." *Social & Cultural Geography* 6 (5): 707–21.

Scott, J. C. (1990). *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Sedgwick, E. K. (2003). *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Seeger, A. (1992). "Ethnomusicology and Music Law." *Ethnomusicology* 36 (3): 345-359.

Serres, M., and Latour, B. (1990). *Conversations on Science, Culture, and Time*. Minneapolis: University of Michigan Press.

Shapiro, M. J. (2000). "National Times and Other Times: Rethinking Citizenship." *Cultural Studies* 14 (1): 79–98.

Sharp, J. (2005). "Geography and Gender: Feminist Methodologies in Collaboration and in the Field." *Progress in Human Geography* 29 (3): 304–9.

Sharp, J. (2009). "Geography and Gender: What Belongs to Feminist Geography? Emotion, Power and Change." *Progress in Human Geography* 33 (1): 74–80.

Sharp, J P., Routledge, P., Philo, C., and Paddison, R. (2000). "Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance." In *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*, edited by Sharp, J P., Routledge, P., Philo, C., and Paddison, R. London: Routledge.

Sharpe, S., Dewsbury, J-D., and Hynes, M. (2014). "The Minute Interventions of Stewart Lee: The Affirmative Conditions of Possibility in Comedy, Repetition and Affect." *Performance Research* 19 (2): 116–25.

Shaw, S. (2016). *Review into the Welfare in Detention of Vulnerable Persons*. London: Home Office.

Sigvardsdotter, E. (2013). "Presenting Absent Bodies: Undocumented Persons Coping and Resisting in Sweden." *Cultural Geographies* 20 (4): 523–39.

Silverman, S. J, and Massa, S. (2012). "Why Immigration Detention Is Unique." *Population, Space and Place* 18 (6): 677–686.

Šimić, L. (2014). "Becoming British." In *Immigrant Protest: Politics, Aesthetics, and Everyday Dissent*, edited by Marciniak, K. and Tyler, I. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Sparke, M. (2007). "Geopolitical Fears, Geoeconomic Hopes, and the Responsibilities of Geography." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 97 (2): 338–49.

Sparke, M. (2008). "Political Geography -- Political Geographies of Globalization III: Resistance." *Progress in Human Geography* 32 (3): 423–40.

Speyer, J. (2008). "For Music. Education Zone." Http://Www.musicindetention.org.uk/Aboutmid.htm. Accessed: 7th June 2014.

Spinney, J. (2010). "Improvising Rhythms: Re-Reading Urban Time and Space through Everyday Practices of Cycling." In *Geographies of Rhythm: Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies*, edited by Edensor, T. Farnham: Ashgate.

Sporton, D., Valentine, G., and Nielsen, K. B. (2006). "Post Conflict Identities: Affiliations and Practices of Somali Asylum Seeker Children." *Children's Geographies* 4 (2): 203–17.

Squire, V. (2009). *The Exclusionary Politics of Asylum*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Squire, V. (2011). "Introduction." In *The Contested Politics of Mobility: Borderzones and Irregularity*, edited by Squire, V. London: Routledge.

Squire, V. (2017). "Unauthorised Migration beyond Structure/Agency? Acts, Interventions, Effects." *Politics*, 37(3): 254-272.

Squire, V., and Bagelman, J. (2012). "Taking Not Waiting: Space, Temporality and Politics in the City of Sanctuary Movement." In *Citizenship, Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement*, edited by Nyers, P. and Rygiel, K. London: Routledge.

Squire, V., and Darling, J. (2013). "The 'Minor' Politics of Rightful Presence: Justice and Relationality in City of Sanctuary." *International Political Sociology* 7 (1): 59–74.

Staeheli, L. A. (1994). "Empowering Political Struggle: Spaces and Scales of Resistance." *Political Geography* 13 (5): 387–91.

Stierl, M. (2012). "'No One Is Illegal!' Resistance and the Politics of Discomfort." *Globalizations* 9 (3): 425–38.

Stumpf, J. (2006). "The Crimmigration Crisis: Immigrants, Crime, and Sovereign Power." *American University Law Review* 56 (2): 367–419.

Sunderland, N., Istvandity, L., Lakhani, A., Lenette, C., Procopis, P. and Caballero, P. (2015). "They [Do More than] Interrupt Us from Sadness: Exploring the Impact of Participatory Music Making on Social Determinants of Health and Wellbeing for Refugees in Australia." *Health, Culture and Society* 8 (1): 1-21

Tamrat, T. (2008). "Ethiopian Calendar & Millennia Highlights." *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 3 (2): 177–88.

Taylor, D. (2016). "Asylum Seekers Made to Wear Coloured Wristbands in Cardiff." *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jan/24/asylum-seekers-made-to-wear-coloured-wristbands-cardiff. Accessed: 7th March 2017.

Taylor, D. (2017). "Death at Immigration Detention Centre Comes under Investigation." *The Guardian*. April 10. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/apr/10/death-at-immigration-detention-centre-comes-under-investigation. Accessed 18th October 2017.

Tazzioli, M. (2015). "Political Interruptions and Spatial Disobediences beyond the Scene of the Political." *Dark Matter* 12. http://www.darkmatter101.org/site/2015/10/05/border-interruptions-and-spatial-disobediences-beyond-the-scene-of-the-political/. Accessed: 5th August 2017.

Tazzioli, M. (2016). "Border Displacements. Challenging the Politics of Rescue between Mare Nostrum and Triton." *Migration Studies* 4 (1): 1–19.

Ten Bos, R. (2005). "Giorgio Agamben and the Community without Identity: Giorgio Agamben and the Community without Identity." *The Sociological Review* 53 (4): 16–29.

The Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law. (2013). "Immigration Detention and the Rule of Law." The British Institute of International and Comparative Law. London: The Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law.

The Detention Centre Rules. (2001). "The Detention Centre Rules." London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

The First-tier Tribunal (Immigration and Asylum Chamber) Fees (Amendment) Order (2016). London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

The Free Dictionary. (2012). "Poiesis." *The Free Dictionary*. http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Poiesis. Accessed: 12th June 2014.

The Koestler Trust. (2017). "The Koestler Trust: About Us." *The Koestler Trust*. https://www.koestlertrust.org.uk/about-us/. Accessed: 3rd May 2017.

The Migration Observatory. 2017. "Immigration Detention in the UK." *The Migration Observatory*. http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/immigration-detention-in-the-uk/. Accessed 13th September 2017.

Thewliss, A. (2017). "Restricting Asylum Seekers' Right To Work Is Not Only Morally Questionable - It Doesn't Make Economic Sense." *Huffington Post*. http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/alison-thewliss/asylum-seeker-worker-rights_b_14083748.html. Accessed: 1st October 2017.

Thrift, N. (2000). "Entanglements of Power. Shadows?" In *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*, edited by Sharp, J. P., Routledge, P., Philo, C. and Paddison, R. London: Routledge.

Thrift, N. (2007). "Overcome by Space: Reworking Foucault." In *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, edited by Crampton, J. and Eldon, S. London: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Titon, J. T. (1992). "Music, the Public Interest, and the Practice of Ethnomusicology." *Ethnomusicology* 36 (3): 315–22.

Travis, A, and Bowcott, O. (2016). "UK Immigration and Asylum Tribunal Fees to Rise by 500%." *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/15/uk-immigration-and-asylum-tribunal-fees-to-rise-by-500. Accessed: 22nd September 2017.

Trimikliniotis, N., Parsanoglou, D., and Tsianos, V. S. (2016). "Mobile Commons And/In Precarious Spaces: Mapping Migrant Struggles and Social Resistance." *Critical Sociology* 42 (7–8): 1035–49.

Turnbull, S. (2016). "'Stuck in the Middle': Waiting and Uncertainty in Immigration Detention." *Time & Society* 25 (1): 61–79.

Turner, S. (2016). "What Is a Refugee Camp? Explorations of the Limits and Effects of the Camp." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 29 (2): 139–48.

Tyler, I. (2013). "Naked Protest: The Maternal Politics of Citizenship and Revolt." *Citizenship Studies* 17 (2): 211–26.

Tyler, I., Gill, N., Conlon, D. and Oeppen, C. (2014). "The Business of Child Detention: Charitable Co-Option, Migrant Advocacy and Activist Outrage." *Race & Class* 56 (1): 3–21.

Tyler, I, and Marciniak, K. (2013). "Immigrant Protest: An Introduction." *Citizenship Studies* 17 (2): 143–56.

Tyler, I and Marciniak, K. (2014). "The Human Waste Disposal Industry or Immigrant Protest in Neoliberal Times." In *Immigrant Protest: Politics, Aesthetics, and Everyday Dissent*, edited by Marciniak, K. and Tyler, I. Albany: State University of New York Press.

UK Visas and Immigration. (2013). "Safe Third Country Cases: Asylum Applications." London: Home Office.

UK Visas and Immigration. (2017). "Asylum Transparency Data: February 2017." London: UK Visas and Immigration.

Underhill, J. (2011). "The Psychological Impact of Music Workshops on Immigration Detainees." PhD Thesis. London: University College London.

UNHCR. (1951). "Text of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees." Geneva: UNHCR.

UNHCR (2016). "UNHCR Statistics." http://popstats.unhcr.org/en/overview. Accessed: 15th January 2017.

Valentine, G. (1997). "Tell Me About....using Interviews as a Research Methodology." In *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for Students Doing a Research Project*, edited by Flowerdew, R. and Martin, D. London: Longman.

Valentine, G. (1995). "Creating Transgressive Space: The Music of Kd Lang." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20 (4): 474-485.

Valentine, G. (2008). "Living with Difference: Reflections on Geographies of Encounter." *Progress in Human Geography* 32 (3): 323–37.

Vaughan-Williams, N. (2008). "Borderwork beyond Inside/Outside? Frontex, the Citizen–Detective and the War on Terror." *Space and Polity* 12 (1): 63–79.

Vaughan-Williams, N. (2009). "The Generalised Bio-Political Border? Re-Conceptualising the Limits of Sovereign Power." *Review of International Studies* 35 (4): 729-749.

Vaughan-Williams, N. (2010). "The UK Border Security Continuum: Virtual Biopolitics and the Simulation of the Sovereign Ban." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28 (6): 1071–83.

Vickers, T. (2014). "Developing an Independent Anti-Racist Model for Asylum Rights Organizing in England." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (8): 1427–47.

Waller, M. (2014). "Immigrant Protest and the Courts of Women." In *Immigrant Protest: Politics, Aesthetics, and Everyday Dissent*, edited by Marciniak, K. and Tyler, I. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Walters, W. (2002). "Deportation, Expulsion, and the International Police of Aliens." *Citizenship Studies* 6 (3): 265–92.

Walters, W. (2008). "Acts of Demonstration: Mapping the Territory of (Non-) Citizenship." In *Acts of Citizenship.*, edited by Isin, E. F. and Neilson, B. London: Zed Books.

Walters, W. (2010). "Deportation, Expulsion, and the International Police of Aliens." In *The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space and the Freedom of Movement*, edited by De Genova, N. and Peutz, N. Durham: Duke University Press.

Watson, A., and Till, K. (2009). "Ethnography and Participant Observation." In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, edited by DeLyser, D., Herbert, S., Aitken, S., Crang, M. and McDowell, L. London: SAGE Publishing Ltd.

Weber, L. and Pickering, S. (2013). *Globalization and Borders Death at the Global Frontier*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Weichselgartner, J., and Kelman, I. (2015). "Geographies of Resilience: Challenges and Opportunities of a Descriptive Concept." *Progress in Human Geography* 39 (3): 249–67.

Welch, M. (2005). "Detention of Asylum Seekers in the UK and USA: Deciphering Noisy and Quiet Constructions." *Punishment & Society* 7 (4): 397–417.

Welsh, E. (2002). "Dealing with Data: Using NVivo in the Qualitative Data Analysis Process." *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 3 (2): 1-9.

Whatmore, S. (2006). "Materialist Returns: Practising Cultural Geography in and for a More-than-Human World." *Cultural Geographies* 13 (4): 600–609.

Wilder, F. (2010). "Detention Archipelago: Jailing Immigrants for Profit." *North American Congress on Latin America. Report on the Americas*. 30 (3): 19–24.

Williams, C. (2008). "The End of the 'Masculine Rule'? Gender-Neutral Legislative Drafting in the United Kingdom and Ireland." *Statute Law Review* 29 (3): 139–53.

Williams, K., and Mountz, A. (2016). "Rising Tide. Analysing the Relationship between Externalisation and Migrant Deaths and Boat Losses." In *Externalizing Migration Management: Europe, North America and the Spread of "Remote Control" Practices*, edited by Zaiotti, R. London: Taylor & Francis.

Williams, L. (2015). "From Immigration Detention to Destitution." *Criminal Justice Matters* 99 (1): 12–13.

Wilson, H. F. and Darling, J. (2016). "The Possibilities of Encounter." In *Encountering the City: Urban Encounters from Accra to New York*, edited by Darling, J. and Wilson, H. F. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Wilson, J.P., and Drozdek, B. (2004). *Broken Spirits: The Treatment of Traumatized Asylum Seekers, Refugees and War and Torture Victims*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Withers, C. W.J. (2002) "Constructing 'the Geographical Archive.'" *Area* 34 (3): 303–11.

Wood, N. (2012). "Playing with 'Scottishness': Musical Performance, Non-Representational Thinking and the 'Doings' of National Identity." *Cultural Geographies* 19 (2): 195–215.

Yeo, C. (2017). Briefing: the legal status of EU citizens in the UK. *Freedom of Movement*. https://www.freemovement.org.uk/briefing-legal-status-eu-citizens-uk/ Accessed: 9th August 2017