

Immigration Enforcement in the UK: How Women Experience Detention, Release and Removal.

Alice Gerlach

St Cross College, Centre for Criminology,
University of Oxford

Hilary Term 2018

Word Count: 76,059

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, University of Oxford

ABSTRACT

In this dissertation I add nuance to our understanding of the experiences of immigration enforcement by exploring it in terms of the concept of 'dignity.' I draw on interviews with women who were either detained in an Immigration Removal Centre at the point I met them, or had been previously. I used interviews as the main method of data collection and my research spanned three research sites: Yarl's Wood Removal Centre, The UK community, and Jamaica. I asked the participants about their experiences during and after detention, and for their own interpretations of the concept of dignity. I then used these definitions to make sense of their experiences. Resultingly, two key issues have been addressed in my research: how women subject to immigration control define dignity and the ways that immigration detention undermined it.

The experiences of women in this study were characterised by three key violations to their dignity. The first was vilification, where they were made to feel as though they were a threat to UK citizens, and that they were in some way dangerous and untrustworthy. The second was a lack of autonomy. All aspects of immigration enforcement restricted the women in this study from directing their own lives, from the uncertainty of indefinite detention, to their enforced dependence on the government or friends to survive in the community and finally when ultimately expelled from the country. The third was diminishment. Women felt lessened by the interaction between themselves and the Home Office through an apparent lack of care for their individual circumstances. Together, these factors undermined their sense of self worth, self esteem and self respect.

My work reinforces existing findings around immigration enforcement that are largely negative. I demonstrate throughout this dissertation that the self-worth of women in my study is deeply affected by their time in immigration detention and by what had happened to them after they left, and that these outcomes were linked to the way in which they were treated in relation to their sense of dignity.

CONTENTS

Abstract.....	2
Acknowledgements	5
List of abbreviations	6
Introduction	7
What is an Immigration Removal Centre?.....	7
Why focus on immigration detention?	9
What is the focus of this dissertation?.....	10
Chapter One: Understanding Immigration Detention.....	13
Uncertainty.....	14
Criminalisation, punishment and justice	18
Identity.....	22
Mental and physical health	24
After detention	27
Conclusion	34
Chapter Two: Dignity, Definitions and Applications.....	35
Defining dignity	36
Violations of dignity	42
Dignity promotion.....	46
Dignity and the self.....	48
Dignity, social and health care, and prisons	49
Immigration detention and dignity	56
Conclusion	58
Chapter Three: Methods	60
Qualitative interviews.....	60
The sample.....	61
Fieldwork sites.....	62
Analysis.....	68
Objectivity and subjectivity.....	72
Access, ethics and reflexivity.....	74
Conclusion	89
Chapter Four: Women in Immigration Detention	90
Immigration removal centres as prison.....	91
Uncertainty.....	101
Being a woman in detention	108
Coping in detention.....	114
Conclusion	120

Chapter Five: The Experience of ‘Release’	122
What happens after detention?	124
Living with uncertainty	133
The legacy of detention.....	138
Explaining distress post-detention.....	140
Gender and the experience of border control	145
Conclusion	148
Chapter Six: Women Returned to Jamaica.....	150
Leaving Jamaica.....	152
Returning to Jamaica	154
Building a life in Jamaica.....	159
Being a Woman in Jamaica.....	164
Leaving the UK.....	169
Sources of Dignity Promotion.....	174
Conclusion	177
Chapter Seven: Conclusion.....	179
Definitions of dignity	181
Can immigration detention ever be dignified?	189
Where to next?	195
Final thoughts.....	197
References.....	198

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Dissertation would not have been possible without the support and encouragement of many. Thank you to the organisations who facilitated interviews and helped inform my project: The National Organisation of Deported Migrants (NODM) in Jamaica, Samphire Project and Hope Projects in the UK. To the Home Office and the staff of Yarl's Wood, thank you for allowing my access. To the Jose and the immigration team of Yarl's Wood circa. 2015, thank you for answering my questions and accepting me into your office. To HMIP, and especially Hindpal Sing Bhui, without whom my funding would never have been. To the Universities who hosted my academic visits, and the staff and students who welcomed me so kindly; The University of the West Indies (Jamaica), Monash University (Australia) and Manchester University. A special mention to Naomi-Ellen Speechley and Lizzie Cook from Manchester for helping me through 2017.

Thank you to the staff and friends of the Centre for Criminology in Oxford. Your support and encouragement along the way have been fundamental to my health and well-being. To be surrounded by such intelligent minds has been an honour. To the other Dphils and Post-Docs, especially Dominic Aiken, Matt Davies, Rory Kelly, Lyndon Harris, Richard Martin, Caitlyn McGeer, Jenna Milani, Emily Ross, Leila Tai, Laura Tilt, Marion Vannier, Rachel Wechsler, Kate West and Julia Viebach. To Ben Bradford and Mary Bosworth as my supervisors. Thank you. Mary, especially, thank you for knowing when to push.

To my family and friends from elsewhere. To everyone from Oxford University Triathlon Club, thank you for giving me a space to forget about the pressures of my project and just train hard. To Karin Street for her straight talking. To my friends 'before' thank you for bearing with me while I lived the life of a student. To my family, both in Australia and England. Your support has been unwavering, thank you.

Finally, to my husband Tom. This would not have happened without you, and not just because of your proofreading. All my love.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BID	Bail for Immigration Detainees
BOP	Body of Principles for the Protections of All Persons under Any Form of Detention and Imprisonment
DCO	Detainee Custody Officer
DoH	Department of Health
HMIP	HM Inspectorate of Prisons
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICIBI	Independent Inspector of Borders and Immigration
IDC	International Detention Coalition
IMB	Independent Monitoring Board
IRC	Immigration Removal Centre
LSC	Legal Service Commission
NASS	National Asylum Support Service
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHS	National Health Service
NODM	National Organisation of Deported Migrants
NPM	National Preventative Mechanism
OPCAT	Optional Protocol to the Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
PPO	Prisons and Probation Ombudsman
PTSD	Post-traumatic Stress Syndrome
UDHR	United Declaration of Human Rights
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

INTRODUCTION

What is an Immigration Removal Centre?

Although states have had the power to deport or deny entry to foreign nationals for many years, the systematic practice of immigration detention is relatively new. In the UK¹, the current system of immigration detention has its roots in the Harmondsworth Detention Unit which opened in 1970 (Bosworth, 2014). Since that time, the scale of the practice has grown significantly, with 8 removal centres currently in operation. In the year ending December 2017, 27,331 men, women and children entered at least one of these removal centres (Home Office, 2018a). In 2017, 28,244 people left immigration detention², of these, 13,173 were removed from the UK, 10,563 were granted temporary admission to the UK, 3,980 were granted bail while their immigration case was processed, 169 were granted leave to remain or enter the UK, while 359 were classified as leaving detention under the category of ‘other.’

The detention estate has approximately 3,500 bed spaces, typically filled by between 2,000 and 3,000 individuals at any one time (Silverman & Hajela, 2013). The latest available data from the Home Office, suggests there were 2,545 individuals in immigration detention in the fourth quarter of 2017, down from 3,455 in quarter three of the same year (Home Office, 2018a). This data does not include people detained for immigration purposes in prisons, police holding cells or in closed mental hospitals.

There is no limit to the time individuals can be kept in immigration detention, other than pregnant women and families³. However, court proceedings against the

¹ Though I use the term UK here I recognise that most literature used to inform this dissertation is based on research conducted in the three nations of Britain; England, Scotland and Wales. The political climate and immigration experience of those held in Northern Ireland is notably different (Canning, 2017). Thus, while some of the findings and themes will be relevant to this country, care should be taken to fully understand these in the context of the different socio-political landscape under which individuals in this country are residing under.

² The higher number of individuals leaving detention here reflects fluctuations in population size across the detention estate – the 993 additional people reflected in the departure statistics will have entered detention in 2016.

³ The rules surrounding pregnant women in detention were updated with the 2016 Immigration Bill. Once a woman has been discovered to be pregnant in immigration

Home Office have held that detention is only lawful if an individual's removal from the UK is a realistic prospect within a 'reasonable' period of time (HMIP & ICIBI, 2012). While 'reasonable' is sufficiently vague a term to allow long spells of detention for some individuals, the benchmark described within the Judiciary Tribunals suggests *"three months would be considered a substantial period of time and six months a long period. Imperative considerations of public safety may be necessary to justify detention in excess of six months"* (Judiciary Tribunals, 2012: 5).

Cumulative time in detention data are only available for the years 2010 to 2014⁴. In 2014, of the men and women leaving detention that year, 1,215 individuals had been held in detention for longer than six months, 267 of whom had spent over a year in detention (Home Office, 2018a). Eight individuals had spent an excess of four years in detention. Of the individuals who left detention in 2017, only 42 per cent of those held for longer than 6 months were removed from the UK. Similarly, only 39 per cent of individuals held between 3 and 6 months were removed from the UK (Home Office, 2018a). These statistics demonstrate that a considerable number of individuals are being detained for lengthy periods and then released back into the UK community.

There are many different pathways that can lead someone into immigration detention. New entrants to the UK can be detained while their right to entry is decided and then to await removal if entry is refused. Longer-term residents of the UK can be apprehended for overstaying or violating the terms of their visa, others are held if it is believed they have obtained their visas by deception or because they have been in the UK without valid visa documentation. Former foreign national prisoners subject to a prison sentence of longer than 12 months¹ can be detained following their sentence, including those who have previously been granted permanent leave to remain in the UK. Individuals from any of the pathways above can also be kept in detention while a claim for asylum is investigated (Silverman & Hajela, 2013). In 2017, 12,916 people in detention had applied for asylum; 47 per cent of all those who entered a removal centre in that year (Home Office, 2018a).

detention, she must now be released within 72 hours. Likewise, families with children should not be held in immigration removal centres, however they can be held in 'pre-departure accommodation,' also for 72 hours. However, In both cases ministerial review can be sought for an extended stay of up to a week (McGuinness & Gower, 2017).

⁴ These data were discontinued in 2014.

The number of lives impacted by detention is substantial. Not only are more than 25,000 people a year passing through detention, their families and friends are also affected, as their mothers, fathers, colleagues and neighbours are removed from their lives for an indefinite period of time. However, due to the short history of this practice of confinement, as well as its politicisation, not only is case law limited, but so, too, is the body of academic research (Bosworth, 2008, 2011a, 2012, 2014; Bosworth, Hasselberg, & Turnbull, 2016; Bosworth & Turnbull, 2015; Hall, 2010; Turnbull, 2016).

Why focus on immigration detention?

My interest in immigration removal centres derives from my time working for HM Inspectorate of Prisons (HMIP) as a researcher. I travelled throughout the UK to places of incarceration, most often prisons, and conducted surveys in these institutions measuring the quality of life prisoners experienced. Though there were notable variations in standards of care between prisons across the country, on the whole, prisons in the UK all had a similar feel to them. The women and men I spoke to, for the most part, understood why they were in prison; they had committed a crime, been caught and were now serving the time handed to them largely based on sentencing guidelines, statutes and the discretion of a judge. Prisoners were typically accepting of this arrangement, though in most cases would, naturally, prefer not to be in prison. At the end of an inspection, I returned to the office, analysed the data and passed the results to inspection staff with a general sense of a job complete.

Visits to immigration removal centres were entirely different. There is something uneasy about these institutions, as has been highlighted in the academic work of Bosworth (2014), that can be described as an underlying sense of distress. I did not sense this unease in any of the prisons I had visited. The sense of disquiet I felt when in removal centres led me to have a greater interest in these places. This drove me to try understand exactly why prisons and removal centres felt so markedly different, despite their similar appearance. In this dissertation I have aimed to unpack this feeling and explain what it is about removal centres that makes them so distinctly troubling.

What is the focus of this dissertation?

Being subject to immigration enforcement is distressing. This is especially the case for those who have experienced immigration detention. This group of people appear to suffer from reduced self-worth, self-esteem and their lives both in and post detention are hindered by health problems, including Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), depression, stress, anxiety and an array of physical symptoms that are often related (Cohen, 2008; McLoughlin & Warin, 2008; Robjant, Robbins, & Senior, 2009; Steel et al., 2011; Steel & Silove, 2001). There is very little in the literature to explain why people who have been in detention suffer in this way (although, see the Bosworth 2016 review in Shaw, 2016).

In this dissertation I turn to the concept of dignity to help explain the pains of detention. In deploying this term, like others (see for example Jacobson, 2009; Mann, 1998; Miller & Keys, 2001), I refer to the sense that a person is worthy of a level of respect owed to them due to their status as a human being. Specifically, this dissertation aims not only to explore the source of offence to dignity that immigration detention poses, but also what dignity *means* to the individuals involved and what happens when this is undermined.

In the following chapters, I will explore each of the themes I have discussed above in turn. First I will review the existing body of literature which relates to the pains of imprisonment for those who are held in immigration removal centres. I will then move on to address the idea of dignity, beginning with the recognition that there is no universally accepted definition of the concept. As such, I spend most of this chapter defining how dignity will be used in this dissertation. I begin with the Kantian explanation of dignity, and explain how this notion of ‘Human Dignity,’ has been utilised by scholars and lawyers in the drafting of Human Rights Legislation relevant to places of immigration detention. I then move to ‘Social Dignity,’ which is the more practical use of the concept related to this dissertation; the impact of degrading treatment. I then present a taxonomy of dignity violations and promotions based on the work of Jacobson (2010), before conducting a review of writing relating to dignity in academic literature. The review covers dignity and health care, social care, and prisons before turning to immigration detention. Ultimately, in this chapter I set up the basis for the argument that dignity is a person’s belief that they are worth something, which is derived from the findings of this dissertation.

For chapter three I explain the methods I used in my research. I explain why and how I conducted qualitative interviews with women in detention, in the UK community and Jamaica. I offer a description of how the research was conducted, including details about how I applied the concept of dignity to the research findings. I then consider the practical elements of the project including gaining access to the population and questions surrounding safety. I move on to ethical considerations related to conducting research with vulnerable populations, such as the use of incentives and avoiding re-traumatisation of participants. Finally, I conclude with a reflexive discussion of the research which includes personal attributes such as gender, race and age and the way in which I was challenged by secondary and vicarious trauma.

In chapter four I offer my own empirical findings. Here I first present the findings from interviews conducted with women who were in immigration detention at the time of interview. I explore the facets of immigration removal centres which women identified as affecting their sense of dignity. The areas for discussion are focused around the ways in which women feel criminalised and vilified by their time in these institutions. The unjust nature of detention described by women will be another focal point, alongside the indifference they described in their dealings with the Home Office. In the second empirical chapter, chapter five, I present the findings from interviews conducted with women who were released in the UK following time spent in immigration removal centres. The themes for this chapter surround the impact of immigration detention and women's ongoing dependence on the Home Office after release. The criminalisation of women will be discussed, in relation to the ongoing damage this had for those in the study. The restriction of women's ability to direct their own lives post-detention will also be highlighted, as will perceived indifference of the Home Office to their situation post-detention.

In the third and final empirical chapter, chapter six, I present the findings from interviews conducted with women in Jamaica. I first provide a short contextual overview of emigration from Jamaica to the UK and relevant historical information. I then move to explore the experiences of women who have returned to Jamaica as they relate to dignity. First, I explore the reasons participants in the study left Jamaica in the first instance. Then I describe their experiences on return. Each section of the chapter relates to overarching themes that were important to women in relation to their sense of self-worth. The themes are: labelling, criminalisation and vilification,

deprivation and expectations, keeping up appearances and responsibilities as mothers, immigration detention and injustice and finally, sources of dignity promotion.

In the final substantial chapter I reflect on the main findings of my research and their implications. I highlight here the overarching themes of dignity violation found in the dissertation; vilification, lack of autonomy and diminishment. I then discuss what we are to make of these institutions that appear to be so dehumanising to women. In conclusion I ask if there are possible alternatives to the current practice of incarceration, and what can be done to alleviate the harms that are currently inflicted on women during the process of immigration enforcement in the UK.

CHAPTER ONE: UNDERSTANDING IMMIGRATION DETENTION

Scholarship which focuses on immigration detention is a relatively new addition to the discipline of criminology. The literature surrounding the topic is growing, however, it remains relatively limited. In this chapter I have drawn on what is available to try understand the experience of immigration detention for those who are and have been incarcerated in these establishments. To do so I rely on academic studies where possible⁵, however, this material is supplemented with accounts from Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) (for example, BID, 2013; Amnesty International, 2009; BID, 2009; Medical Justice, 2012) and government reports such as those from HMIP (such as HMIP & ICIBI, 2012; HMIP, 2015a; and HMIP, 2015b). Reports from all sources provide important perspectives on immigration removal centres, however there are issues surrounding subjectivity that are important to reflect on during this dissertation. For example, the quality of reports from NGOs can vary, and government reports can represent the ideological views of the state who are responsible for the very existence of removal centres. For the purpose of this dissertation, therefore, I have given the most weight to NGO reports that are of a high quality, and to government reports which are derived from access to, and independent review of, immigration removal centres⁶.

Uncertainty, criminalisation and justice are the key themes that are found within the academic literature on immigration detention. People in these centres are caught in an unusual set of circumstances where their right to liberty has been removed indefinitely, their autonomy is severely restricted and they have few means with which to reach a resolution to their precarious situation. The result is a population who are 'stuck' in a situation which has been illustrated to cause substantial distress (Turnbull, 2016).

In the first portion of this chapter I explore the themes of uncertainty, criminalisation, justice and identity as they are presented in the literature on immigration detention. This is followed by accounts of mental and physical health

⁵ At the time of writing only Alexandra Hall (2010), Mary Bosworth (2014), and Sarah Turnbull (2016) have spent substantial time in a UK removal centre and published from this. Their work is supplemented by a secondary body of work from individuals who have spoken to those who have been detained in the UK, such as Nick Gill (2017) and Melanie Griffiths (2013).

⁶ A full discussion of the objectivity and subjectivity of this decision can be found in the methods chapter.

problems in removal centres. In this review, and in the remainder of this dissertation, I also turn to the outcomes of men and women who have spent time in immigration detention.

The literature on immigration removal centres is growing, as is that surrounding what happens to people post-deportation or in the UK community, yet, there are no works that bring together these three areas. In this review it is clear there are themes which are common throughout detention, release, and removal. Thus, I bring them together to explore more fully, the impact of immigration detention. In conclusion, I present my own theoretical offering of dignity as an explanatory concept for the pains caused by detention, and set up the rationale for this focus, that frames the remainder of the dissertation.

Uncertainty

Immigration detention is characterised by uncertainty (Bosworth, 2014; Griffiths, 2013; Hasselberg, 2016). Men and women often do not know why they have been detained, how long they will be held in detention, nor how to challenge their detention successfully. Removal centres are also volatile places, and as such people are never quite sure if they are safe from harm. Many of those detained find this destabilises their sense of self. They commonly describe it as a source of anxiety, stress and a contributor to a host of mental and physical ailments (Hasselberg, 2016). In this section I explore the dimensions of uncertainty that have been presented thus far in immigration detention literature, beginning with the matter of time.

The UK is the only European Union (EU) state that holds people in detention indefinitely (HMIP & ICIBI 2012; Bosworth and Vannier, 2016). Elsewhere in Europe, indefinite detention is considered incompatible with the human rights of liberty and security (de Zayas, 2010). The potentially endless time of detention creates an unusual dynamic experienced by very few other incarcerated populations. Griffiths explores the concept of time in her work with people in immigration detention, and with those who were seeking asylum while living in the community (Griffiths, 2014). Griffiths interviewed men from Campsfield House IRC in Oxfordshire, in the visits halls or over the phone, while working for an NGO and a local MP. Drawing on their testimonies, she argues that men in immigration detention experience suspended time, where their lives are halted while they wait for the outcome of their cases. This

waiting itself is difficult, but as detention is indefinite any time spent incarcerated within a removal centre can also feel longer than the lived reality (Griffiths, 2013). Men felt they were unable to imagine a future because of this uncertainty. In all discussions surrounding enduring indefinite detention men and women frame the experience as painful (Bosworth, 2014; Griffiths, 2013; Griffiths, 2014; Hasselberg, 2016; Turnbull, 2016).

The pains associated with indefinite detention are especially evident in descriptions of removal centres from former prisoners. Hasselberg conducted research with people who were facing deportation from the UK, including some of whom had spent time in both prison and immigration detention before being released back into the community where she met them. In her book she discusses how former prisoners found their time in removal centres harder than when they were in prison due to the uncertainty of time (Hasselberg, 2016). This is a common finding. Those men in Griffiths' study, for instance, who had been previously imprisoned, reported that even long prisoner sentences were easier to endure than short stays in immigration detention. Having a release date gave them something to work towards, and without an end they felt they had nothing solid to work with (Griffiths, 2013). When in prison, men could also develop a positive narrative of their time there, focused on rehabilitative undertakings such as education and work skills. Conversely, the suspension of time in detention led to a feeling of wasted opportunity and thus made the experience harder to bear (Hasselberg, 2016).

Alongside this suspended period of waiting, men and women in detention also experience pockets of 'frenzied' times of activity, where they must rush to stop their deportation with little to no notice (Griffiths, 2014). The dual temporal uncertainty of suspended time and frenzied time is both exhausting and destabilising for residents, who must be on high alert at all times should they need to defend themselves (Griffiths, 2013). This is not helped by 'failed' removals, where individuals have been taken to the airport, or been seated on a plane, before a last minute injunction is served which stops their removal (Bosworth, 2014: 128).

Men and women also experience uncertainty through instability (Griffiths, 2014). In Griffiths' work men complained of inexplicable and sudden transfers between removal centres. Using an inspection report from HMIP, Griffiths illustrates that, in 2008, approximately 21 men were transferred to other removal centres per day from Campsfield IRC (HMIP, 2008). In addition, a third of men who left

Campsfield with the understanding they were to be removed from the country were instead relocated to other removal centres (HMIP, 2008). The men in Griffiths' study found these transfers destabilising. They had built relationships with NGOs and lawyers in other removal centres, and these links were severed when they were moved (Griffiths, 2014). Gill similarly found the movement of people throughout the detention estate resulted in their depersonalisation, helping to reinforce the idea that people in immigration removal centres are transitory and easy to remove from the country (Gill, 2009a).

Finally, residents feel threatened by the uncertainty of their safety. Immigration removal centres are sites of regular 'incidents' which make them feel like precarious and unstable places (BID, 2009; Griffiths, 2013; Phelps, 2009). Removal centres have been the site of numerous riots and fires, many of which have resulted in extensive damage⁷. Violence features alongside incidences of self-harm, suicide attempts and heightened levels of distress (Griffiths, 2013; Kellezi & Bosworth, 2016a). People feel vulnerable when caught up in disorder within removal centres and they fear what might happen to them next time (Griffiths, 2013). Moreover, men and women who witness others in severe distress, begin to fear they too will succumb to distress over time (Griffiths, 2013). Resultingly, people in detention have a generalised fear that 'anything' could happen to them, and feel unsafe (Hasselberg, 2016). Likewise, staff who were interviewed by Bosworth (2014) were tense and uncertain in relation to their own safety and that of men and women in their care, adding an additional layer of anxiety to the environment within removal centres.

The temporal uncertainty experienced in detention has been shown to affect those detained in immigration removal centres in momentous ways. Some describe it as mental torture: *'They do not beat us or hurt us but they wear us down'* (Bosworth, 2012: 130). Others emphasise its dehumanising effect: *'When I was in detention I always looked at myself, 'am I a human being?' Because I don't think somebody should be treated that way...'*

⁷ The more notable fires and riots from these incidents were in 2013 and 2007 at Campsfield: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/oct/19/fire-campsfield-house-immigration-removal-centre>, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2007/mar/14/immigration.immigrationandpublicservices>. Brook House in 2009: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/sussex/8098715.stm>. Harmondsworth in 2004: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2004/jul/20/immigration.immigrationandpublicservices>, and Yarl's Wood in 2002: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2002/feb/15/immigration.immigrationandpublicservices4>.

(BID, 2009: 9). Still others described a sense of powerlessness that increased over time (Phelps, 2009). All found it traumatic (BID, 2009; Bosworth, 2012; Medical Justice, 2012). In the work of Hasselberg, the uncertainties of immigration detention, combined with the chronic stress of waiting for immigration decisions from the Home Office were embodied by men in her study. They suffered from *'Appetite loss, binge eating, sleep loss, nightmares, headaches, migraines, exhaustion, depression, inability to concentrate, sadness, crying, loss of energy or drive'* (Hasselberg, 2016: 99). Likewise, men and women in Bosworth's work were exhausted by the stress of uncertainty (Bosworth, 2014).

In Bosworth's accounts of detention, people are unable to plan their days or futures, as they have no way to tell what might happen to them next, they could be deported imminently or languish in detention for years (Bosworth, 2014). A consequence of this can be an inability or unwillingness to participate in activities designed to help ease the pains of imprisonment. Immigration detention serves no rehabilitative purpose (Leerkes & Broeders, 2010; Turnbull, 2016), and as such there is no requirement for a regime of training, education or work to help men and women towards their lives post-detention⁸. The staff interviewed for Bosworth's work lamented how difficult it was to provide a regime for people in detention with this lack of purpose and with a population that may or may not be available for more than one class (Bosworth, 2014). In most accounts, people in detention spend their days 'killing time', sleeping or watching television. (Bosworth, 2008, 2011a; Griffiths, 2013; Phelps, 2009). Some sought out activities like the gym to help occupy themselves in a bid to distract from their situation (BID, 2009). Some removal centres in the UK offer 'training' to help assist men and women once they are removed from the country, however, the uncertainty of detention made it difficult to engage (Turnbull, 2016). According to Griffiths, some men were reluctant to commence activities as they felt they were unlikely to finish anything due to the ambiguity surrounding when they would be leaving the removal centre (Griffiths, 2013). BID, in contrast, in their report on the experience of detention found that there simply was not enough to do. One man had read all the books in the library of his detention centre within a month (BID, 2009).

⁸ In the 2005 Operating Standards for Immigration Removal Centres, the requirement for education are that educational classes must be available for 25 hours a week and include English language, IT and Arts and Crafts.

The inability of residents to engage with activities to offset the pains of their detention contributes to a negative experience of incarceration in removal centres. In the quantitative work of Bosworth and Kellezi (2012) people who did not have enough to do had more negative experiences of other elements of their detention. In their survey, Bosworth and Kellezi illustrated that people who felt they had nothing to do also felt they were treated less humanely and that staff were less kind and fair towards them than those who did feel they had enough to do. This group of respondents also trusted immigration staff less, had worse relations with other detained people and staff, felt they could not understand what staff were telling them or could not communicate to staff what they wanted. They were also more isolated and distressed than those who did feel they had enough to do (Bosworth & Kellezi, 2012).

Criminalisation, punishment and justice

Immigration removal centres are not intended, in any legal sense, to be punishment. Yet, extensive evidence suggests that people in detention find them to be excessively punitive (BID, 2013; Bosworth et al., 2016; Hasselberg, 2016; Phelps, 2009). Former prisoners especially believe them to be a double punishment (Bosworth & Kaufman, 2011). Some explanation for these feelings can be found in the physical similarities between the two institutions. Some removal centres or units within existing centres have been built to category B prison standards, others are repurposed prisons (references to penal architecture can be found in many of Bosworth's works, for example: Bosworth, 2008; Bosworth & Turnbull, 2015; Bosworth, 2011b). There are removal centres which are designed as softer spaces, such as Yarl's Wood IRC, where some effort has been made to the interior so that it looks less 'prison-like.' This has included murals on the walls, soft furnishings in communal areas, the addition of a comfortable library and a 'cultural kitchen' where women are able to cook meals together⁹ (see Bosworth & Kellezi 2016 for further discussion on the environment of Yarl's Wood especially). Yet, IRCs remain prison-like. Official terminology within removal centres is often drawn from the prison, especially as it relates to security in

⁹ Only a small group of women are able to use the cultural kitchen each day, and must book in advance to ensure they are able to use the facility and to allow staff to order in ingredients they may not have access to otherwise.

terms such as ‘lock-up,’ ‘association,’ or ‘bail’. Uniformed Detainee Custody Officers (DCOs) are responsible for the day to day oversight and security within centres and are dressed in such a way as they could be interchanged with prison officers, most wear heavy black boots and dark pressed trousers with white shirts¹⁰. DCOs also carry keys on chains and belts identical to those in the prison estate.

Staff within removal centres often frame their role as like prison officers, and the places they work as another type of prison (Bosworth, 2017a). Through her discussions with officers, Bosworth describes how they returned to the comparison of prison officers to define their roles, even after denying the idea initially. Some attempted to define themselves as carers, and detention centres as places such as boarding schools or health care institutions, though they usually admitted it was difficult to differentiate their role from that of a prison officer (Bosworth, 2017a: 380).

Officers have a complex relationship with the men and women in their charge because of their confusion surrounding their role (Hall, 2010, 2012). Some may be sympathetic, though, as illustrated by Bosworth, this was only likely if members of staff could sympathise with the story of an individual (Bosworth, 2012). Officers find the detention of people with similar histories as them, such as those who grew up in the UK from a young age troubling. Likewise, those who were especially vulnerable, such as children disputing their age with the Home Office garnered more empathy (Bosworth, 2016). Yet, in both Bosworth’s and Alexandra Hall’s (2010, 2012) work with staff from detention centres, officers sometimes understood those in immigration detention as of a greater threat than both prisoners they had worked with in former prison roles, and ex-prisoners in the detention estate. Prisoners, the officers believed, came to them with risk assessments and an understanding of the roles of officers. Those men and women in detention without these background checks were an unknown, and were perceived as potential threats (Bosworth, 2012; Hall, 2010).

All people, both former prisoners and others, held in immigration detention also recognise these spaces as prison like, and refer to immigration removal centres as prisons (see for example: Bosworth 2014; Bosworth & Turnbull 2015).

¹⁰ There have been some attempts to soften the appearance of officers in removal centres, Bosworth noted in her fieldwork in Yarl’s Wood that officers had recently exchanged white shirts for blue and pinks ones (Bosworth, 2014). By the time of my own research the shirts of officers had returned to their typical white.

Unsurprisingly then, they often frame their experience of detention by comparing removal centres with prisons (Bosworth, 2014; Hasselberg, 2016). People who have spent time in these spaces often say that they feel they are labelled as criminal as a result of the punitive nature of detention (Bosworth, 2012, 2014; Griffiths, 2014; Hasselberg, 2016). Some people in Bosworth's work fought against this label, asserting that they were not prisoners and should not be treated as such. Others expressed their pain at the stigma of being labelled as a prisoner. They felt this brought shame on them and their 'good' families and asserted how they had never been in trouble with the law before their time in detention (Bosworth, 2014). People who had not served a prison sentence also resented being held alongside former offenders, and felt stigmatised by their association (Bosworth, 2016). Others were fearful of former prisoners, who were perceived as dangerous (Bosworth, 2014).

People detained following a prison sentence felt they were treated as though they had committed more serious criminal offences than in reality (Bosworth, 2012, 2014; Griffiths, 2014; Hasselberg, 2016). Former prisoners in removal centres considered detention to be 'worse' than prison, despite the additional freedoms they were allowed. They felt treated like an offender of the 'worst' sort, and this was beyond their sense of fairness, causing them emotional pain (Hasselberg, 2016). Bosworth and Turnbull summarise this point in their discussion of penal power in the UK, where they explicate the differences between prisons and immigration detention: '*Crucially, while prisons and IRCs are both shaped by everyday indignities (Turnbull, 2014), the purpose and legitimacy of detention, unlike imprisonment, are contested and unclear (Bosworth 2013).*' (Bosworth & Turnbull, 2015: 56).

Men and women in immigration removal centres feel they are being unjustly punished, with little means to fight what they believe is unfair incarceration (Bosworth, 2014; Griffiths, 2013). Access to legal services is required for people to effectively argue for their release, however, access to lawyers in removal centres is limited (HMIP & ICIBI, 2012). Legal representation is not guaranteed, and when reviewing case work HMIP and the Independent Inspector of Borders and Immigration (ICIBI) found legal advice was difficult to access in removal centres, and the provision of law textbooks was limited. While the Legal Service Commission (LSC) fund advice schemes in all removal centres, these were usually only run weekly or fortnightly, were limited to half an hour per person, did not guarantee ongoing

representation and were heavily oversubscribed (Bosworth, 2011b; HMIP & ICIBI, 2012).

Even the men and women who could access legal services found it difficult to succeed in their appeals against deportation or removal. Some were dropped by their lawyers close to important hearings. Others terminated their contract with multiple lawyers themselves when they appeared to be doing no work on their case. Still others had difficulties obtaining information from solicitors, while some people were unaware if they had a solicitor or not. Yet more lost lawyers when they were transferred to a different geographical location or when they were told they had used up all their legal aid allocation (BID, 2009; Griffiths, 2013). Finally, due to their detention people had some difficulty obtaining the documents required for their lawyers to fight cases. Vital evidence had been left in homes that were cleared after their detention, or in houses that were locked and people found it difficult to find family or friends who could help them retrieve the paperwork (Phelps, 2009).

The immigration matters of people in detention are managed by case workers based offsite, who communicate with people in detention through immigration staff located within removal centres. This arrangement makes case workers hard to access, and many people in detention are unsure who their case worker is (Bosworth, 2012; Bosworth & Kellezi, 2015; Hasselberg, 2016; Phelps, 2009). Some people describe examples of disregard and dismissal from their case workers, as attempts at contact them yield little to no response to their concerns (HMIP & ICIBI, 2012; Phelps, 2009).

Unsurprisingly then, people show substantial levels of distrust towards immigration staff responsible for their cases. In particular, Bosworth and Kellezi (2012) and Griffiths (2013) found that people did not trust that their case was progressing as it should nor did they support the way in which their detention and then removal or release were being managed. Men and women felt they were treated with 'institutional indifference' and that they were forgotten in the system (Bosworth & Kellezi, 2012; Griffiths, 2013). In HMIP and ICIBI's report on the effectiveness and impact of immigration detention casework, substantial problems in the progression of cases were due to immigration staff. In a quarter of HMIP and ICIBI's casework sample (20 from 80 cases) inefficiencies in casework were shown to be the main explanation for extended detention (HMIP & ICIBI, 2012). Furthermore, when

people were not able to access the resources they needed to work on their case, their wellbeing was negatively impacted (HMIP & ICIBI, 2012).

In their work on immigration detention, both Turnbull (2016) and Griffiths (2013, 2014) theorise the implications of the restricted access to justice and the uncertainties described above. Turnbull suggests that making men and women in detention wait is a tool utilised by governments to emphasise their power, 'othering' internees to further their attempts to remove that individual from the country. Griffiths (2013, 2014) illustrates the way in which the temporal uncertainties of suspended and frenzied time resulted in a powerlessness and lack of agency through inability to plan for any outcome. The powerlessness felt by people in immigration detention is then confounded by a lack of information regarding their incarceration and the uncertainty and legitimacy of their time there. Griffiths (2013) details how men and women are not provided with clear information and this in turn causes them to become even more uncertain and fearful. This, for Griffiths, is a tool of power that is inherent in an incoherent and impenetrable immigration system, which helps to enable the government's aim to remove people from the country. These arguments are supported by Bosworth and Turnbull in their discussion on penal power and immigration detention (Bosworth & Turnbull, 2015). The restriction to the agency of those within removal centres is unique in that it is not for the purpose of reformation of offenders (Leerkes & Broeders, 2010). The marking of people in detention as the other who does not belong in the UK aids in the objectification of this population, and ultimately allows them to be dehumanised and expelled (Bosworth & Turnbull, 2015).

Identity

Immigration detention has a multifaceted influence on the identity of those held within their walls. In Bosworth's work men and women who have spent considerable years in the UK considered themselves British or as good as British before their detention (Bosworth, 2011a, 2012, 2014). When people are detained, they are offended to be suddenly classed as an outsider, and especially to be incarcerated based on their identity as a non-citizen. Their status as a foreign national is a small part of their identity, yet when they are detained it overrules all other aspects of their self and men and women struggle to understand why they should be detained for this reason

(Bosworth, 2014). Some people fought against this label in Bosworth's work, either dressing in their business attire each day or donning t-shirts with British slogans to illustrate their preferred selves. Some people feared their removal from the country would erase their identity completely. Men and women had accumulated personal possessions over their time in the UK, but would not be able to return with them, and were often removed in just the clothing they had been detained in. To the people in Bosworth's study this possibility made them feel that their time in the UK had never existed, as though it had been wiped from history (Bosworth, 2014). Women also felt that to return without their belongings would be a source of shame, and that the seemingly arbitrary rules that restricted them from collecting their possessions before returning home were unfair and dehumanising (Bosworth & Turnbull, 2015).

The act of detention also has a very practical implication for some aspects of a person's identity in that it restricts their ability to perform certain roles. In detention men and women will often recall their alternative narratives of self, they believe they are hard workers or good members of the community, for example (Bosworth, 2016). Many people in detention define themselves as mothers and fathers. Men in Bosworth's work worried about the impact their absence would have on their children. Some had come from fatherless households themselves and worried who would teach their children the correct pathways in life, they feared that without their influence their children would end up in gangs or in prison (Bosworth, 2014). For women this fear was often confounded by their roles as both breadwinner and carer of their offspring. A common narrative of women in detention follows how they have migrated to the UK without their children, who remain behind with family members. Mothers will work in the UK and send remittances home to support the upbringing of their children, and often those who support them. When they are detained they are no longer able to fulfil this role, and the threat of deportation is also one that would sever this identity for the future (Bosworth, 2014: 93).

The shifting uncertainties of immigration detention make it hard to present coherent narratives of identity (Bosworth, 2014). As time passes, men and women begin to lose hope and the confidence that they had in their ability to fight their detention and deportation, which, in turn, lessens their sense of self as a capable adult (Bosworth, 2014). Hasselberg's work supports this finding, and the belief that the uncertainty that men and women in immigration detention must endure is a threat to their identity (Hasselberg, 2016). Men in Hasselberg's study felt they were not trusted,

were treated like children and that they were dehumanised throughout the process of detention. This treatment undermined their sense of self as adult, human and as good men. Likewise, men and women in Bosworth's study felt that their most fundamental sense of self as a human was undermined by their treatment in detention (Bosworth, 2014)

Mental and physical health

Given the challenges to the self and identity presented above, it is no surprise that poor mental health is a predominant theme in the immigration detention literature. High proportions of respondents described mental health problems in most reports on detention, even in research that was not focused on health. For example, one survey of 158 people found 83 per cent of respondents to self-classify as depressed or distressed¹¹ (Bosworth & Kellezi, 2012). The most common mental health problems, include depression, stress, anxiety, insomnia, self-harm, suicide attempts and hallucinations such as hearing voices. Other research emphasises detention as the cause of psychological distress (BID, 2009; Griffiths, 2013; HMIP & ICIBI, 2012; Kellezi & Bosworth, 2016a; Phelps, 2009). One study comparing psychological distress in the detained population in Australia found higher levels of depression, anxiety and PTSD in people seeking asylum that had been held in detention, than those living in the community (Robjant, Hassan, & Katona, 2009). Another found the rate of self-harm and suicide within the immigration estate was higher than that for people detained in prison (Cohen, 2008).

Mental stress is related to poor physical health. The most common physical complaints described as the result of detention were heart or blood pressure concerns and back problems (HMIP & ICIBI, 2012). In addition, poor care for those with existing physical health problems, or who are unfortunate enough to have a medical emergency while detained was reported. In BID's account of Yarl's Wood, for example, one woman had no support for her arthritis and disabilities from a stroke, while another suffered a minor stroke in detention but was not given assistance or medical attention until moved to another removal centre. A third individual was

¹¹ People were classified as depressed using an abbreviated version of the Hopkins Symptoms Checklist (HSCL-D), which is a participant led survey, detecting symptoms of anxiety and depression.

placed in detention without access to retroviral drugs for HIV for several weeks (BID, 2009). Results of survey data also showed that respondents with health problems felt removal centres did not care for the vulnerable, felt they received worse health care than they would in the community, felt more distressed than those without health problems and that they were treated inhumanely (Bosworth & Kellezi, 2012).

There is a large and growing international body of interdisciplinary work that demonstrates the impact of detention on physical and mental health (see Bosworth's summary in Shaw 2016). Even short periods of confinement are said to be potentially harmful, while the longer people are detained the worse their mental and physical health outcomes (Bosworth, in Shaw 2016: 303-332). Advocates and scholars agree, in other words, that there is a causal link between detention and the deterioration of both mental and physical health due to the stress of detention, influenced by the conditions of uncertainty and limited access to justice described in the paragraphs above (BID, 2005, 2009; HMIP & ICIBI, 2012; Phelps, 2009; Silove, Steel, & Mollica, 2001; Silverman & Massa, 2012; Steel & Silove, 2001).

While any individual held in immigration detention is likely to suffer from mental distress, there is also evidence that the detention of some people is so likely to trigger mental anguish that they should never be detained, even for a short period (Medical Justice, 2012). For example the UN High Commissioner for Refugees states within their *'guidelines on the applicable criteria and standards relating to the detention of asylum-seekers and alternatives to detention'* that if an individual has been tortured in the past, or if they are a victim of trafficking they should not be detained as it is considered too damaging (UNHCR, 2013). In the UK the process of 'Rule 35' has been implemented to protect these vulnerable populations from the harming effects of detention. For this process someone who has claimed to have been tortured should be assessed by a doctor, a report produced, and if signs of torture are evident they should be released from detention immediately¹². However, Stephen Shaw, in his review on the welfare of vulnerable persons in detention, found that the system was unfit for purpose in its current form, and insisted that the Home Office consider an alternative (Shaw, 2016).

Other sources also suggest victims of torture are regularly held in immigration detention. Medical Justice (Medical Justice, 2012) collected the information of men

¹² For full detail of the process of Rule 35 see:
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/574966/dso-09-2016-detention-centre-rule-35_v4_0.pdf

and women who had disclosed past torture to the Home Office. Participants in this study felt detention was a second torture and that they suffered inhumane treatment. This group also believed the Home Office do not identify torture victims as they should and that inadequate health care while detained caused further damages to their mental health. In addition, the fear of return was found to provoke re-traumatisation. Further academic investigation is required to assess the impact of immigration detention on victims of torture. This is particularly pertinent in the female asylum system, as conflict-related sexual violence is a clear contributor to the forced migration of this population, and in turn the likelihood of women in detention having suffered from such violence is high (Canning, 2010, 2014, 2017). In a systematic review of available literature Storm and Engberg did not find sufficient evidence to allow them to conclude there was a causative effect on the wellbeing of torture survivors in detention. However, the small number of research studies deemed robust enough for the review suggest detention does harm torture survivors (Engberg, 2013; Storm & Engberg, 2013).

The UK is signatory to several international agreements which, in principle, should ensure that individuals are not held in detention for any longer than necessary to ensure their removal from the country.¹³ However, not only have vulnerable people been detained but these people have been held for significant periods of time. During an inspection of Harmondsworth IRC in 2013, HMIP (2013c) uncovered a particularly poignant example of a vulnerable individual who should not have been detained. Alois Dvorac, an 84-year-old Canadian man, was detained in Harmondsworth while passing through Gatwick airport to Slovenia, without correct permission to do so. Dvorac was suffering from Alzheimer's and by all accounts was confused and vulnerable. Despite attempts by nurses to have him released he died two weeks later, handcuffed to a hospital bed. Unfortunately, poor treatment of people with mental problems is not uncommon, in their report on health provision in removal centres BID found many were failing to provide adequate treatment and care (BID, 2005). This was supported by the case of six men and women suffering

¹³ These include, but are not limited to: OPCAT, The UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (1955), The UN Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment (1988), The 1951 Refugee Convention, The United Nations' International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966) and The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT, 1987).

from mental illness in immigration removal centres brought before the High Court between 2011 and 2014. The removal centres were found to be in breach of article 3 of the European Convention of Human Rights, having subjected each individual to inhuman and degrading treatment (HMIP, 2013b; Royal Courts of Justice, 2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2014a, 2014b).

After detention

Immigration removal centres are transitional spaces. People are not taken into detention as an ends in itself, but as a means towards the ultimate outcome of expulsion from the UK. To gain a full appreciation and understanding of immigration detention then, we must look to what happens to people after they are released or removed from their incarceration. In the following paragraphs I explore this area of literature, beginning with the situation of individuals released from detention, before moving on to the trajectories of men and women who have been forced to leave the country. I focus on the body of work relating to people who have spent time in immigration detention in the UK. However, due to the limited work available I supplement this information with studies from abroad where relevant.

Release

The purpose of immigration detention is to hold people before their imminent removal from the UK. However, approximately 50 per cent of men and women who are incarcerated in immigration removal centres are released into the community (Home Office, 2016a). Though this is a welcome outcome for most people, it presents an additional set of problems for those released. Men and women are often released quickly, with little warning. They cannot always control where they will be released and many suffer lasting mental health problems (Canning, 2017; Coffey, Kaplan, Sampson, & Tucci, 2010; Hacker, Chu, Arsenault, & Marlin, 2012; Robjant, Hassan, et al., 2009; Steel et al., 2011). Measures of mental health from research conducted in Australia found formerly detained people suffered from a range of mental health problems including depression, anxiety, and PTSD. Participants also scored low on quality of life measures and reported debilitating issues with concentration and memory (Coffey et al., 2010). Other research, also conducted in Australia, compared the mental health outcomes of two different refugee groups. The

first group had been granted temporary visas prior to arrival in Australia, entering the country without a period of detention. The second group were not able to obtain temporary visas prior to entry and as such had spent time in immigration detention. The results showed that people who had spent time in detention experienced increased psychological disturbance over time, while the control group who had not been detained experienced improvements in psychological disturbance over time. This is despite similar potentially traumatic experiences prior to their arrival to Australia (Steel et al., 2011).

Formerly detained people describe acute feelings of injustice and insecurity in the community. In UK and Australia, release from detention does not necessarily, or typically, mean permanent residency status, and many people were released temporarily with the ongoing threat of another period of detention. Many individuals in the literature perceived this ongoing situation as further punishment (Coffey et al., 2010; Klein & Williams, 2012). Feelings of punishment were understandable, with formerly detained people from the UK sometimes required to wear ankle tags usually reserved for prisoners on parole. The tags often came with strict evening curfews. People felt shamed by the use of tagging, and coupled with the use of a voucher currency system required to buy essential items like food and clothing, the situation of this group was made obvious to other members of the community (Klein & Williams, 2012).

According to BID, people released in the community felt marked by their detention, and lived in fear of being detained again with many reporting haunting dreams of their time in removal centres (BID, 2009). Logistical difficulties made life difficult for many of the released population who were reliant on the Home Office for their welfare. As an example, one man was granted refugee status after 3.5 years in detention in the UK. At the time of interview, he had been waiting over 6 months in the community for his official papers from the Home Office. This delay had left him unable to work, despite being legally able to. He was dependent on asylum vouchers (BID, 2009). Others had similar difficulties finding the means to support themselves and their families, both in the UK and Australia (Canning, 2017; Coffey et al., 2010; Klein & Williams, 2012). Those in the UK struggled to survive on approximately £37 per week. They vented their frustration with this system, particularly in their lack of ability to save towards their future with any unused funds wiped from their cards at the end of the week. They were also restricted from working

and so had no means to add to their weekly ration (Canning, 2017; Klein & Williams, 2012).

In her research with females seeking asylum living in Merseyside in the UK, Canning suggests the destitution faced by women while they await asylum decisions is structural violence (Canning, 2017). Others suggest the practice of restriction dehumanises people seeking asylum through social exclusion (Bloch & Schuster, 2005b; Sales, 2002, 2007; Liza Schuster & Solomos, 2004; Tyler, 2006, 2013). Jurado et al argue further that the government of the UK have deliberately moulded the conditions of social exclusion in order to ensure the migration pathways of this population are reversible (Jurado, Brochmann, & Dølvik, 2013). Through exclusion people are unable to build the community networks that may help them to fight removal from the country (Canning, 2017).

People released into the community also reported a negative transformation to their sense of self as a result of their detention. Individuals presented this change as a general loss of agency and in a sense of having failed in their carer, protector and provider family roles. Loss of agency was described as a loss of initiative or sense of ability to acquire new skills or sustain work or study. In addition, they reported feelings of demoralisation, helplessness and powerlessness (Coffey et al., 2010): *I don't feel like me, people they can't ask me why. They just look. I'm not fine, but what can I do? I'm not fine. It's really hard* (BID, 2009: 46). Some felt they no longer belonged in the UK; where before their sense of self was tied to the notion that the UK was their home, detention left them feeling unwanted (BID, 2009; Hasselberg, 2016; Turnbull, 2016).

Men and women in the community also reported relationship difficulties and breakdowns after detention, making it difficult for them to integrate or reintegrate into the community (Griffiths, 2013; Hasselberg, 2016). Some isolated themselves from social situations to avoid the anxiety this caused (Coffey et al., 2010; Steel et al., 2011). In the words of one man: *'As a normal human being I don't have the courage to talk to people, normally. After four, five minutes my entire body will be shaking or shivery'* (Coffey et al., 2010: 2075). In the UK people were shown to be relocated to arbitrary locations, with no regard for the personal connections and ties that may have been formed before detention or used to help reintegrate back in to the community (Klein & Williams, 2012). Some people described relationship breakdowns as they were no longer able to relate to their partner after substantial time apart (Griffiths, 2013;

Hasselberg, 2016). Others in the literature returned home to find their children traumatised by separation during their detention, and some were unable to be reunited with their children as they had been housed in accommodation that was only suitable for single adults (BID, 2013).

Removal

Removal from the UK is an irreversible journey for most people, who are unable to return legally for visa reasons or otherwise for financial reasons (Miller, 2012). Little is known about the situation of formerly detained people once they have been removed from the UK, with the notable exception of the work of Turnbull (2017). Thus, I will begin with Turnbull's case studies of men and women removed from detention, before focusing on what research has been done with people removed from the UK and the US more generally.

In her work, Turnbull offers a brief investigation into the lives of nine informants who had returned to their 'home' nations from detention. The stories of the seven men and two women in this study were diverse, some were detained and returned following a prison sentence, others for overstaying student visas or during an attempt to claim asylum in the UK. Yet, their experiences post-detention and removal include similar narratives relating to their time in removal centres in the UK. Immigration detention and deportation were not well understood in their home nations. Removal centres were perceived as punitive, and the people who had been detained within them seen as 'guilty' by association (Turnbull, 2017). As a result, the people removed often tried to hide their detention from their fellow countrymen to avoid the associated stigma. Their attempts to hide this incarceration restricted their ability to integrate fully, and openly, and they were unable to obtain the support they required. This led to isolation, and an inability to seek support to deal with distress of their removal (Turnbull, 2017).

Men and women are taken to immigration removal centres with little to no notice (Turnbull, 2016; see also: Hasselberg, 2016). They are unable to collect their personal belongings, and must rely on their family and friends, if they have them, to retrieve any possessions they wish to take to their country of return. In a practical sense, this stopped men and women from preparing what would help them to (re-) integrate on arrival. Sudden detention does not allow people time to sell possessions, withdraw funds from bank accounts or collect items such as valuable electronics or

certificates of achievement required for employment. In Turnbull's work this inability to prepare is linked with feelings of indignity and injustice, where men and women feel they are being disproportionately punished (Turnbull, 2017). People felt humiliated by their return when they had nothing to show from their time in the UK, and the punitive nature of this practice stayed with men and women once they had been removed (Turnbull, 2017).

Psychological distress was a defining feature of the lives of some of the men and women in Turnbull's research. People struggled to cope with the financial, emotional and social challenges faced on return. Beata¹⁴ had sought asylum in the UK, and had been removed when her case was dismissed as false. Beata was unable to seek help from her family due to the reasons she sought asylum in the first instance, and two years on from her deportation was suffering from severe depression. She also lost her employment due to her declining mental health (Turnbull, 2017). Beata's story is an example of how the mental and physical health problems illustrated in the detention literature are carried with people after their expulsion. Detention can be the cause of new vulnerabilities and exacerbate old mental and physical health problems, and these can have a bearing upon an individual's ability to cope with the additional stress caused by removal from the UK (Turnbull, 2017).

Detention aside, existing research also shows a myriad of negative outcomes for men and women deported from their host countries, regardless of their pathways to removal (Bloch & Schuster, 2005; Miller, 2012; Griffin, 2009; Dolan et al., 2009; Schuster & Majidi, 2013; Golash-Boza, 2015; Brotherton & Barrios, 2009). Many removed people do not have ready access to cash or assets (Griffin, 2009). Those removed to Jamaica, for example, were reliant on other family members for accommodation and money to survive (Golash-Boza, 2015). Those without family or who had been rejected by their family had migrated to urban centres, often living on the streets (Miller, 2012). Men in Afghanistan were often found to have paid substantial monies to third parties to assist their initial migration attempts, and so on return they were left with related debts they were unable to repay (Schuster & Majidi, 2013).

Many people are labelled as 'deportees' on return to their home nations. This label carried with it negative social associations in most of the countries the research has been conducted. Those removed from the US to the Dominican Republic

¹⁴ A pseudonym.

suffered from cultural estrangement and stigmatization upon return (Brotherton & Barrios, 2009). Men returned to the Dominican Republic found formal employment difficult due to the perception that deported men were criminal and to be feared (Golash-Boza & Ceciliano Navarro, 2017). In Jamaica this group felt similarly criminalised and stigmatised (Golash-Boza, 2015; Griffin, 2009; Miller, 2012; Turnbull, 2017). However, in Brazil, Golash-Boza found people who are deported there from the US to suffer from no stigma associated with their forced return to the country. Similarly, men returned to Guatemala were not assumed to be criminal unless they had tattoos (Golash-Boza, 2015). Though, if a man removed to Guatemala did have tattoos they were likely to face severe criminalisation and stigma from the general public and harassment from the police. Men with tattoos were also mistaken for rival gang members and were at risk of violence as a result (Golash-Boza, 2015).

In countries where being returned did not necessarily equate to the label of 'criminal' people still suffered from stigma after their return (Golash-Boza & Navarro, 2017; Majidi, 2017; Schuster & Majidi, 2013). Men in Afghanistan felt shamed by their failure to successfully migrate and support their families and were subjected to negative perceptions of 'contamination' by their communities (Schuster & Majidi, 2013). The gendered notion that males should be providing for families also caused difficulties for men who were not able to fulfil this role on their return (Golash-Boza, 2015; Turnbull, 2017). In Turnbull's work the failure to fulfil the role of breadwinner took an emotional toll on participants, and some had suffered the breakdown of relationships as a result. As an example, Adel, who was removed to Morocco, was no longer considered a suitable son-in-law in the eyes of his fiancée's family, who called off the engagement. He considered himself 'marked' by his detention and removal, and had been presumed incapable of performing the role of future provider (Turnbull, 2017).

Individuals were moved from their family, friends and sometimes children. They were returned to cultures and societies with which they are no longer familiar and in some cases have never known, having been raised in the UK from a young age (BID, 2013; Bosworth, 2011a). This lack of familiarity had a profound effect on their sense of self. Research conducted by Brotherton and Barrios with American deportees in the Dominican Republic showed people who struggled to reconcile their American identities with their new situation, with all personal reference points related

to their American self. However, they were unable to express their American identities, for fear of the negative labels applied to removed Dominican-Americans (Brotherton & Barrios, 2009). In Afghanistan men and women are increasingly facing living in 'limbo' as they are unable to return to homes that have been eradicated by the war, or are too unstable to return to safely. Instead, Majidi recalls men and women living near the border areas they are forcibly returned to, where they hope to make another attempt at migration (Majidi, 2017).

The literature described above relates to the practical, social and psychological impact of removal on people. There have also been more extreme examples where removal has been physically dangerous. In a report from Medical Justice (Medical Justice, 2012) two formerly tortured individuals had been forcibly removed from detention in the UK only to be tortured again upon arrival in their home nations. These stories are only known because both people fled to the UK a second time. Both were also detained upon their return. In a recent report on removal escorts from the UK to Nigeria, HMIP inspectors witnessed a woman with severe mental health needs being removed. During the journey to and on arrival in Nigeria she was severely distressed. She removed her clothes and took all the medication she had been provided for removal, including anti-psychotic drugs. After a failed attempt by Nigerian officials to refuse her entry she was taken to hospital. Information provided by the Home Office to HMIP states she was discharged later the same day. It is not known what happened to her after this (HMIP, 2013a).

We cannot know how often such events occur since information relating to what happens to people once they have been removed from the UK is not routinely collected. These examples and those earlier in the text illustrate a severe lack of understanding of the consequences of detention and removal for men and women. The literature on removal shows that people are often left in situations even more difficult than that which caused them to migrate initially (Golash-Boza, 2015; Schuster & Majidi, 2013). In addition, people are often criminalised, stigmatised and suffering from a sense of shame at their failure to succeed in their migration attempts (Golash-Boza, 2015; Majidi, 2017; Schuster & Majidi, 2013; Turnbull, 2017). This, coupled with the emotional distress of separation from families and friends in adopted nations made resettlement incredibly difficult for most (Golash-Boza & Navarro, 2017; Turnbull, 2017). As a result some people were found to be biding

their time before another attempt at migration (Brotherton & Barrios, 2009; Golash-Boza, 2015; Majidi, 2017; Schuster & Majidi, 2013).

Conclusion

In this review I have brought together literature on the experience of people living in immigration detention and that relating to what happens after their incarceration. The research presents a grim lived experience for most women and men in detention. Then, following detention their trajectories appear challenging and confusing, whether they are released into the UK or removed to another country. The pains of detention are severe. The indefinite and uncertain nature of these establishments, the perceived injustice of imprisonment for administrative purposes and the criminalisation of this population create a toxic environment which appears to follow people long after they physically leave removal centres. But it is not simply enough to suggest that the concepts of justice, uncertainty and criminalisation are causally related to poor experience of incarceration. What is missing in these investigations is *why* these concepts are linked to an inhibited ability to cope with incarceration. For this, in the following chapter, I turn to the concept of dignity.

CHAPTER TWO: DIGNITY, DEFINITIONS AND APPLICATIONS

Notwithstanding its common usage, there is no universally accepted definition of the concept of dignity. This is despite scholarship that dates back to Aristotle (Johnson 1971; Korsgaard 1992; Sensen 2009); Horton 2004). An interest in dignity is not limited to such high culture. Indeed, in the contemporary world, the term features in Top 40 song lyrics, and is uttered frequently in television and film. The plot line from a recent James Bond movie, for example, hinges on the fictional M's refusal to accept another agent's definition of dignity, instead preferring her own 'dignified' retirement planning: *'Oh, to hell with dignity. I'll leave when the job's done'* (Mendes, 2012). In the final Harry Potter book and film even the evil protagonist, Voldemort, invokes the concept with respect when following his successful attack on Hogwarts he commands his forces to retreat so that Potter and his allies can bury their dead 'with dignity' (Rowling, 2007; Yates, 2011).

The common use of dignity alludes to the idea that this sense of worth is important to people, however opaque its precise definition. Markedly, the preoccupation with dignity in popular culture is when dignity is absent or threatened. To have dignity, it appears, is the norm and to have your sense of worth challenged is, therefore, a particularly offensive experience. Theorists of the concept arrive at similar conclusions, where violations to an individual's dignity have a greater impact on them than when their sense of self-worth is respected (Jacobson, 2010; Mann, 1998).

Literature on immigration detention suggests that people held in immigration removal centres in the UK are subject to treatment that damages their sense of dignity. This effect occurs despite legal and human rights protections (Van Zyl Smit & Snacken, 2009). It is therefore of interest to examine this disjuncture between experience and policy.

This dissertation explores how the experiences of women who have spent time in immigration detention relate to dignity. This is an important and neglected area of research, with available literature on immigration detention and its outcomes (see for example: Bosworth 2008; 2011; 2012; Bosworth & Kellezi 2012; Steel et al. 2011; Coffey et al. 2010; Klein & Williams 2012; Robjant et al. 2009; Griffin 2009; Brotherton & Barrios 2009; Miller 2012; Schuster & Majidi 2013), combined with the

findings of HMIP (2013) and the High Court (Royal Courts of Justice, 2011a, 2011b, 2012) suggesting that the dignity of those in detention is not sufficiently respected.

The definition of dignity I utilise is a subjective and contextual one, defined by the subjects of this study: women who have spent time in removal centres. I focus on the resettlement of people from detention because their release or removal from detention is a critical juncture in their lives, and one that we know very little about. What little we do know suggests that life post-incarceration is substantially influenced by experiences in detention.

In this first portion of this chapter I unravel the concept of dignity. I explore its use through history particularly in the field of human rights before considering how it relates to the way in which individuals view themselves, and its effect on their self-esteem and sense of self-worth. In the second section, I focus on academic literature from health, social care, and prisons. I relate this material back to existing literature on dignity in immigration detention, which I outlined in chapter one. In conclusion, I argue that the experience of those who have been held in immigration removal centres, and their on-going circumstances post-detention reveal quite clearly that the immigration enforcement system in the UK strips people of their dignity and treats them as less than human.

Defining dignity

Modern ideas of dignity are rooted in the work of philosopher Immanuel Kant (1996). Kant believed that dignity was an immutable human characteristic. To him, it was an inherent and inviolable part of being human, intimately related to our status as autonomous beings capable of moral rationality. Such characteristics, he asserted, morally constrain our interactions with one another in a way that is unmatched by any other being (Kant, 1996; Killmister, 2010; Kraynak & Tindler, 2003; Misztal, 2012; Rosen, 2012; Shell, 2003).

This moral constraint, he argued, grants humans a higher worth and status than any other entity; because we have this characteristic we are deserving of a certain level of respect (Birnbacher, 1996b; Kant, 1996; Meyer, 1989). In other words, we are morally aware that we, and others, deserve treatment of a particular, and higher, sort. Because we know this we interpret acts which deviate from the respectful norm as exceptionally offensive. The term 'human dignity' is ascribed to Kant and those who

discuss his original works on morality (Kraynak & Tinder 2003; Shell 2003; Sensen 2009).

Human dignity

Human dignity has interested many scholars of philosophy, religion and ethics, who are concerned with metaphysical discussions of the underlying assertions drawn by Kant (See for example: Guerra, 2001; Johnson, 1971). Core arguments in these fields focus on such details as interpretation of the semantics used by Kant (Kolnai, 1976; Sensen, 2009b), and how human beings have come to be endowed with dignity in the first instance (Dales, 1977; Guerra, 2001). Closer in relevance to the subject of this dissertation, others accept the principles of human dignity, that it exists and all humans have it, and consider the moral responsibilities of humans in light of the concept (Dales, 1977; Johnson, 1971; Korsgaard, 1992).

Human dignity is particularly pertinent to the field of law and human rights, where it forms the basis of the principles set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (Donnelly, 1982; Dupre, 2009; Feldman, 1999, 2000; Habermas, 2010; Jacobson, 2007; Kraynak & Tinder, 2003; Misztal, 2012; Neal, 2014; Nordenfelt, 2004; Rosen, 2012; Rothhaar, 2010; Sensen, 2009b; Shell, 2003). Both the law and human rights based deliberations on the concept have been important for the development of rights based legal systems and world-views. It is made abundantly clear through these instruments that human dignity is something that should be protected. Human dignity within the UDHR is the fundamental crux upon which the conceptual framework and arguments within this dissertation are built. Therefore, I will take the time now to draw out how dignity in the UDHR is relevant to the United Kingdom and to immigration detention.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UK

The UDHR was created after the atrocities committed during the Second World War. The preamble of the declaration makes reference to *'barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind'* (United Nations, 1948), in which the drafters were most importantly referring to the mass humiliations and killings of the Holocaust (Margalit & Motzkin, 2006; Morsink, 2000). The treatment of the Jewish population at the hands of the Nazi Government of Germany was unprecedented, as despite a world history plagued by mass murders and mass humiliations, the world had never before

seen the deliberate combination of the two that stripped people of their dignity in life and in death (Margalit & Motzkin, 2006). After the war there was a collective outrage about these violations, and in reading the UDHR it is clear to see that dignity is recognised to be of vital importance to individuals and societies (Morsink, 2000). The term appears first in the preamble:

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world'

and again in Article 1:

'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood' (United Nations, 1948).

In the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), both of which were ratified by the UK in 1976, dignity is also posed as the basis from which all human rights treaties have been derived (C. McCrudden, 2008).

Human rights legislation and the deprivation of liberty in the UK

In order to protect the dignity of those, like the women I interviewed for this dissertation, who are deprived of their liberty, the UK has subscribed to optional UN conventions. These conventions recognise that those whose liberty has been curtailed are particularly vulnerable to inhumane treatment and in need of extra protections (HMIP, 2014b). The British government ratified the Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (OPCAT) in 2003, promising to safeguard the dignity of all people deprived of their liberty in the UK. As part of this process, in 2009, the UK government created a National Preventative Mechanism (NPM)¹⁵ to monitor the treatment and conditions of all people in detention. While multiple organisations make up the NPM of the UK, HMIP is the organising body and one of two organisations responsible for monitoring immigration removal centres¹⁶. In their role within the NPM, HMIP monitor the treatment of those detained in removal centres

¹⁵ For more information on the UK NPM see the annual report (Human Rights Commission, 2015)

¹⁶ The second organisation responsible for monitoring immigration detention is the Independent Monitoring Board (IMB).

and pass on this information to the relevant institutions, authorities and the state to ensure the dignity of those detained are upheld (Feldman, 2000).

HMIP uses human rights based standards to inspect removal centres, drawing on a set of criteria called ‘expectations.’ These are based on the World Health Organisation’s healthy prisons tests (World Health Organisation, 2007) that have been adapted for the detention environment. The intention of HMIP to assess dignity can be found in their second test of a healthy custodial environment: Respect. Here the expectations have been developed to reflect that *‘Detainees are treated with respect for their human dignity and the circumstances of their detention’* (HMIP, 2018: 30). For example, in assessing the preparation for release of people held in immigration detention HMIP expects to find that: *‘Women are able to maintain contact with the outside world and plan for the future through regular access to a full range of communications media’* (HMIP, 2018: 129). This expectation is then referenced against all relevant human rights protections¹⁷. For example, the expectation above is driven by, among others, the Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment (BOP)¹⁸, specifically Principle 19:

A detained or imprisoned person shall have the right to be visited by and to correspond with, in particular, members of his family and shall be given adequate opportunity to communicate with the outside world, subject to reasonable conditions and restrictions as specified by law or lawful regulations.
(UN General Assembly, 1988).

And also, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)¹⁹ Guideline 8, ‘Conditions of detention must be humane and dignified’ [48(vii)]:

Asylum-seekers in detention should be able to make regular contact (including through telephone or internet, where possible) and receive visits from relatives, friends, as well as religious, international and/ or non-governmental

¹⁷ See the HMIP immigration detention expectations for a full and extensive list of all relevant human rights protections.

¹⁸ The BOP is an instrument supplied by the UN that provides guidance for the protection of individuals in detention for its member states. It is based on obligations under international law, but is not formally binding.

¹⁹ The UNHCR guidelines are the result of the Statute of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in conjunction with Article 35 of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and Article II of its 1967 Protocol, aimed to protect the rights of refugees, displaced communities and stateless persons.

organisations, if they so desire. Access to and by UNHCR must be assured. Facilities should be made available to enable such visits. Such visits should normally take place in private unless there are compelling reasons relevant to safety and security to warrant otherwise. (UNHCR, 2012).

Within immigration removal centres themselves dignity is referenced during the initial statement of purpose:

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 right to individual expression. (Home Office, 2001).

This use of human rights as the basis for standards and expectations for removal centres appears, on the face of it, both justified and promising in terms of ensuring dignified conditions. However, the theoretical bent of much academic literature and the legislation presented here do not explicate what it means or feels like when dignity is not respected. This dissertation focuses on the experience of women who have spent time in immigration detention, and their perceptions of their treatment. Therefore I turn now to a variant of human dignity known as ‘social dignity’, that is found in the field of health and social care, and which is concerned with the lived experience and consequences of violations to a person’s dignity (See for example: Chilton, 2006; Jacobson, 2007, 2009, 2010; Malby, 2002; Mann, 1998; Pleschberger, 2007).

Social dignity

The health and social care scholars I focus on in this dissertation are concerned with the consequences of dignified conduct. Their work centres on the treatment of individuals or groups, and the effects of respecting or failing to respect their value as human beings. With this focus on outcomes, they provide a definition of dignity that links the concept clearly to everyday life and experience (see for example: Chilton, 2006; Jacobson, 2007, 2009, 2010; Mann, 1998). The difference between social and human dignity in a practical sense is that this research predominantly focuses on

nursing care and individuals' interactions with institutions of care, in real-life situations, whereby definitions of dignity are operationalised. Being treated as a human is broken down into actions and behaviours, such as 'I am treated as a person when a nurse uses my name.' Drawing on the scholarship of legal ethics theorist Nussbaum (1997) and public health academic Mann (1998), health academic Chilton summarises the difference between the rights drawn from human dignity and social dignity in more academic terms:

Rights are claims and signal obligations for duty-bearers... [social] Dignity is the gauge of human suffering that can be tied to individual experience... Thus, to use a [social] dignity approach is to use a phenomenological approach that emphasizes the experience of rights violations (Chilton, 2006).

Dignity, she concludes, is a '*dynamic sense of worth that is socially and politically mediated*' (Chilton, 2006). In her review of dignity and health, health scientist Jacobson (2007) defines social dignity as grounded in human dignity, differing only in terms of its tangibility. Social dignity, she argues, can be granted or denied to individuals by others. Being allowed or deprived of social dignity affects one's feelings of self-worth: '*Self-respect, self-esteem, pride, and confidence and self-assurances*' (Jacobson, 2010). This definition designates dignity as a subjective concept, as feelings of self-worth can only be subjective and contextual.

Social definitions rely on the same underlying normative view as the literature on human dignity, that individuals should be treated in way that respects them, but it goes further than these fields by exploring the consequences of violations or promotions. It is in the articulation of what happens when respect is or is not granted that the scholarship in health sciences is most useful. Both Jacobson (2007, 2009, 2010) and Mann (1998) link dignity with experience and consequences, revealing the impact of treating patients with or without the humanity they expect. These works and others describe negative long-term social, physical and mental health outcomes for individuals who have suffered from prolonged violations to their dignity. Similarly when the worth of someone is respected they can experience increased feelings of self-worth and motivation (Madan, 1992; Mann et al., 1994; Miller & Keys, 2001b; Pleschberger, 2007).

Violations of dignity

Both Jacobson (2007; 2009; 2010) and Mann (1998) focus on what they refer to as violations of dignity, because, they say, these have a greater impact on the person than factors which promote dignity. Violations occur when actions towards an individual or group are so poor that those affected are not able to understand or justify their treatment. Human interactions are usually interpretable, however awful they may be. I may snap in anger because I am frustrated with my own work, a friend may ignore my calls because they are tired of hearing me complain about it. In both, the unwelcome interaction can be explained; there is a narrative with cause and effect.

It is when actions are morally incomprehensible that they offend the dignity of others. This is because there is no justification other than *'that person doesn't believe I am worthy/deserving/human,'* and thus their actions violate our underlying sense of worth (Stoecker, 2011). Violations distort the normative moral relationship between individuals, corrupting what might be seen as an inherent baseline trust between human beings where we are all equal in rights (Maier, 2011; Neal, 2014). To help explain the concept of dignity violations ethics philosopher Ralf Stoecker turns to the Holocaust, describing the example of Nazis forcing Jewish citizens to scrub pavements:

They certainly scared them and put them under duress, yet it is doubtful that these aspects adequately explain why these treatments were so abominable. What is missing, obviously, is the deeply humiliating character of being forced into such a situation (Stoecker, 2003) cited in (Stoecker, 2011).

The Holocaust is an extreme example of the consequences of not respecting the worth of humans, but also an important one to reflect upon. It starkly illuminates damage done when the dignity of populations is violated deliberately and on a mass scale. The violation to humanity through humiliation and dehumanization of the Jewish population is what made the Holocaust unique and horrifying (Margalit & Motzkin, 2006), and what led to the human rights legislations discussed above (C. McCrudden, 2008).

Creating a taxonomy of dignity violations

Offences to human worth do not have to be as calculated or large as those witnessed during the Holocaust to have a negative effect on people. Violations to dignity can and do occur on a more everyday level. Their impacts vary, but are typically interpreted as a deviation from normal or expected treatment or behaviour. Jacobson (2009, 2010) and Mann (1998) found that examples of offence were readily recalled by individuals, even if they had occurred many years prior. Upon recalling such incidents, people 're-lived' their experiences and emotions as though they were recent (Mann, 1998).

The following table is a taxonomy of violations that is drawn directly from the work of Jacobson (2009, 2010). These violations are a comprehensive list of offences to dignity described by participants in her study. This list was compiled from the analysis of 64 interviews with providers of health or social services, those who work in health and human rights, and with individuals who were marginalised from society in some way due to their health or social status.

Table 1. A Taxonomy of Dignity Violations.

Violation	Explanation
Rudeness:	Being gratuitously nasty or showing generalised disrespect.
Indifference:	Demonstrating a lack of consideration, heed, or care.
Condescension:	"Talking down to" someone or speaking to an adult "like a child."
Dismissal:	Ignoring or discounting an actor's knowledge, skills, perceptions, concerns, needs, and feelings.
Diminishment:	Making an actor feel smaller or lessened by the form and content of the interaction.
Disregard:	Rendering an actor invisible or voiceless.
Contempt:	Treating an actor in a way that suggests he or she has no value.
Dependence:	Being forced to rely on others for basic needs.
Intrusion:	Transgressing an actor's bodily or personal boundaries.

Objectification:	Treating an actor like a thing, not a person.
Restriction:	Limiting an actor's ability to direct his or her own life.
Trickery:	Taunting, lying, or manipulating for material gain or psychological advantage.
Grouping:	Seeing an actor not as a unique individual, but only as a member of a collective.
Labelling:	Tagging an actor with a descriptive term that carries a connotation of moral deficiency or social inferiority.
Vilification:	Making an actor appear threatening or dangerous.
Suspicion:	Distrusting or treating an actor as though he or she has committed bad acts.
Discrimination:	Treating an actor poorly based on achieved or ascribed status or apparent membership in a low-status group.
Exploitation:	Using an actor or viewing him or her only as a means to an end.
Exclusion:	Making an actor feel unwelcome in or left out of physical or social settings.
Revulsion:	Treating an actor as though he or she is disgusting or tainted.
Deprivation:	Lacking absolute or relative access to the necessities of life.
Bullying:	Threatening or intimidating an actor.
Assault:	Using physical force to damage or demean an actor's body and the spirit.
Abjection:	Forcing an actor to humble him or herself by compromising closely held beliefs or by forced association with material or practices considered unclean.

The list of offences offered here by Jacobson is comprehensive, although not exhaustive. What violates one person's sense of dignity may not offend another; there will always be differences due to gender, culture, religion, age and any other human variance (Feldman, 1999; Jacelon et al., 2004; Saltus & Pithara, 2014). The impacts of a transgression of someone's dignity, however, appear more analogous throughout academic literature,²⁰ and the crux of the offence is that the person believes they have been wronged.

Jacobson describes a cycle of impact when a contravention of dignity has occurred. Take as an example an academic presenting a paper to their department.

²⁰ A full review of such literature is offered below

On conclusion, the head of their department stands and begins to criticise this work, unfairly and personally, perhaps suggesting the academic is foolish. Initially the academic will suffer from immediate emotional responses. They feel hurt or embarrassed in front of their peer group. These painful emotions will often be accompanied by others such as a sense of disbelief, powerlessness, and frustration as the academic finds it difficult to justify why their head of department has chosen this moment to criticise their work and intelligence so venomously. This stage in the cycle of impact is crucial, as it where the offence to dignity is either lasting or fleeting. For the violation to only have a short-term effect the offence needs to be rectified.

In this example, the academic's peers could promote the dignity of their colleague with positive reinforcement. The academic may be told that their work was in fact good, and that they were intelligent and respected. Alternatively, if the violation remains un-remedied, such as if the colleagues remain silent and do nothing to defend their peer, the academic may suffer long term emotional consequences. These include feelings of degradation, feeling wounded, worthless. Some people may also feel humiliated, angry or resentful, isolated, or insecure. Following these feelings, are more the tangible effects of emotions including disempowerment, feelings of apathy and ultimately depression.

Jacobson found consequences that went even further than disempowerment, apathy and depression, where participants experienced substantial personal losses. A number of people in her study were marginalised from society in some way, through homelessness, illness or similar, and many of these individuals reported loss of self-respect and loss of self-worth related to on-going transgressions against their sense of dignity. Consequently, many of these individuals underwent a transformation of self, and a loss of social status and moral standing. The ultimate consequences of these losses could be seen in their long-term social and physical situations. These included social isolation, marginalisation, 'learned helplessness', and chronically poor physical and mental health (Jacobson, 2009; 2010).

Negative outcomes are particularly likely when someone is exposed to on-going violations over time or when those affected are particularly vulnerable. That is to say, people are most adversely affected, when the person treating them occupies a position of power and authority (Chilton, 2006; Jacobson, 2009; 2010; Mann et al., 1994).

Dignity promotion

In the example offered above, where the dignity of an academic is offended during a presentation to her peers, I show how transgressions can be rectified through promotion. Dignity promotions are the inverse of violations. Promotions elevate feelings of self-worth, self-respect, and self-efficacy where violations relate to lessening of these same aspects of the self (Jacobson, 2009; 2010). Enhancements to an individual's feelings of worth are not as readily recalled by people as violations appear to be (Jacobson, 2009, 2010; Mann, 1998). However, Jacobson found that participants were eager to offer suggestions for the promotion of dignity for future practice.

The following table is a taxonomy of factors that support dignity, also taken directly from the work of Jacobson (Jacobson, 2009; 2010). It is notable that most factors she believed would encourage dignity are antonyms of the violations described above. In conjunction with the taxonomy of dignity violations presented earlier this table provides insight into the efforts undertaken by men and women to maintain their sense of worth.

Table 2. A Taxonomy of Dignity Promotions.

Promotion	Explanation
Contribution:	"Giving something back" to others, as through volunteering.
Discipline:	Performing routine activities like cleaning and exercising that are seen as responsible and "normal."
Independence:	Being self-sufficient.
Accomplishment:	"Doing the job right" or completing an undertaking in a way that meets or exceeds expectations.
Authenticity:	"Being myself" or honouring one's own individuality.
Creativity:	Making or sharing art.
Enrichment:	Making consumption choices that are seen as self-improving
Transcendence:	"Rising above" provocation or temptation.

Restraint:	Demonstrating emotional or behavioural reserve.
Control:	Taking charge of a situation.
Perseverance:	"Just surviving" in difficult circumstances or "making the best of it" after a tragedy or severe disappointment.
Preparation:	Steeling oneself, as by reducing expectations, to revisit settings that have in the past seen violations of dignity.
Avoidance:	Steering clear of associates or activities that have in the past led to dignity violation.
Concealment:	"Covering up" embarrassing markers or situations.
Resistance:	Asserting oneself in the face of threats to dignity.
Recognition:	Acknowledging the humanity of others by paying attention and showing appreciation.
Acceptance:	Being non-judgmental of difference.
Levelling:	Minimizing asymmetry.
Presence:	Keeping others company in difficult situations.
Advocacy:	Standing up for, or beside, those who are oppressed.
Empowerment:	Working with others to enhance their capacities, capabilities, and competencies
Courtesy:	Demonstrating common respect.
Love:	Honouring and esteeming others.

Returning to literature on the Holocaust, dignity promotions are shown to have played an important role in individuals' ability to survive dehumanising treatment in concentration camps. In her doctoral dissertation on the effects of trauma on the identity of Holocaust survivors, Lorelei Provost describes how men and women reinforced each other's sense of dignity in the camps. Through their accounts Provost describes how people maintained a sense of community: *'We were filthy, unwashed... we still said "please" and "thank you," we remained a functioning society'* (Provost, 2015: 124). Through the narratives in Provost's work individuals can be seen to be using *discipline* in their politeness to feel 'normal,' and *courteous* to their peers, while maintaining *presence* by maintaining a functioning society. Similar parallels can

be drawn from other literature relating to Holocaust survivors where dignity has been maintained through *resistance* during their internment and managed post-liberation through *advocacy* and *empowerment* (Margalit & Motzkin, 2006; Provost, 2015; Schwartz Lee, 1988).

The enhancement of dignity is more likely if people are in a position of confidence, self-assurance and hope. When coupled with a promoting actor who is compassionate, honest, open and with clear good intentions the effect is further realised (Chilton, 2006; Jacobson, 2009 2010; Mann, 1998). In addition, trust, empathy reciprocity and rapport between supporters and individuals are also conducive to the enhancement of an individuals' dignity, as are settings which promote humane circumstances, accessibility and transparency (Jacobson, 2009, 2010).

Dignity and the self

There is an important relationship between dignity violations or promotions and the way in which people view themselves as an individual's sense of dignity is, at least in part, derived from social interaction. There are two elements to how someone assesses their sense of dignity, described as dignity-of-self and dignity-in-relation. Dignity-of-self is a confidence and integrity in an individual's own sense of self-respect and self-worth. Dignity-in-relation is the way in which this sense of self-respect and self-worth is supported and reflected by the collective behaviour of the community (Jacobson, 2009; Mann, 1998). Dignity-of-self then, is determined by whether someone is treated with the respect they would expect from another person and therefore by dignity-in-relation.

The concepts of dignity-of-self and dignity-in-relation have their roots in symbolic interactionist perspectives. Founded by sociologists Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934), symbolic interactionism is based in the premise that our sense of self is developed through social experiences and interactions. Like dignity-of-self and dignity-in-relation, the self described by Cooley and Mead has two elements; the 'I' and the 'Me.' The 'I' continuously perceives the environment surrounding it, focusing on the reaction of others to its own behaviour. The 'Me' internalises the reaction of others and changes their behaviour to reflect what is observed. This behaviour can be seen most obviously in young children, who when tripping over will often react

based on the feedback of those around them. The concerned face of parent will more often than not draw a cry, while a smiling face may elicit giggles.

Humans are continually assessing their internal dialogue based on the stimuli in their social environment. How people feel about themselves changes over time, based on the continued stimulus and reactions presented to them in society. Dignity-in-relation and dignity-of-self work in the same way. Dignity-in-relation is the ‘I’ where an individual assesses the behaviour of the community around them and whether it reflects the dignified behaviour that would be expected towards a human. Dignity-of-self will then react to the experience and internalise the reaction, either positively if dignity is upheld, ‘I am worthy of dignity’, or negatively if dignity is not, ‘I am not worthy of dignity.’

How dignified someone feels relates the impact of reduced self-esteem and self-worth. In psychology a relationship between self-esteem, mood and wellbeing is well established (Argyle, 2001; Beck, 1967; Campbell, 1981; Cheng & Furnham, 2003; Wilson, 1967). In their statistical analyses, psychologists Helen Cheng and Adrian Furnham (2003) explored interactions between self-esteem and depression or happiness and found relationships with higher levels of self-esteem were related to higher indicators of happiness, while lower levels of self-esteem were related to higher indicators of depression. Further to this, a relationship between self-perception and health is also well recognised in psychological literature (Marmot, 2003; Salovey, Rothman, Detweiler, & Steward, 2000; Salovey, Rothman, & Rodin, 1998; Sennett, 2003). In particular, in their discussions of health and emotions, social psychologist Peter Salovey and colleagues (Salovey et al., 2000, 1998) have linked negative self-beliefs with negative emotional states which, in turn, are related to weakened immune systems.

Dignity, social and health care, and prisons

The consequences of respecting or not respecting someone’s dignity are difficult to find in academic literature on law or moral philosophy, where, instead, scholars have tended to focus on defining dignity and the rights associated with these classifications (Mann, 1998). It is for this reason that I turn to other disciplines to support my argument for exploring the outcomes for women who have spent time in removal centres, and how these relate to dignity. I will here describe the literature as it pertains

to other populations with similar characteristics to those in immigration detention, before turning to relevant literature from detention.

Social Care

The first example of dignity and consequences in academic literature comes from research with homeless populations. In their study of 100 female heads of homeless households, for example, sociologists Seltser and Miller (1993) found dignity to be an unexpected but wide-ranging theme throughout their research. They conceptualised dignity as self-worth or inner worth, with dignified treatment defined as conduct that recognises the worth of an individual. In this study the women's sense of self-worth was dependent on their ability to feel they were able to carry themselves with dignity, and also to be treated with respect. Seltser and Miller also found that for a woman to maintain her sense of self-worth she must be able to validate her own internal sense of living with dignity, and be treated in accordance with this lifestyle in her environment. For example, an individual must both believe they are worthy of respect, and be treated with the associated respect to maintain feelings of self-worth. If only one element is present, such as if someone believes they should be treated with humanity, but they are treated with indifference by another person or organisation, this is when doubts over self-worth appear.

Seltser and Miller (1993) found that women who were not treated with dignity experienced feelings of worthlessness, passivity and depression. These findings were supported by later research from Miller and Keys (2001b), who developed the findings of Seltser and Miller further, focusing their research on dignity and homeless groups. Miller and Keys operationalized their research using their earlier counterparts' conceptualisation of dignity as internally and externally validating, asking participants which aspects of homelessness either validated or invalidated their sense of self-worth. The findings of this research reflect the taxonomy of dignity violations and promotions presented earlier in this chapter.

Dignity, for the men and women in Miller and Keys study, was validated when they were treated as individuals, as human beings, and when they felt they were a valued member of a group. Their feelings of self-worth were also bolstered when adequate resources were made available to them that met their basic survival needs, but also that helped participants to become self-sufficient. In the alternative, dignity was invalidated when men and women felt dehumanized or infantilized, or treated in

a discriminatory manner based on their status as a homeless person. Similarly, participants felt their dignity was undermined when they received poor levels of service, such as being made to wait for long periods in queues or when the environment in which they were seeking help was negative; if homeless shelters were unclean or maintained poorly, for example. Unfairness in treatment and arbitrary or overzealous use of rules were also highlighted as potential transgressions of dignity.

It is in their account of the consequences of dignified treatment, where the work of Miller and Keys (2001b) adds most value to this dissertation. They asked participants about how it felt when their dignity was validated or otherwise. As in the research by Jacobson (2010) and Mann and colleagues (1994), they found that responses to dignity violations were more readily recalled than promotions; however, the women and men in Miller and Keys' study readily divulged that validation of their dignity helped them to feel more confident, happier and increased their feelings of self-worth. It also encouraged participants to self-motivate, improve themselves and help others. When dignity was invalidated respondents reported feeling worthless, feeling bad about themselves, and feeling angry and depressed. Further research on the subject of dignity and homelessness conducted by Hoffman and Coffey (2008) developed thinking on the consequences of disrespecting one's self-worth, illustrating that some men and women chose to 'opt out' of the homeless care system as a means to maintain their dignity and assert their sense of agency. Hoffman and Coffey also replicated many of the findings of Miller and Keys (2001b), particularly focusing on their participants' experiences of objectification and infantilization.

Health Care

Dignity is a common concept in health care provision, both in the UK and overseas. In the UK it is a defining characteristic in multiple care standards, frameworks and benchmarking reports. See for example the NHS plan (NHS, 2000), the NHS framework for older people (DoH, 2001) and the NHS essence of care (DoH, 2010). Academically there are multifaceted research projects on the implementation of dignity in care, all of which point to the importance of treating patients in a way that respects their sense of self-worth. These facets are typically directed at the ideas of treating patients with a common humanity, with respect for their individuality, and for the privacy and autonomy of men and women in care.

In the healthcare research both patients and those who care for them recognise that to treat someone as less than human is a violation of dignity (Gallagher & Seedhouse, 2002; Geller et al., 2015; Haddock, 1996; Henry, Rushton, Beach, & Faden, 2015; Skorpen, Thorsen, & Forsberg, 2014). The notion of treating patients in care with a common humanity stems from the concept of human dignity described earlier, based on the underlying assumption that by virtue of being human, all individuals are owed a certain level of respect. In their study into dignity in intensive care units, Henry and her colleagues (2015) focused on treatment with humanity. They suggest ensuring patients are not objectified, by ensuring they are referred to by name, rather than labelled and referred to by their illness or bed number, or discussed as though they are unable to hear or understand.

Respect for privacy was similarly referenced as humane treatment. In their research with patients and their relatives from hospital wards holding older patients, health scholars Gallagher and Seedhouse (2002) report how patients who are left uncovered or exposed during examinations feel embarrassment, degradation and depression. Henry and colleagues (2015) suggest individuals hold expectations of privacy related to their bodies, and the intrusion of others without adequate permissions or discretion is linked to feelings of vulnerability and shame.

Part of treating men and women with shared humanity, requires an appreciation of them as individuals. Individualised dignity is based on the recognition that people develop their own life narratives and roles (Henry et al., 2015). A failure to respect the desires and preferences of an individual, is linked to a decline in the ability of people to maintain their personal identity throughout medical treatment and care. As a result, their sense of worth can be weakened (Coventry, 2006; Gennip, Pasman, Oosterveld-vlug, Willems, & Onwuteaka-philipsen, 2013a; Matiti & Trorey, 2004).

The salience of autonomy and independence is another important theme in much health care literature. Autonomy here refers to peoples' ability to control their situation within the limits of their medical situation. In their study Gallagher and Seedhouse (2002) found the dignity of patients was threatened when they were treated as though they were children. Similarly, not sufficiently recognising the ability of patients to make decisions related to their treatment or general care can chip away at their independence and thus dignity (Gallagher & Seedhouse, 2002; Geller et al., 2015; Gennip et al., 2013b; Henry et al., 2015).

Healthcare research on the impact of dignified treatment is further investigated in relation to the more sombre topic of dignity in death. This research shows that efforts to sustain dignity in dying, with an emphasis on making the individual feel valued, can ameliorate the symptoms of terminal illness and provide comfort to those nearing death (Brown, Johnston, & Ostlund, 2011; Chochinov, 2002; Chochinov, Hack, McClement, Kristjanson, & Harlos, 2002; Johnson, 1998; Madan, 1992; Mathews, 2010; Östlund, Brown, & Johnston, 2012; Pleschberger, 2007; Thompson & Chochinov, 2008). As with care for the unwell, when nursing men and women at the end of their lives, literature suggests that respect for privacy, individual beliefs and culture, are fundamental in the creation of a peaceful and comfortable death for both the dying and their families (Hemati et al., 2016).

The available literature on healthcare and dignity also suggests consequences that go beyond a loss of self-worth. Being treated with less respect than someone should be as a human can generate a build-up of chronic and acute stress. Over time this stress can become embodied and experienced as physical and mental health problems, such as those exemplified by men and women both in the immigration detention research and that of those released to the community (Chilton, 2006; Jacobson, 2007; Mann, 1998; Mann et al., 1994; Mann & Gruskin, 1995; Marmot & Wilkinson, 2006).

Prisons

Prisons are the institutions that are most comparable with immigration removal centres in the UK. Fundamentally, individuals within both institutions are deprived of their liberty, albeit for very different reasons. A number of removal centres have also been built to prison specifications, staff are often former prison officers and a great deal of management and operational language is directly lifted from prisons (Bosworth, 2012, 2014). It would then be difficult to write a well rounded review of dignity literature without referring to prisons.

A rehabilitative focus for prisons began during the latter part of the 18th Century (Van Zyl Smit & Snacken, 2009). This movement represented a substantial shift from the physical punishment (Foucault, 1977). Following WWII, the focus moved further towards human rights with the introduction of the UDHR and the additional resolutions and principles stated earlier in this chapter. It is without doubt that this focus on rights has driven improvements in prison conditions in the UK

(Easton, 2013; Van Zyl Smit & Snacken, 2009), and much debate continues to be heard on prisoners rights here (Lazarus, 2004). The prison service itself championed a ‘decency agenda’ from the 1990s, asserting that the treatment of prisoners with humanity was their underlying principle (Coyle, 2003).

According to Van Zyl Smit and Snacken (2009), the recognition of prisoner rights goes some way to square the power imbalances between prisoner and prison staff. In doing so, they argue, rights may reduce the ‘pains of imprisonment,’ as defined by in the classic work of Sykes (1958): lack of autonomy, and a sense of self and personal security (Van Zyl Smit & Snacken, 2009). A parallel can drawn here between the definition of dignity expressed within Jacobson’s taxonomy of dignity violations and promotions. Prisoners are at less risk of *assault, restriction, objectification* and *intrusion*, amongst many other violations. With a focus on rights and rehabilitation prisoners are also more likely than before to experience *enrichment, recognition* and *achievement* while incarcerated, thus improving their sense of self worth and ability to function as an active member of the community once released.

In practice the experience of prisoners will vary between institutions, even when prisons serve similar functions (Liebling, 2011). Two category C training prisons, for example, can and do differ substantially on measures relating to quality of life of prisoners, or during inspections based on human rights expectations. In her work on the quality of life in prisons Liebling (2004) discusses prison qualities and their impact on the prisoners who are detained there. Liebling does not focus on dignity directly, rather she discusses the counterparts of dignity; respect and humanity. Treatment which recognised the dignity of prisoners was evidenced by the definition of respect drawn from prisoners who participated in the research. Respect was important to the prisoners in Liebling’s study, with participants able to provide clear examples of treatment with the concept. Liebling links humanity to dignity in a similar way, defining the concept of humanity as respect for another persons dignity. Again, humanity was an important concept for prisoners, who linked the term to being treated as a human, rather than ‘prisoner’ or ‘criminal.’ On the whole, Liebling concludes that outcomes for prisoners are linked to the moral performance of prisons. Her conclusions include her measures for humanity and respect, and include a range of other measures,²¹ of which many can also be related in some way to dignity.

²¹ The full range of measures are respect, humanity, staff-prisoner relationships, support, fairness, order, safety, well-being, personal development, family contact, and decency.

Poor moral performance is then related, by Liebling, to negative outcomes including heightened levels of psychological distress, anxiety, depression and rates of suicide of prisoners (Liebling, 2004).

In another measure of humanity in prison, Coyle (2003) suggests there are four key elements required to ensure inmates are treated as human. The first, he determines, is the preservation of human dignity. Coyle suggests the acknowledgement of the dignity of prisoners prevents their ill treatment. To be treated with dignity, he states, all matters of personal integrity must be relevant, but particularly those of an intimate nature such as personal hygiene, appearance and bodily functions. The importance of this can be found where *'history has shown time and again that it is much easier to ill-treat and brutalise people who are dirty and unkempt, who smell unpleasant and who are dressed in stigmatising clothes'* (Coyle, 2003: 36). Coyle also calls for the individuality of prisoners to be respected, citing basic human empathy as a tool to consider if the treatment of an inmate is suitable for that individual's situation. Treating prisoners as human in this way protects them from feeling like objects, or 'just another prisoner' with little self-worth.

Coyle argues that, in order to treat prisoners as human, they must be encouraged and supported to develop their personal responsibility and development (Coyle, 2003). This work aligns with the dignity promotions suggested by Jacobson, where someone's self-worth and esteem can be built through the enhancement of accomplishment and opportunities to contribute to society (Jacobson, 2010). Summarising the worth of promoting personal development Coyle makes clear links between dignity and self-respect, as *'respect for the inherent dignity of the human being includes a respect for that person's capacity to grow, to develop, to do things that allow them to increase their self-respect.'* (Coyle, 2003: 41).

Another important aspect which relates to dignity and prison is that of stigma. Imprisonment is a key identifier of a 'spoiled identity' as presented by Goffman in his founding works on stigma (Goffman, 1963). On top of the possible violations to dignity described above, prisoners must also manage the consequences of being labelled as 'criminal' on release (LeBel, 2012; Moore, Stuewig, & Tangney, 2013; Moran, 2012). The stigma of criminal presents additional challenges to the maintenance of dignity as opportunities for dignity promotion and thus self esteem and self worth are diminished (LeBel, 2012; Moore, Stuewig, & Tangney, 2013; Moran, 2012). Likewise, former prisoners must manage the effects of vicarious

stigmatisation on their families. In the work of Condry, families of offenders feel vicarious shame as a result of their loved ones label as a serious offender and prisoner (Condry, 2007). As will become apparent in the following chapters, women who have spent time in immigration detention must similarly manage the label of prisoner, often without committing a criminal offence.

Immigration detention and dignity

Earlier in this chapter I presented the human rights legislations and protections that relate to people in immigration detention in the UK, and I suggest that using human rights as the basis for standards and expectations for removal centres appear to be justified and promising for the protection of dignity in immigration detention. However, investigation into the treatment of individuals in removal centres in the UK appears to be in conflict with these works. In 2013, four years after the implementation of the OPCAT, HMIP's annual report referred to the removal centres inspected that year as '*safe, but degrading*' (HMIP, 2013: 66). Annual reports from the same organisation summarise removal centres as places which are safe, relative to other places of inspection, such as prisons. However, within the reports the Chief Inspector continues to highlight concerns for the welfare of people in detention linked to issues surrounding fairness and casework linked to a lack of care from the Home Office (HMIP, 2014a, 2015a).

Since 2011, cases brought before the High Court of Justice in England have ruled that the treatment of six men and women while detained in immigration detention was inhuman and degrading (Royal Courts of Justice, 2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2014a, 2014b). Each had suffered from mental illness, with the latest case judgement finding that detention caused major depression with psychotic features for a young Guinean woman (Royal Courts of Justice, 2014a).

In addition, in their investigation into the death of an Alois Dvorak, an elderly man detained under immigration powers, the Prisons and Probation Ombudsman (PPO) suggested this man's treatment also amounted to inhuman and degrading treatment (PPO, 2015). These findings illustrate that in the case of immigration detention the UK has repeatedly breached Article 3 of the European Convention of Human Rights '*No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment*' (European Court of Human Rights, 1970). Most recently in Kate

Lampard's (2016) independent investigation into the concerns about Yarl's Wood immigration removal centre, failure to respect the privacy and dignity of the female residents of this centre was a common complaint.

The findings of the High Courts, Inspectorate of Prisons, and independent reviewers above suggest there are failings in the immigration removal estate in the UK. Such problems occur despite the ratification of human rights doctrine that respects the dignity of all humans, and notwithstanding regular, practical inspection of places of detention against human rights legislation. So, too, they occur, despite statements of intent from companies who run removal centres placing dignity as an important concept in the treatment of men and women in detention.

In this chapter I have presented the theoretical construct on which this dissertation is based. Building on the literature from Chapter one, parallels can be drawn between existing works on immigration detention and that of dignity theorists relating to dignified treatment in detention. The small amount of literature available suggests that the experiences of those in detention are poor and akin to violations of dignity described by Jacobson (2007, 2009, 2010) and Mann (1998). Likewise, there is evidence of negative long-term social, physical and mental health outcomes for this population (Bosworth 2008; 2011; 2012; Bosworth & Kellezi 2012; Steel et al. 2011; Coffey et al. 2010; Klein & Williams 2012; Robjant et al. 2009; Griffin 2009; Brotherton & Barrios 2009; Miller 2012; Schuster & Majidi 2013), as per the consequences of offences to dignity presented in psychological, health and social care literature.

The indefinite nature of detention in the UK is a key factor restricting the ability of individuals to direct their own lives. Indefinite detention deprives individuals of self-determination, autonomy and the ability to plan for their future, which are believed to be necessities for living a dignified life (Griffiths, 2013; Jacobson, 2009; Nussbaum, 1997; Phelps, 2009). Those detained report institutional indifference, with a lack of access to legal advice and case workers an example of diminishment, disregard and contempt where people are treated as though they have no value (Bosworth, 2012; Bosworth & Kellezi, 2012; Griffiths, 2013; Phelps, 2009). Even when released from detention, people felt excluded and unwanted in the UK. It is also evident in the literature that individuals experience considerable social isolation, marginalisation and learned helplessness post detention (Coffey et al., 2010; Klein &

Williams, 2012; Steel et al., 2011). This appears to be the case for those that are both released and removed from detention.

People released from detention appeared to suffer from social isolation, often coupled with depression, stress, anxiety and PTSD (Coffey et al., 2010; Steel et al., 2011). The on-going restrictions for formerly detained men and women fulfil the criteria for continued violations of dignity even after detention. Under the conditions described above, individuals continue to experience restriction, dependence and deprivation. The use of methods such as tagging and voucher systems are also expressive of a system of suspicion and vilification, where people are distrusted and treated as though they have committed bad acts and are made to appear threatening and dangerous.

Removed individuals were unprepared for their return and many found re-integration difficult. Many had limited access to funds or assets and were reliant on the charity of family members to survive (Brotherton & Barrios, 2009; Coffey et al., 2010; Golash-Boza, 2015; Griffin, 2009; Miller, 2012; Schuster & Majidi, 2013; Steel et al., 2011). The removal of men and women from the UK with little to no preparation demonstrates an indifference and disregard for the welfare of this population. It also leaves them in state of dependence and deprivation.

Conclusion

More research needs to be undertaken to determine the links between dignity violations within removal centres and negative social, physical and mental health outcomes for individuals. More work also needs to be done to determine what resettlement work can be done to promote self-worth and enable individuals to settle with dignity in the community, whether that be in the United Kingdom or abroad. This research enables us to provide a description of dignity as it is experienced by the 30,000 individuals per year who pass through an immigration removal centre in the UK.

I suggest that the instruments used to measure dignity in detention are based on human rights and dignity as legislation rather than on dignity as the lived experience of people affected by immigration controls. While it is unrealistic to expect one inspecting body to identify and cure all violations to dignity within an institution, the poor conditions and the negative outcomes of immigration detention, described

above, suggest there is a disjuncture between dignity as defined by legislation and the experience of those detained in removal centres. As Bosworth put it, '*a considerable gap remains between human rights theory and practice in Britain's immigration detention centres*' (Bosworth, 2011b: 181). If this disjuncture exists, then we are failing in our obligations to protect vulnerable populations both under international law and morally.

The aims of this dissertation are to explore how women subject to immigration control define dignity, the way in which they experience these processes in light of this definition, and to document of the consequences of their treatment. In so doing I will offer a more nuanced understanding of the experiences of women who have spent time in detention, in the context of 'dignity.' It is clear from the literature on immigration detention, release and removal that the relationship between those detained and the Home Office is one that encourages violations of dignity, rather than one that promotes it. However, as with violations, it is not possible to confirm how the dignity of individuals in detention can be promoted until research is conducted into how dignity is experienced by this population. This is another gap in the literature that this dissertation addresses.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

In this chapter I describe the methods I used to examine the relationship between dignity and immigration enforcement. I used qualitative interviews as my main mode of data collection, alongside on-site observations and informal conversations. The research was focused on immigration detention, where I conducted interviews with women in Yarl's Wood Immigration Removal Centre. I then moved the research to experiences post-detention, where I met with women who had been released into the UK community, and with women who had been returned to Jamaica. In all three sites, in addition to the formal interviews, I also conducted informal discussions and spent considerable time observing what was going on around me. In the following sections I first reflect on the use of qualitative interviews before moving on to a descriptive narrative of how the research was conducted. I then reflect on the practical, ethical, and reflexive elements of the project.

Qualitative interviews

I have used qualitative interviews as a means to explore why people react in the ways they do or how they feel about something (Silverman, 2013). The interviews were framed by the theoretical concept of dignity. There is not an existing study defining dignity using the experiences of anyone who has encountered immigration detention, and therefore it would not be possible to examine the subject of dignity in and beyond immigration detention without asking women to define the concept themselves.

Due to difficulties in gaining research access to these contested sites, much of the literature on immigration detention lacks personal accounts or first-hand understandings. Much research in the area is focused on theoretical constructs and decisions to detain and deport. An understanding of how people experience detention could therefore not be gained through secondary analysis of reports or through observational methods alone. Where qualitative interviews and observations have been used in the field of immigration detention to date they have proved interesting and insightful. In her multiple works, Bosworth (2008, 2011b, 2012, 2014), adds a richness to literature on immigration detention, exploring the ambiguities of detention with previously unvisited perspectives through gender, race and identity. Turnbull (2016), further emphasises agency, and the impact of

uncertainty for people in detention. The focus on human experience within this research is valuable for the texture it adds to explorations of immigration enforcement, and it is this depth of investigation that I aimed to replicate in my own work.

The sample

I spent one year conducting the fieldwork for this dissertation. I interviewed participants in Britain's women's detention centre: Yarl's Wood, women who had been released to the UK and a group of women who had been removed to Jamaica. In total, 76 women participated in interviews. I was successful in most cases in obtaining written consent forms from most of those in the study. When that was not possible, I obtained verbal consent. In the few cases where written consent was not achieved women typically preferred not to have written evidence of their participation in case it influenced their immigration case.²²

Although detention is the focal point of this project, immigration removal centres are transitional spaces and time spent in detention can continue to define the lives of individuals after they leave (Klein & Williams, 2012). I sought to understand not just the experiences of women during their time in Yarl's Wood, but also the impact their confinement had after they had left. Typically, people in detention are removed²³ from the UK to their nation of birth, a third country²⁴ or released to an address in the UK. A small number are sent/returned to prison, to the care of a mental health institution or die²⁵. In addition to those in detention I interviewed women who had been released to the community and removed/deported to Jamaica.

²² I assured all participants this would not be the case, some women still preferred to be 'safe.'

²³ In this context I am using 'removed' as a coverall term. Technically there are three different types of 'removal' from the UK. 1. Deportation, where individuals are removed based on this act being 'conducive to the public good' by the Secretary of State, or if they are removed following a criminal court proceeding. 2. Administrative Removal, where the removal of an individual is enforced after they have been found to have no right to stay in the UK. 3. Voluntary Removal, where procedures for an enforced removal have been started, but the person has left the country before the removal has been enforced.

²⁴ There are also individuals who will be removed to the first safe EU country they entered, following the Dublin III regulation.

²⁵ The Prisons and Probation Ombudsman holds the records of 20 deaths in immigration removal centres since 2004, they can be found at <http://www.ppo.gov.uk/>.

Fieldwork sites

Yarl's Wood Removal Centre

I began my research in Yarl's Wood Immigration Removal Centre in Bedford, UK, where I spent four weeks conducting interviews and making observations. Yarl's Wood is situated on an industrial estate approximately 6 miles from Bedford. I resided in the town and commuted to the centre Monday to Friday. There was no public transport to the centre, therefore I relied on cycling, taxis and occasional lifts from staff at the centre to make my way there and back each day.

All interviews were conducted in the last three weeks of my visit, as my first week was spent awaiting full security clearance from the Home Office²⁶. During these three weeks, I conducted interviews with 38 women. Most interviews were conducted one to one (18), though some involved two women at one time (8)²⁷, and some involved three or more people at once (11). One interview became more of a focus group ranging in size from one interviewee to eight women discussing the conditions of the centre. Most discussions took 45 minutes. All but three interviews were taped using a portable voice recorder; one woman preferred not to be recorded for undisclosed reasons (I did not feel the need to probe why), while the other two interviews were unplanned and did not feel comfortable stopping the conversation to unpack my recorder.

For my first week in the centre I made the best of my time without clearance by spending between one and five hours a day in the centre library. The library was a central location and women were free to visit for most of the day. I was unable to interview women during this first week, but some women's curiosity was sparked by my regular appearance. I discussed the project with whoever approached me during this time and offered interviews the next week. I also discussed the project with staff as they came and went through the library. Some offered their opinions on the centre, and of the reported abuses committed by staff and the media attention surrounding it at that time²⁸.

²⁶ More detail on methods to gain security clearance are found below in 'Access'

²⁷ One double interview resulted in only one consented interview, with the other interviewee withdrawing consent later.

²⁸ Yarl's Wood has been the centre of multiple scandals that have gained media attention, in the first week the staff were referring to historical accusations of sexual misconduct between staff and residents at the centre. From the second week the focus then became a new scandal

After the first day of interviews, word of the project spread throughout the centre and women began to approach me, asking to participate. Some of those who had participated on the first day also asked me to come back to speak with their friends too. It quickly became apparent that many women were very interested in participating in the project. When I finished speaking with participants and began walking away from their bedrooms, I was often stopped to ask if I could interview someone else. The demand became so great that I devised a booking system in my notebook to keep track.

	Monday 2 nd	Tuesday 3 rd	Wednesday 4 th	Thursday 5 th	Friday 6 th
morning			2x in hospital	Hand library	
lunch			Family unit		
afternoon			A	A	
			A	Hibiscus	
Monday 9 th	Tuesday 10 th	Wednesday 11 th	Thursday 12 th	Friday 13 th	
morning			5:15-10:15	A 10am	A 10am
				A 11am	A 11am
lunch					
afternoon					
Monday 14 th	Tuesday 15 th	Wednesday 16 th	Thursday 17 th	Friday 18 th	
morning					
lunch					
afternoon					
Monday 19 th	Tuesday 20 th	Wednesday 21 st	Thursday 22 nd	Friday 23 rd	
morning					
lunch					
afternoon					

63

I limited interviews to two in the morning and two in the afternoon each day and only booked these one day in advance. When booking a meet-up, I made note of the time we had agreed and the room number of the interviewee. I then went to the room of the participant at that time to find them. Most women preferred to talk to me in that private space, although a small number preferred to meet in a designated interview room in the centre.

Although interviews were offered and booked on a one to one basis I often found women had brought along a friend or even two to join in. In these instances I always offered the additional women a separate meeting if they preferred. Most declined this offer and I conducted the session with all attendees present. Similarly, other women often wandered into the room while I was conducting an interview, sometimes these were the roommate of the women, at other times they were friends. In each case I offered to pause until they left again. Sometimes the women waited for them to leave, at other times the roommate or friend joined in. As with invited friends, I always offered the new participant a private meeting whenever possible.

During the last week of my visit the demand for interviews outstripped the number of slots I had left. To remedy this situation I ran an open morning on my last day in the centre. In the days leading up, I posted flyers in the wing offices and library of where I could be found. It made clear I was unable to conduct one to one meetings, but that I would be available to hear any comments the women would like to make before I left. This proved an effective tool and I was able to informally speak to a number of women whom I had been unable to meet with individually. It also allowed a chance for those I had regular contact with over the four weeks to say goodbye. On this day and at the end of each interview I offered women my business card containing my email address, asked them to keep in contact for research purposes, and let me know the outcome of their detention. I did not receive any contact post detention from any of those who took a card.

'The Community'

The second site was more diffuse. I conducted interviews with women who had been released from immigration detention into the UK. For this portion of the project I met formerly detained women in London (2), the Midlands (7), Scotland (1), and North West England (2). Twelve occurred in total, all of which took place between January and December 2015.

To recruit participants I emailed approximately 30 organisations, support groups and individuals who worked with formerly detained people. The emails included a brief overview of the project and an information sheet for participants. Where possible I followed up these messages with a phone call. In most cases women agreed after they were asked by someone in a support group, organisation or similar if they would be willing to be interviewed. Gatekeepers then passed the details of those who agreed to meet to me and I organised a time and place from this point. I initially contacted these community participants by an email or phone. After one meeting a participant offered me the telephone numbers of three other women with whom she had been confined.²⁹ I called each of these women, but only one was able to meet me³⁰.

I arranged interviews a week or two in advance and then called the day before to confirm the person was still available. I usually left an entire day for one participant, allowing as much flexibility as possible to fit around the changing needs and schedules of women. For example, I texted a woman when I had left Oxford on a train bound for London, to let her know the colour and style of my jacket so that she could look out for me. At this point she replied via email that she was feeling unwell and would like to cancel meeting with me that day. I let her know I would still be in London for the day working and to contact me if she felt better later. As it transpired she suffered from PTSD and found some mornings when she woke the last thing she wanted to do was to talk to someone. However, later in the day she felt more enthusiastic about meeting me and was pleased I was still available.

I met most of the participants in cafes or restaurants near to where they lived. Not only did this choice of location make it easier for them to meet, but the familiar surroundings made them feel more comfortable. Women were unlikely to attend interviews far from home because they could not pay for their travel. Finding a suitable space was often difficult since I was unfamiliar with the area I was heading to. I tried to alleviate this by arriving in the area 20 minutes before I was due and

²⁹ I had initially met this participant in immigration detention, finding her again by coincidence via my emails to organisations in the community.

³⁰ One woman appeared upset when I called and asked about detention, she explained she had an appointment with the Home Office coming up and she was scared they would detain her again. We agreed this was not an appropriate time to have an interview. She messaged me from immigration detention a couple of weeks later asking for help. I explained my role as a student, and inability to intervene. Instead I provided her with the phone numbers of two NGOs who offer help to women in detention. The other woman initially agreed, but did not answer any follow up calls made.

search around for a café or restaurant that was quiet enough for the tape recorder, and private enough so that the interview could be conducted confidentially. Meeting in a café allowed me to offer each participant a drink to sip during the interview.

Half of those who participated in the research were from one drop-in group for women in Birmingham. In response to one of my emails, the organiser of the group asked me to attend the drop-in session to meet with her about the research before she agreed to share the project with any of her contacts. On the day the organiser appeared to have forgotten I was coming, and I was asked to wait in a front room while she tended to the needs of the other women. While waiting I sat in a small front room with around thirty others who had come to the drop-in centre. There was a visitor presenting to the group on wellbeing and how to cope with low moods. I participated in the activities and chatted informally with the women there until the organiser was available³¹. During our meeting we agreed I would return to the drop-in session two weeks later to conduct a focus group on the concept of dignity. After the focus group I then offered interviews to any willing participants and these were organised over the course of the next six months. Women from the support group were either interviewed in the same house as the drop-in support sessions were held, or in a café around the corner.

Jamaica

My third research site was the island of Jamaica. I first narrowed my choices to countries that predominantly speak English, and then to countries where it would be relatively safe and practical for me to conduct fieldwork alone. Jamaica was an obvious choice, and my supervisor was able to put me in contact with an academic who had conducted research there to advise on practical issues. I was also given the email address of an organisation in Jamaica called the National Organisation of Deported Migrants (NODM)³² by another academic contact who had met NODM at a conference many years ago. After a couple of emails it was established that they were willing to facilitate my research in principle.

I visited Jamaica on two occasions to conduct fieldwork. On my first trip I spent two weeks meeting members of NODM and other organisations who work

³¹ Three hours later.

³² NODM are an NGO in Jamaica who act as a signposting service for people removed to the island. The organisation is run by a group of removed persons with some financial assistance from the British High Commission in Jamaica.

with people removed to the island. During this visit I negotiated with NODM access to their databases³³ which held names and phone numbers of women (and men) who had been returned to Jamaica from the UK. I also arranged to work with two research assistants, Vinette and Ashley³⁴. After my first visit I returned to the UK to prepare for a longer visit of two months which took place six weeks later.

During my second visit to Jamaica I lived in an apartment on the campus of the University of the West Indies in uptown Kingston. Most interviews were conducted 9 miles away in a cafeteria in downtown Kingston. The cafeteria was in a new development for Digicel, a telecommunications company in Jamaica, and was located within walking distance of the main bus hub in Kingston. It was air conditioned and large, but quiet enough to hear clearly. I interviewed twenty-six women while in Jamaica and recorded all the interviews.

Meetings with women were organised by my research assistants, and I asked that each of the assistants organise two interviews each, per week, while I was in Jamaica. Vinette and Ashley initially called women from NODM's lists and asked if they had spent time in immigration detention in the UK. If they had, and were initially willing to be involved they were added to a list of potential participants. At the beginning of each week Vinette and Ashley would work their way through the list and arrange meetings with four women for that week. They would then call the women the day before the meet-up to remind them, again on the morning of the interview and then finally at the time they were due to find out how far they were away. In more cases than not they had to find them and walk them to the meeting place. It was not uncommon for women to cancel the day before or on the morning we were due to meet. When this happened Vinette and Ashley went back to their original list and found a replacement. My interviews were all attended by either Vinette or Ashley, who would greet the participant and introduce me to them. I would then move to another table to conduct the interview while Vinette or Ashley waited for us to finish.

From the outset, women began to tell me of others they knew who had spent time in detention before being removed to Jamaica. If these women were also interested in participating in my research I asked that their details be passed on to the

³³ I did not access the databases personally, this was done by the research assistants who were members of NODM.

³⁴ At their request, the names of the research assistants are pseudonyms to protect their privacy.

research assistants and in this way the sample list snowballed to the total number of people interviewed.

Analysis

All interviews were fully transcribed and the transcriptions used to conduct thematic analysis. Initial analysis was conducted separately by field site, before being combined for discussion. I used the qualitative data analysis computer software 'NVivo' as a tool to code data from the interviews.

Coding

To make sense of my interviews I coded the transcriptions using a mixture of a priori and grounded theory. I used a taxonomy of dignity violations and promotions derived from the work of Jacobson (2010) as my preliminary coding frame. As I explained in the previous chapter, Jacobson's work on dignity is extensive, covering 24 concepts that she defines as 'violations', and 23 which she defines as 'promotions' of dignity. The research of Jacobson, from which I derived the taxonomy, is more comprehensive than other works. Other reviews typically focus on only one or two facets of dignity, such as Sociologist Ronald Dore's focus on 'deprivation' in the community (2001) or Law Scholar Richard Singers focus on 'autonomy' and 'privacy' in prisons (1972). Jacobson's work also supports earlier extensive works on dignity such as that of Social Ethicists Barry Seltser and David Miller (1993). What is missing from this frame, and the existing work on dignity, is the subjective additions and validations to the current framework of Jacobson from women who have themselves spent time in immigration detention. Thus, I used the definitions women provided during interview to add to my a priori coding framework, which I defined using the following method.

Defining dignity

I designed my interview schedules so that I would first ask women about their experiences in detention and since leaving the centres. To avoid leading participants, I avoided questions relating to dignity until I was convinced I had been told all that the women were willing to tell me about their lives. When I moved to the topic I asked women to describe or define what they thought the word dignity meant. I had

a range of ways I approached this issue, depending on how well the initial stages of the interview had progressed. This transition was easiest when women had used the term dignity themselves and I could ask them what they meant by it. The transition was more difficult if language barriers were present, but this was not very common. I found most women were interested in the question, and gave a good amount of thought to their answer. Following their definitions, and often as part of their description of dignity, many women provided concrete examples of a time when they were not treated with dignity during their stay in a removal centre, or once they had left. I was then able to ask them to reflect on their experiences of the immigration process considering their subjective interpretations of dignity.

Most of the women's accounts resonated with the taxonomy of dignity violations and promotions from Jacobson's work (2010) and the health and social care literature (see for example: Chilton, 2006; Miller & Keys, 2001). Many described key terms, such as 'humiliated,' and 'labelled,' which align directly. For example, Danielle³⁵, a 65 year old Grandmother who I spoke with in detention complained, *'[The Home Office] label, they label me they say somebody there is not a, is not of our thing, is something they touch unto me, not supposed to be in my way, when it's a label!'*

In another example, Luciana, who had lived in Belfast with her British partner and daughter before she was arrested by immigration, described to me an instance where she claimed an officer had knocked the biscuit Luciana had reached for to the floor and then told her to pick up. I asked her how she felt when the officer did that, she replied: *'Horrible. Humiliated. Everybody was looking...'* Others did not refer directly to a violation concept, such as labelling or humiliation, but their words were easily attributed to one. For example, Cassie, who I spoke with in immigration detention voiced the story of her first deportation³⁶. In the following quote I coded her experience as 'Intrusion': *'I couldn't go even to the toilet. Police, this woman, was to stand there when I'm peeing! Dignity is all taken away...'* Other responses relating to dignity did not relate directly to the a priori coding frame based on Jacobson's work, and so I used grounded theory to add concepts and themes to my frame as I worked through interviews. For example, women regularly referred to feeling like a criminal. I spoke with Samantha when she was in detention, she described to me how being treated

³⁵ The names of all participants in this dissertation are pseudonyms to protect their privacy.

³⁶ Cassie had been deported once before, returning to the UK after her life and that of her sister was threatened when militia found she was back in the country.

like a prisoner made her feel that she was not treated with dignity: *'Because that's the stigma they gave you. You are a criminal. Even though you know in yourself, I'm not a criminal. I only make a mistake.'* I coded this example as criminalisation. Though the narrative described aspects of labelling which are covered by my a priori framework the discussions relating to criminalisation had a particularly damaging effect on women's sense of dignity in this research that went beyond labelling on its own.

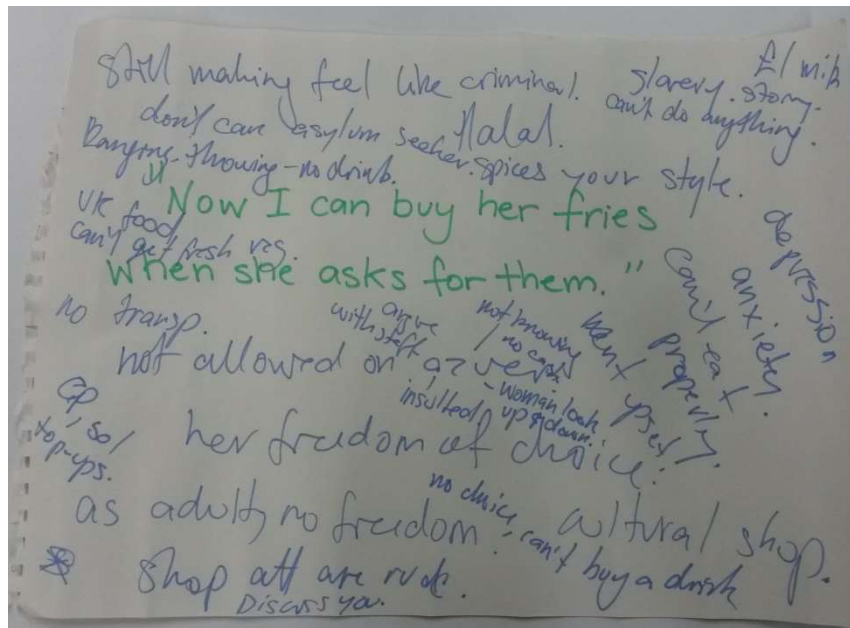
Focus groups

I facilitated two focus groups to assure myself that the frameworks I was using to code the research were recognisable to the population of women who were the subject of my dissertation. The first was held immediately after I completed the work in detention. The second was conducted after my time in Jamaica, towards the end of the community fieldwork. I would have preferred to complete the second focus group after my period in the community was over; however, I was restricted by the timetable of the women's group who had agreed to participate.

I conducted the first group with approximately 30 participants at the women's group drop in session. A large portion of those in this group had spent time in immigration detention. All were seeking asylum or were refugees. I began by telling them about myself, my research project and what I was doing there. I built rapport by describing where I grew up, the work I had been doing before starting my DPhil, the motivations behind my work, and a little about my family life. I also brought along homemade cake, as the organiser had let me know the women particularly appreciated them. They appeared to enjoy my offerings and the effort I had made.

I did not record the focus group, as I did not think it would be possible to gain full consent from the participants, especially as people came and went during the group. I also felt women would be more open without it. Instead I created mind maps using large pieces of paper and marker pens. Mind maps are a visual method where a concept, usually a word, is drawn in the centre of a page and the author will then write down other words that are associated with the central concept. Mind maps allow creative associations to be made, which can assist researchers to explore definitions and connections of their participants (Buzan, 2003; Davies, 2011; Wheeldon & Faubert, 2009). During the session the group and I worked together to complete mind maps with the central concepts of 'Dignity,' 'Feeling,' 'Dignity

Figure 3. Mind Map: Independence, Autonomy



I found that the coding I had conducted already aligned with the interpretations provided by those who participated in the focus group. This feedback gave me confidence that my developing coding frame and themes were reflecting the narratives provided to me by the participants.

Following coding and analysis of interviews, and the focus groups I have just described I could establish my own definition of dignity for use in this dissertation. As such, considering the findings from this project, and the existing work on dignity, the definition used for this dissertation is that dignity is a person's belief that they are worth something. The exploration of the concept is then the experiences of women in relation to the way in which they feel they should be treated as humans.

Objectivity and subjectivity

The concept of dignity is subjective, as are the consequences of any violations to or promotions of the dignity of an individual. As such, I have taken special care throughout this project to remain neutral and let the stories and experiences of the women who participated in the research lead the findings and interpretations of the work insofar as it is possible. In the paragraphs below I address some of the possible biases of the approach I have taken and address the ways in which I have attempted to maintain objective throughout this dissertation.

In my review of immigration detention within this dissertation I made reference to my use of government reports to supplement academic research due to the limited work available from academics who have spent time in immigration removal centres. For some, in combination with my past role as a government researcher my work could be critiqued as complicit with the actions of the state which is responsible for the existence of removal centres. To safeguard against merely reproducing the state's view of its actions, I relied on official reports from independent organisations and individuals wherever possible. HMIP, as an example, is an independent body with remit for monitoring all places of incarceration. They produce regular reports, many of which are cited in this dissertation. Their findings seek to inform government of the conditions of removal centres; they hold the state and the custodial centres to account (see for more detail HMIP, 2014). While other reports are produced by civil society organisations, none of these groups have the same freedom of movement within removal centres. There, too, the material they produce is rather different to that of my own.

There is another layer of analysis that needs to be considered. Criminologists more generally have faced criticisms about their close working relationship to the state, particularly where access to typically closed institutions hinges on careful negotiations between researcher and the state (Gundhas, 2018). Bosworth and Kellezi (2016) have written on the delicate balance they faced as some of the first researchers permitted to enter immigration detention. Bosworth and Kellezi were reliant on the good will of centre managers and the Home Office for access, and thus were required to maintain a positive relationship with both, alongside building the trust of participants. Participants in removal centres were not always sure of their role.

In my own work I used the subjective nature of dignity to help me remain as objective as possible. I sought above all, to understand. As I have described above, I defined dignity based on what the women interviewed for the project believed the concept meant to them. I used focus groups to help interpret the findings and to ensure my interpretations of the data were recognisable and reflective of the population who participated in interviews. The themes that are reported throughout the empirical chapters of this dissertation, likewise, reflect the issues which were important to the women involved. It is, nonetheless, impossible for a qualitative researcher to fully claim objectivity in their work (Letherby, Scott, & Williams, 2014; Ratner, 2002), and I present the following discussion on access, ethics and reflexivity

in light of this claim. In so doing, I hope that readers of this project will be able to assess for themselves the possible sources of research subjectivity and interpret the following findings with these considerations in mind.

Access, ethics and reflexivity

The fieldwork and analysis for this project required substantial organisation, ethical consideration and elicited a plethora of emotion and reflexivity. Below I describe the key challenges underlying the methods described above. I will begin with the practical, moving on to the ethical, before finishing with reflexivity and emotion.

Access

Women in immigration detention are difficult to access. There are only a few researchers who have been granted access to UK immigration removal centres to date, and they are all based in the Border Criminologies research cluster at Oxford. I was the first student to be granted access to women (or men) in an immigration removal centre for the purpose of a DPhil research project.

Access to Yarl's Wood was granted in principle by the Home Office in the early stages of the project. I had then to gain the correct security clearances from another Home Office department to be allowed into the centre. This process was inexplicably delayed, and even with persistent nudging took approximately four months to complete. Due to commitments in Jamaica I was forced to begin my time at Yarl's Wood without full security clearance. As a result I was not allowed to carry keys, to be alone with any women in the centre, or to be without a member of staff. These restrictions led me to spend great deal of the first week in the immigration office separated from the residents of the centre in an admin block. The Home Office immigration team who pass information between the Home Office case workers and the women were based in this office.

The immigration team were initially unsure and wary of my presence in their office. My contact was unexpectedly not in work the day I arrived, and so I spent half an hour at the front gate waiting for someone there to call upstairs and for a member of the Home Office team to remember who I was and that they were supposed to let me in. This disorganisation and confusion is common in other literature on immigration detention. Bosworth details long mornings waiting in gate houses for someone to recognise her and grant access one day, only to be admitted

without fuss in the days prior (Bosworth & Kellezi, 2016). From my second week there is an entry in my fieldwork diary from a particularly long wait and thorough search: *'The man on the gate seems nervous... he took my phone away and I had to wait a long time for a female member of staff to come and search me. She took away my wallet, cycle shoes, helmet, bicycle lights...'*

While in the centre, however, custody staff paid me little attention, with most assuming I was connected to the Home Office. Unlike the immigration staff, who had warmed to me after the first couple of days. Few custody staff appeared to have any interest in what I was doing there. There were a number of incidents when the staff mistook me for a resident. When I corrected them on this point and explained who I was they were usually apologetic for the mistake as though I would be offended.

Gaining access to women who had been in immigration detention and who were now in the community proved the most difficult of the three sites to negotiate. Once they are released from detention women can be relocated anywhere in the United Kingdom. Nonetheless, there are some places, like Bedford and Birmingham, where more women are sent due to availability of housing. Many other women released head towards London where charities offer assistance. London is particularly popular among those who do not qualify for government support. I had to rely on NGOs and charities to put me in contact with women although, most were reluctant to do so. Some organisations received regular contact from journalists, students and others requesting interviews and some women had negative experiences from these interactions. Other NGOs and charities were willing, but too busy to help. I also spoke briefly with one woman formerly held in detention who declined to be interviewed because she felt the interview would upset her too much. She suggested others may feel the same and wanted to forget about their time in detention and experiences post detention. Some women from the drop-in group in Birmingham had similar hesitations, and told me first hand they found talking about their time in detention too difficult.

My access to women in Jamaica was reliant on the goodwill of the NODM. When the UK deports a Jamaican national, NODM are, in principle, notified of their arrival. If necessary they will go to the airport to offer the returning resident transport to any destination around the island. When they do this, and when they have permission from the individual, they take the details of this person with the intention

of checking up on them in the future. It was from this list that my sample was initially drawn.

I negotiated access to this list via email from the UK in the first instance, before confirming how the process would work during my scoping visit. One of the conditions of the agreement was that two research assistants from NODM would be helping me to contact the women and arrange interviews. Before travelling to Jamaica I naïvely expected NODM would be able to help me for free. However, during my scoping visit it became clear that the organisation would not be able to fund the work required and that without local research assistants I would be unlikely to convince women to attend interviews. The need for their help was most evident when organising a focus group during my first visit. Five women were invited and remuneration for their travel was offered. The day before all five women were contacted by the assistants and were available for the next morning at 10 am. When I arrived at 10 am I waited 30 minutes for my first research assistant to appear, and an hour for the second. On arrival I was informed we were down to three participants. Only one eventually arrived half hour later. I offered her a full interview instead.

Vinette and Ashley explained the difficulties they faced in convincing people to attend. Women who had been deported from the UK often did not trust the promise of remuneration for travel. Many had travelled for events in the past on this promise, but the promise was not kept. Others were wary of foreigners and were only willing to come speak to me after Vinette and Ashley had vouched for my credentials. Several women had also been let down by organisations or people in the past who had offered to speak to them then not following through.

Safety

In Jamaica I also had to manage my own safety. Interviews were conducted in downtown Kingston, which is notoriously unsafe. On the insistence of Vinette and Ashley I was escorted at all times both when I met with the women and until I was safely back in my taxi heading back home. My taxi driver, Kerith, was registered with the Jamaican Union of Travellers Association (JUTA), who only employ drivers after security screening and extensive training. A return trip to conduct interviews would cost the equivalent of £40; however, my experience in cheaper taxis made me wary of them. I was travelling home one evening after attending a movie screening with a colleague and the taxi driver appeared to slow down at unusual places along the route.

I started to feel concerned for my safety, until I realised he was falling asleep at the wheel. In one way I was relieved, but I was still in a dangerous position and unable to leave the taxi as it would be less safe for me to be alone at night on the streets of Kingston. For the remainder of the journey I had to knock my bag on the dashboard each time the driver started to fall asleep. I exclusively travelled with Kerith after this incident.

Ethics

This dissertation received ethics clearance through the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC). The review was thorough, as the women in this study are, without doubt, vulnerable. Women in detention were powerless in many ways, held indefinitely and most were being removed to countries and lives they were not willing to return to. The women I interviewed in the UK community were still under the influence of the Home Office, unable to work and in some cases destitute or very close to destitution. In Jamaica almost all the women I interviewed were socioeconomically disadvantaged and lived precarious lives. As such, it was imperative to ensure additional precautions were adhered to in order to ensure no harm would be caused as a result of their participation in the study.

Not only were the women in this study vulnerable, they typically fit into the category of ‘doubly vulnerable persons’ used by Moore and Miller (1999). This term is used when a person fits more than one category that would have them classified as vulnerable. Taking the definition of vulnerable from Silva’s (1995) text on ethical guidelines for nursing research, those most susceptible to vulnerability are those suffering from status inequalities that result in reduced autonomy. This is echoed by that of Moore and Miller (Moore & Miller, 1999), who define vulnerability by the ability, or lack of, for people to self-determine their lives. There are some groups that are more prone to these characteristics than others, and they typically include immigrants, ethnic minorities, those from low socioeconomic backgrounds, LGBTG (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) and women (Liamputtong, 2007). Using these definitions, it is clear that the women included in this dissertation are some of the most vulnerable populations it is possible to study.

I always sought to do no harm. The stories of the women I interviewed were sometimes distressing for them to retell, and they often became upset while discussing their precarious lives in detention, the UK or Jamaica. There is little

research available on the potential to re-traumatise research participants (Sikweyiya & Jewkes, 2012); however, I agree with Sikweyiya and Jewkes that the likely impact of harm that *could* occur is a good enough reason to try avoid doing so. Therefore, whenever a participant became upset I always asked women if they wanted a break, and reminded them they could stop the interview at any time. In addition, I provided women with details of support organisations they could contact if they felt low after I had left. This was provided in the information sheet and I gave this to each participant before any discussion began wherever possible.

I used my personal judgement at times and occasionally avoided sensitive topics women wanted to speak about. I was conflicted at these times between acquiring detailed and thorough data for the project, and avoiding a discussion that would upset the participant. I felt responsible for their welfare in much the same way as described by Duncombe and Jessop (2012) in their discussion of rapport building and ethics. Here Duncombe and Jessop describe their guilt when the boundaries of researcher and friend were blurred or misconstrued and participants share more than expected about their experiences.

I had one particularly poignant example of this in Yarl's Wood when a participant, Cassie, began to describe in detail the death of her husband and her fears if returned to her country. She told me how she had never spoken to anyone about the trauma before, but felt comfortable enough with me to do so. She then disclosed intention to harm herself if she received removal directions. In practice, there is an expectation that researchers should obtain the consent of the individual before breaking confidentiality in a case such as this (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003; Wiles, Crow, Heath, & Charles, 2008; Wright, Waters, & Nicholls, 2004), and I had asked Cassie if there was anyone in the centre I could speak to on her behalf to tell them how she was feeling. She was unwilling to speak with anyone from the centre. I was torn, as the interview was confidential and I felt that I would be betraying her confidence and adding to her already substantial mistrust of people. However, I had good reason to believe she would harm herself in the likely event she was issued removal directions and so I reported her intent to a senior Home Office official in the centre.

As a result of my actions, a security note was placed on her file instructing that she should be placed on a self-harm prevention plan when issued removal directions. This situation could have been avoided if I had declared at the beginning of the interview that I would need to report to the removal centre if any intent to

self-harm was declared by a participant and I did this in many cases. Unfortunately, I had not before Cassie's interview. Before I was able to start speaking Cassie began to tell her story and I felt there was no appropriate time to stop the interview before her declaration.

Incentives

The use of incentive payments for participants is common in qualitative research, particularly in many psychological and medical research studies (D. Silverman, 2013). The use of incentives can, however, introduce ethical concerns to the project; specifically that payment may coerce participants to take part in research (Barbour, 2008; Silverman, 2013). Sociologist Rosaline Barbour is sceptical of the influence of incentives for participants in social science research, and she argues that there is little harm in offering a reward for taking part in this type of research, particularly when compared against the risks of medical experiments (Barbour, 2008). Bioethicist Solomon Benatar, similarly warns against mistaking incentives as coercion, particularly in the context of research in developing countries (Benatar, 2002). Benatar declares modest remuneration for time and travel expenses appropriate for research participation. In line with their views I, too, offered the women who participated in this project incentive to participate. However, in recognition of concerns regarding coercion, particularly with vulnerable populations, I made it clear before interviews began to participants they were free to stop the interview at any point and they would still receive their incentive.

I offered women in detention a £5 voucher for the centre shop, after discussions with centre staff that this was a reasonable value. While a small number admitted that they were interested in speaking to me for the voucher there were many who were unaware and pleasantly surprised when it was offered to them at interview. Women in Jamaica were offered JA\$2500 (approximately GBP£14) as an incentive for participation. This included an allowance for travel to the meeting point. This number was taken on advice from NODM, who made it very clear women would be unlikely to agree to an interview without incentives. Cash for travel was rolled into the full incentive in Jamaica as participants would not be able to procure receipts from bus or taxi journeys. JA\$500 was calculated as the average price an individual would need to travel within Kingston to attend an interview. I offered women in the community £10 as an incentive to participate. I also paid their travel costs as needed.

I had initially planned to provide the women with a gift voucher for Boots Pharmacy. However, after my first interview and informal discussions with NGOs I replaced the voucher with £10 cash. This is because women in the community who are supported by the government survive on a voucher card system. These cards, and not having access to cash, was a particularly negative experience for women, therefore I felt providing them with yet another card would be inappropriate.

Incentives were welcomed by most participants, though two declined to accept them. The first told me she was just happy to have given her story to someone. The second had a negative reaction to the offer of an incentive. I had written on my information sheet that I would be able to provide participants with a £10 cash incentive as a thank you for participating in the study, and when this information was read by this particular woman, she replied to my email with the following:

Thank you for your email.

I have point about your offer in your letter as you wrote I can offer £10 cash for your participation

Actually I'm not happy in this way !

your research will be about dignity so you should know very well how to deal with this subject.

This big offences to all women who you want to interview them !

If you can delete this from your letter and your mind I will accept your interview if you can't

I will not do interview. Sorry for that.

Our pains is not for sale.

I was horrified that I had caused offence to this woman and that she felt I was trying to buy her story. I apologised for the offence caused and explained how her offence was exactly what I was trying to avoid by asking her about dignity and what it meant to her. She agreed to the interview after I sent her a revised information form without the incentive offer.

Gender

My choice to focus on women was primarily practical. There are 8 immigration removal centres in the UK, but only one is designated to predominantly hold women.³⁸ Using Yarl's Wood as the site for immigration detention I was able to visit

³⁸ There are women's units in other removal centres that predominantly hold men.

one removal centre in the UK, but still concluded that my research findings were largely relevant to the female cohort of those in other immigration removal centres. This decision also left me with enough time to travel overseas and to interview women who remained in the UK after release.

My gender allowed me to enter the rooms of women in detention, a space they described as one of few places in the removal centre where they felt comfortable speaking candidly. I would not feel comfortable alone in the rooms of men due to the inappropriateness this may suggest. In her book on immigration detention Bosworth (2014), also writes that she and her female research assistants found securing an appropriate place to interview men in detention was a challenge *We could not venture into the men's rooms for fear of raising questions about the nature of our relationship with participants* (Bosworth, 2014 :p.83).

I also conducted my interviews alone with women who had been released in the UK. I often travelled to areas far from home. In these instances I felt more comfortable that I was meeting a woman. As Jamieson (2000) mentioned in her discussion of conducting lone fieldwork, research with unfamiliar men and in unfamiliar surroundings has real and imagined risks that impact research. This is particularly true in Jamaica where I was uncomfortable leaving the safety of the university compound due to the attention given to me by Jamaican men. I was consistently cat-called and approached by men, who went so far as to interrupt interviews to ask who I was and what had brought me to Jamaica. The men's behaviour was non-threatening, but this constant attention concerned my research assistants enough that they refused to leave after interviews until I was collected by my taxi driver. Blogs written by Golash-Boza (2009) contain similar accounts from her time living in Kingston conducting research with men and women deported there from the US. When walking alone in public in Kingston she was regularly approached and felt uncomfortable if she was not in the company of her husband or children.

Feminists have long argued that the relationship between female interviewers and female participants can result in more fruitful data than male/ female combinations (See for example: Finch, 1984; Oakley, 1981). In the course of my research my identity facilitated access to women, and for women to speak with me about vulnerabilities such as domestic violence and trafficking. However, I feel that it was my gender combined with other factors such as perceived approachability and

appearance and that not every female would have received the same welcome as I had.

The appearance of youth

When women discussed their reasons for agreeing to participate in my project my identity as a student and accompanying youthful appearance were the most common factors. In Yarl's Wood I found myself building the rapport of women much quicker and with an intensity that I was not expecting. I expected to be treated as an intruder. For example, Bosworth (2014) sometimes found herself on the receiving end of hostility or mistrust from those women in immigration detention. As a student I had been worried that people would not wish to waste their time talking to me. However, this was not the case. A number told me they were happy to have an interview as it would be helping someone with their studies. Many disclosed their dream of going back to school and earning a good education, and more than one said they wanted to meet me because attending Oxford University was a dream they had since they were children. Indeed my identity as 'just a student,' and my youthful appearance appeared to make women more open towards me. I sometimes felt I was being mothered, referred to as 'dear' or 'darling', with women telling me how they had children at University, or who were similar in age to that which they perceived me to be³⁹. Others, similar in age or younger, treated me as a co-conspirator, trying to 'help' me by giving advice on where I should conduct interviews or where I would best observe 'what really goes on.' One such participant introduced me to other women with the caveat *'its ok, she isn't scary she's just a student you can talk to her.'* As with those in Yarl's Wood, a number of Jamaican participants told me they had only agreed to be interviewed because I was a student, and that they want to help out someone getting an education. One woman expressed that she has had numerous requests for interviews in the past but had refused them all because she did not think she should help anyone make a profit from detention or help organisations that have never been of any help to her.

My identity as a student also allowed a closer relationship with some staff. When I arrived at the removal centre I was set up with a desk in the Home Office immigration team's office. This arrangement allowed me to build working relationships with this team as well as those who were detained. My identity within the team was as a student, and the team were mostly curious about the workings of a

³⁹ This was usually 5 or more years less than my 29 years at the time.

DPhil, focussing on how many words are required for a dissertation and how long it would take to complete. The immigration team were also interested in my thoughts after spending time in the centre, often questioning me. I tried to remain neutral in response, though this became harder the longer I spent interviewing women whose stories were increasingly negative. Bosworth and her team found they were questioned in a similar way during their time studying immigration detention (Bosworth & Kellezi, 2016). Growing friendliness with the immigration team sometimes caused me anxiety, as I worried the women in the centre would be less trusting and willing to speak with me if they were aware that when I left the residential area I would be interacting with the immigration team. Despite my anxiety I was never accused of being in alliance with the Home Office or centre management as other researchers in immigration detention have (See Bosworth & Kellezi, 2016). I feel the difference between my experience and others, at least in part, was due to my identity as a 'non-threatening' student.

Race and immigration status

While my identity as a youthful student helped women trust me, other factors such as my identity as a white researcher were less helpful. The paper references earlier from Oakley (1981) and Finch (1984) suggest women interviewing women would extract more intimate data than if a man was conducting the same research. However, in this research they fail to address the differences between white, female researchers and ethnic minority research participants (Edwards, 1990; Horn, 1995). Alongside more recent papers on reflexivity in research (Belur, 2013; Edwards, 1990; Kamenou, 2007; Shinozaki, 2012) to ignore the possible impact of a white woman interviewing women of colour would be imprudent. Edwards (1990), is particularly critical of Finch and Oakley, when discussing in her paper the difficulties she had recruiting Black women to her study. She found some women were angered by the intrusion of a letter to their homes, and complained to the gatekeepers who had given their private details to a white middle class woman. These difficulties were also experienced by Cannon et al (1988) in their research into race and class bias in interviews. Issues of trust evident in the research of both Edwards and Cannon et al were reflected in my own research. I found I had to go to great lengths to assure women of their anonymity and the confidentiality of the interviews. In Jamaica my research assistants had to

vouch for my credentials as an outsider, and it was clear that most women would not have attended interviews conducted by a white researcher without this endorsement.

Perceived Britishness

My research assistants also had to vouch for me due to my nationality. I am a naturalised British citizen, born in Australia. However, I appear British to most people from outside Britain and I was perceived as such by most participants. When I interacted with the women's group in Birmingham I was evidently an outsider, and this made me nervous. I had to go to some effort to illustrate to the women there that I was someone they could trust. It was only after offering homemade cake, describing my background, including my own immigration history and details of my marital status, that women were open to my presence at the group. During a later visit to the women's group, during their annual Christmas party, a representative from an NGO also in attendance complimented me on my ability to win the women's trust. The group were typically hard to gain the attention of, and had bluntly stopped listening to numerous presenters and visitors in the past.

My immigration status as a naturalized British citizen drew interest from the women's group, who were curious how I had regulated my stay. At the same time, I was conscious that some women were frustrated by how easily I had become a permanent resident. In Jamaica I was considered above all as a British citizen. My citizenship made me feel uncomfortable throughout the entire fieldwork process as I had a status that many of the women I interviewed wanted desperately. At the time of the research I had spent approximately 7 years in the United Kingdom, which was less than many of the women I had interviewed. During one interview with an Albanian woman in the community I discovered she was similar in age to me, also a student and had been married recently as I had. She detailed how the Home Office believed her wedding to be fraudulent, and so she had been arrested at her wedding reception. Having been married myself the year earlier I couldn't help but see the similarities of our lives.

In Jamaica I was also presumed to be wealthy as a British Citizen. On advice from NODM I asked my research assistants to explain to everyone that, although I was from the UK, I was not in any way associated with the government and particularly the Home Office and would not be able to provide any assistance to the women. This strategy was largely effective in management of expectations; however,

I was still asked by some women if I could help them to find information regarding their status and or help to find work. Cleona, who I interviewed in Jamaica, asked for help during her interview, after describing how she was struggling to get by:

Me never have nobody to give me nothing, Miss Alice, nobody. But you know sometime you can mistake, you have to brush off and start back over. Miss Alice can you help me now, me want a nice little stove and a mattress, me eat and want, can you help me so I can buy it or they can help me buy it and..

Where the quote trails off I had interrupted Cleona and explained again my role and how I was unable to provide assistance. This intermission felt uncomfortable at the time, but I judged it was less hurtful to break the dialogue at this point than allow Cleona to continue to describe how the help I was unable to provide would aid her.

Reciprocation

Although I was unable to provide financial or other practical assistance to women in the study, other than the small payments for their time, their feedback after interviews was surprisingly positive. After the tape recorder had been turned off many told me they felt better for having spoken to me, that a weight was lifted of their shoulders. A fieldnote from the community reads: *'P. was happier at the end of the interview I think. She thanked me for my time and told me it felt like therapy for her.'* In another interview, this time in Jamaica, the following quote was captured on my voice recorder of a conversation I had with a woman who was initially reluctant to participate. At the end of the interview she asked how I was getting on with the research:

J: How's it been going so far?

A: It's been going really well, people seem open to talking to me.

J: Yeab! I feel comfortable! Yeab! Cause I think it's a person, I never talk about it, never ever Alice, never ever talk about it. But I feel good now, cause it's like I get a burden off my shoulders. I tell you, I feel good! And I thank you for your interview, because I feel good!

These kinds of interactions made me feel that at least I was able to help women in some way. Due to the imbalanced relationship I had with research participants this outcome was important to me to feel the use of often emotive and difficult testimonies of women would not simply benefit my academic career, but offer

something in return. That research can benefit participants by providing them with an outlet to express their views is supported by Jacobson (2010). Jacobson found that discussions of dignity with participants enhanced the wellbeing of some individuals if the researchers listening to the stories of participants were authentic and empathetic. This positive outcome is also reflected in Sikweyiya and Jewkes (2012) work on participation in gender-based violence research. They found most women in their study felt interviews to be a positive experience. Similarly, in the work of Maxine Birch and Tina Miller, qualitative interviews are seen as a chance for therapeutic opportunities (Birch & Miller, 2000).

My guilt at being unable to help recipients is common (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, & Liamputtong, 2007; Finch, 1984; Lofland, 2006; Oakley, 1981). In research with participants where the power relationship is imbalanced, such as with disadvantaged populations, the urge to help participants with their immediate needs is hard to ignore (Cannon et al., 1988; Goodrum & Keys, 2007; Mitchell & Irvine, 2008). There are many women who shared emotive stories with me, which I have no doubt will remain in my mind for a long time to come. However, I am unlikely to ever learn what happened next to them. Policy changes that may come from said research are also unlikely to help the women who offered their time for the study. That some women felt better after discussing their experiences with me also helped to alleviate this guilt.

Emotions

Interviews were often emotional in content, and I came to expect heart wrenching stories each time I met another woman. Over all the interviews conducted I could name only one or two women who had not suffered extreme hardship before, during or after their time in immigration detention in the UK. Their stories included rape, trafficking, domestic violence and entrenched poverty. Throughout the research project I had to be wary of my own wellbeing as well as that of participants to avoid symptoms of secondary or vicarious trauma.

While the terms ‘secondary’ and ‘vicarious’ trauma are often used interchangeably in academic literature, they refer to different outcomes. Secondary trauma refers to the researcher’s adoption of the emotional symptoms presented by their subjects. These symptoms align closely to PTSD, and include such symptoms as intrusive thoughts, severe anxiety and difficulties sleeping including nightmares.

Vicarious trauma, alternatively, signals the change in the researcher's mindset, where they view the world in a different and more negative way than in the past. These concepts are not mutually exclusive, and individuals can have some symptoms associated with either or both complaints.

In my own work I was particularly bothered by intrusive thoughts. This particular experience came after an interview with a woman in immigration detention in the United Kingdom. Chrissie had fled from her home nation of Kenya after she and her family became the targets of local militia. The penultimate turn of events that led to her departure from Kenya was the death of her husband and son. During her interview Chrissie described to me the moment her husband was beheaded by a soldier. I will not repeat the exact sentence she used to describe the moment, because it was too awful, but her words stuck in my mind. The interview with Chrissie was difficult for a number of reasons, but this one sentence kept replaying in my mind in the days and weeks after the interview. It would creep in unexpectedly when I was working, trying to sleep or just in mid conversation with friends or colleagues. As I recalled her account, I felt intense emotions and physical symptoms such as sweaty palms and a fast beating heart.

I also experienced shifts in perceptions of risk. During my time in Kingston I lived within the safety of the University of the West Indies compound, in a secure apartment. However, the more women I interviewed from less safe areas of downtown Kingston, and the more stories I heard of their unstable living conditions, guns and fears for safety, the more I questioned my own sense of security. While there are attendant risks associated with living in Kingston, I feel now my sense of anxiety experienced in my own apartment was disproportionate. My anxiety also followed me back to the relatively safe streets of Oxford in the UK. I am an enthusiastic cyclist and when commuting to work on my bike after my return a car started beeping their horn, and slowed alongside me. My reaction was of fear, and I sped up, completely ignoring the driver. With my heart pounding I eventually pulled over to the side of the road to get away. At this point the driver yelled something to me out his window, which I was unable to discern and went on his way. I only realised when I went to lock up my bike at the office that the lock had fallen from my basket. The man in the car had just been trying to tell me I had dropped it on the road. Prior to my experiences in Jamaica I would have been more likely to look and see what the

driver wanted, assesses the situation and decided what to do. My instinct had been altered to respond with fear rather than curiosity.

These experiences affected the way in which I conducted my own research. I deliberately avoided probing into the background of women, partially in a bid to avoid causing upset, and partially to protect my own wellbeing. Avoidance of painful subjects was effective in some cases, but in others women wanted to discuss their trauma and despair. When I was conducting interviews in detention there was no counselling or psychological support available, and several women declared I was the first person to take the time to listen to their stories. Bosworth and Kellezi (2016) found the women in their study were similarly grateful for the humanising attention they offered as researchers. Given the importance women granted to the interaction between researcher and participant in the space of immigration detention, I was not willing to stop them in the middle of a detailed description of trauma to ask what they thought about theoretical constructs of dignity, for example.

After my fieldwork was over I transcribed all my interviews verbatim. This involved listening to the stories for a second time, slower, and with more time to ruminate on the detail of the story. Some research has been conducted into the act of social science transcription, where individuals describe the transcription and analysis process of their research as particularly emotionally draining, with some professional transcribers reporting sleep disorders and emotional fatigue from the work (Darlington & Scott, 2002; Gregory, Cynthia, & Phillips, 1997; Warr, 2004). As I moved closer to transcribing the interview above which had caused me so much concern, I began to suffer from increased anxiety at how I would cope with listening to the details again⁴⁰. Chrissie's interview was not the only transcription which I found difficult. Many others inspired in me strong and unexpected emotional responses ranging from anger to tears. I reacted more strongly when I heard the conversation a second time, than I had during the interviews themselves when I had maintained a less emotional response to support the women through their pain.

Research into secondary and vicarious trauma have illustrated constrictive reactions as a response to these conditions, where individuals avoid contact with work that may cause additional anguish (Canfield, 2005). I felt the desire to avoid

⁴⁰ Thankfully, when I came to transcribe the interview I discovered the sentence had been spoken when the recorder was paused, Chrissie had become upset and I had stopped the interview. She must have confided this information during the time I spent with her in the minutes after.

conducting interviews as a result of the emotional toll they had on me. Towards the end of my fieldwork phase there was one woman, Karmel, who had agreed to an interview. Two prior attempts to meet had been cancelled for reasons beyond our control, but she continued to express a desire to talk to me. She was the last interview of my study and I felt nothing but dread in the days leading to meeting her. I simply did not want to conduct another interview. I only turned up on the day because I felt I would have let Karmel down if I did not give her the opportunity to tell her story. Ultimately, when I arrived for interview Karmel was upset as she had been made to move home by the Home Office the day before. I was not willing to interview her when she was upset, and she agreed it would be best not to. I was leaving the country for six weeks the following weekend and had come to the end of my period of fieldwork so the interview was not rearranged. I left the meeting feeling relieved that I did not have to conduct another interview, but at the same time guilty because I knew I did not want to speak to any more women about their stories. A combination of guilt and happiness or excitement is common in social science research (Dickson-Swift et al., 2007; Finch, 1984; Lofland, 2006; Oakley, 1981), but this felt like I avoiding work and it was deeply unsettling.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the methods I used to examine the concept of dignity in relation to immigration enforcement in UK. I have justified my chief method, that of qualitative interviews, and the focus groups I utilised to help define dignity as it is understood by women who have spent time in a removal centre in the UK. Finally, I have described myself in the process to provide a picture of the influence of my own identity on my findings and the stresses of doing this kind of work that are often neglected. Thinking reflexively about the process of research, in terms of methodological, practical and ethical choices illuminates the challenges faced by researchers and allows readers to interpret the work provided to them with all facets considered, as I hope will now be possible with the remaining chapters of this dissertation.

CHAPTER FOUR: WOMEN IN IMMIGRATION DETENTION

'We feel this is for life, we feel we never go out from this place.' - Dana, YW resident.

The existing literature on the experience of men and women in immigration removal centres is bleak and the findings from my own research do little to dispel this negative image. The women I spoke to in Yarl's Wood felt they were being held captive in a prison. They believed they were being punished, not only unjustly, but cruelly. Their treatment, they said, was worse than they would expect for serious and dangerous offenders. Most if not all suffered from chronic uncertainty caused by the seemingly arbitrary use of indefinite detention, and the impenetrable pathways to release or removal.

The women who participated in my research were not coping well. Even those who appeared to be cheerful in the corridors and public areas of the centre, would express to me in private considerable distress and suffering caused by their time in detention. They described numerous physical ailments alongside problems with mental health. Suicide ideation and self-harm were frequently referenced and, as already discussed in my methods section, there was one incidence when I felt the need to refer an interviewee to staff because I was fearful she would act on her promise to do herself harm.

The participants cannot be easily categorised into distinct groups. I spoke with women who were threatened with removal to places all over the world. Some had spent little time in the UK, others had been brought to the country as children and were faced with the prospect of starting again in a country as foreign to them as it would be to me. Several women had committed a criminal offence or offences and were in detention after completing a prison sentence. Others had been taken into detention after their applications for student visa extensions were refused.

In this chapter I explore the common experiences of this diverse group of women. I begin by discussing their view of Yarl's Wood as a prison and how it affected their sense of self. I go on to discuss how the punitive nature of detention was compounded by the uncertainty and confusion surrounding their detention, and their perception of its lack of 'fairness'. I then discuss the gendered nature of women's

experiences of detention, illustrating the effect of motherhood, and gender-based violence, before turning to consider women's coping strategies and their effects.

Together, the material in this chapter draws on and extends existing work on Yarl's Wood (especially BID, 2013; Bosworth, 2014; HMIP, 2015; Kellezi & Bosworth, 2016; Turnbull, 2016). Many of the themes are familiar, yet an additional layer of analysis is added. In the detail we see how detention erodes women's sense of dignity and self-respect. In subsequent chapters, as I follow women into the community and to Jamaica, I reveal how such damage to self-esteem and worth linger. Although designed for bureaucratic convenience, immigration detention has a lasting effect.

Immigration removal centres as prison

All the women I spoke to in Yarl's Wood, described this site of administrative detention as a prison. Their belief that they were imprisoned was so strong that, when I asked them to explain, many merely laughed. The idea that they might not be in prison was ridiculous. As others have before them, (for example, see Bosworth, 2014) they pointed to the building with its gates and the barbed wire. Also, they said, the actions of staff members and the restrictions placed on their actions and movements within the centre felt penal.

Appearance of prison

Yarl's Wood opened in 2001 and, like most of the other removal centres in the UK, has the look and feel of a modern prison. Entry to the main units is down a set of stairs from the legal corridor and 'admin block' where centre management, administrative and immigration staff are located. When I was conducting fieldwork, the main site was accessed through a large door at the bottom of a staircase. Outside the main door there was always a collection of people waiting to see immigration or their legal advisors. Women could not access the legal corridor unless a staff member let them through. There was an intercom which they could buzz from their side, but it was difficult to hear what the speaker on the other side was saying.

In one of the most upsetting moments of my visit to Yarl's Wood I once came through the door to find two women, one of whom, Michah, was sobbing and yelling into the intercom that she had an appointment earlier, but had missed it. She

was distraught and was clutching a brown envelope stuffed with paperwork⁴¹. The female voice on the other end had little sympathy for her and was telling her she should have turned up on time. I interviewed Micah two weeks later, and she explained that she was very ill with epilepsy and numerous other ailments. She was not feeling well enough to make her legal appointment and after struggling to make an appointment in the first place was terrified that missing the appointment would lead to deportation.

When I asked women what it was about Yarl's Wood that made it feel like a prison, they usually pointed angrily to the barbed wire they could see out the window, or to the large brick walls that surrounded the yards. Samantha had moved to the UK from Jamaica as a young woman on a tourist visa. Her plan was to attend college and make a better life for herself, after suffering from abuse from her own family back home. After her initial visa expired, her grandfather at the time, who also lived in the UK, had promised to help her extend her visa to continue her studies. He died before this could happen, however, and not knowing what to do Samantha continued to live in the UK without a valid visa. Two years before I met her Samantha had received a prison sentence after an altercation with a former friend. She had spent two years in Downview prison before coming to Yarl's Wood and described to me the similarities between the two institutions:

The fence that lines it at the back, it is a big fence, when you open your window you look like Downview prison. Because Downview fence is the same. You only can go to the middle of the garden here with walls... it's, if you look it is depressing. Cause it's all building, if you look upside you can see some farm far away, you are like in the middle of nowhere. So the feeling is depressing. Because everywhere you see a door. That's the prison. Door. door. door. door.

As Samantha made clear the physical similarities between prison and immigration detention affected her mood, making it hard to cope with her confinement. There was a clear link between the appearance of prison and dignity. The high walls, barbed wire and locked doors were a constant reminder that the Home Office, unfairly,

⁴¹ The brown envelope containing paperwork is common in removal centres, and is one of the defining characteristics of these spaces. Men and women tend to tote them around, keeping them safe for when they need the contents to defend their case.

believed women were dangerous to society. Women were unable to escape their confinement, and the environment wore down their mental strength.

Other respondents described similarities between prison and detention regimes. Afiya, who was twenty three years old when I interviewed her, had arrived in the UK as an eight year old child, brought from Uganda by her parents. She had been in detention for 5 months when we met, and had served a prison sentence for burglary alongside which she was served a deportation order. She had four children in the UK, aged between 14 and 4. She feared being returned to Uganda. Not only did she remember little about the country, but, as a lesbian, she feared she would be at risk. When I asked Afiya how immigration detention compared to prison, she replied:

It's the same, but, at least in here you got a bit more freedom to walk around other units. But. It's still locked up at a certain time and queuing for food and them checking up on you all the time and you see officers everywhere. So it is like prison. But only a posher prison.

This view, of Yarl's Wood as a prison, 'but posher', reflects the 'softer' image of immigration detention promoted by removal centres. Women in immigration detention do have access to greater goods and services than those in a women's prison. The women's rooms in Yarl's Wood were, for the most part, twin rooms with a self-contained wet area containing a shower, sink and toilet. Women were provided with soap to wash, and shampoo in small sachets, though this was decreed inadequate by some women I spoke with, and had free access to razors and sanitary towels⁴².

Despite attempts made by the centre to ensure some comforts, women were critical of the process required to access them. Two young women whom I interviewed together provided the best example of how access to toiletries bothered them. Elewa was from Kenya and Vestine was Rwandan. Both had come to the UK to marry and had ended up in detention after fleeing abusive husbands. The pair were fun, giggly young women in their early 20's who were trying to make the best of a difficult situation. When they requested an interview together (and the £5 they would

⁴² These items were kept in wing offices. Sanitary towels were kept on a shelf in the corner and women were able to collect them when required. Razors were available on request from an officer in the office, and had to be returned after use. Office's were staffed by male and female staff.

receive as an incentive) they promised they would make me laugh. They succeeded despite the sometimes sombre topics we discussed. Elewa had been in detention for six weeks⁴³ while Vestine had been there for two weeks. The pair described to me how they had access to sanitary items and razors. Both items were located in wing offices that were located by the entrance to each housing unit. While women were able to enter the office and collect some sanitary items Vestine and Elewa felt they were being watched by the officers to see how many items they took.

Elewa: *'Oh, pads! It's like now they all know when we have our periods. You know it's certain things that are specially, me and her, we come from marriage, not good ones. It's not nice.'*

Alice: *'So you have to go and get a packet from the unit office every time?'*

Elewa: *'No, not a packet, 1 pad.'*

Vestine: *'You take no more than 4, because when you take many they go like 'oh oh oh oh' (laughs). You can take some then come back to take more. It's just ridiculous.'*

Wing offices were often staffed by male officers, compounding the embarrassment felt by the women⁴⁴. They had both fled abusive marriages, and the intrusion of men into their personal female matters made them feel additional discomfort. Though women were able to collect pads and tampons when they needed them, without requesting, they still felt their collection and use of these items was watched. Elewa, Vestine and I had a similar discussion regarding the need to request razors from the office. If a woman wished to use a razor she had to request one from the officer, leave him or her with their identity card and then return with the razor once they had done, exchanging it again for her ID. Elewa described this transaction as requesting from the officer permission to shave:

Elewa: *'Yeab, so it is like saying to the officer - can I go shave? You see.'*

Vestine: *'I'm done, take it back!'*

⁴³ Elewa had spent her first two weeks in Dungavel IRC, with the remaining four weeks in Yarl's Wood where I met her.

⁴⁴ This is a common finding in other works on Yarl's Wood, found most prominently in the work of Bosworth (2014), and has been criticised by HMIP (2015b) after inspecting the centre.

The two women found this transaction especially mortifying. To counteract this intrusion the young women described how they had thought up a solution to their problem, circumventing the embarrassment they felt:

Elewa: *'So we have resorted to buying this cream, in the shower (laughs - shows me a tube of hair removal cream). Actually, detention is teaching me new things, I never never knew. So, this one has resulted so we don't have to get razor.'*

Vestine: *'They will think we don't shave anymore! (laughs) Yeah!'*

Elewa and Vestine took great joy from this act of agency against the restrictive nature of detention, which appeared to help them cope with their time there.

Elewa and Vestine had purchased the cream from the shop that was located on site. Though they were pleased this was an option they found the prices perplexing⁴⁵. The residents of Yarl's Wood were given an allowance of 71 pence each day they were in the centre, but Elewa described how much more expensive the shop prices were than in her local supermarket outside. She could not understand why she was made to save up to buy basic items. The seemingly unnecessary practice of limiting access to personal items was restrictive and added to a sense of dependence felt by women in the centre. If, women argued, they were not dangerous, and their detention was not intended as punishment, then it was not comprehensible why their personal grooming and care should be limited. Thus, this practice reinforces the idea that women are not to be trusted and must be carefully monitored.

Women were highly critical of practices which were perceived as especially penal. For most, regular roll counts epitomised the excessive amounts of security they had to endure. Each day women were required to be in their rooms at set points in the day and officers would enter the rooms and count the residents. The counts took place at 7.30am, 12pm, 5pm and 9.45pm every day. Luciana had been in detention for one month when I spoke with her. She had a British partner who she had been with for 9 years with whom she had a daughter. Luciana was in the process of a Rule 35 application⁴⁶, which she hoped would allow her release from detention. Her

⁴⁵ This is also a familiar complaint in activist literature pertaining to Immigration Removal Centres (BID, 2005, 2009; Medical Justice, 2012; Phelps, 2009) and can also be found in reports on prison conditions, notably alongside the expectation that prisoners are able to access goods at similar prices to those found in the community (HMIP, 2016b, 2016a).

⁴⁶ The process of release from detention based on evidence of torture.

incarceration was causing her considerable extra distress. The lack of control she had in detention triggered feelings of fear resulting from a rape she had suffered in the past. Luciana described how she found the roll count particularly upsetting, particularly the manner with which it was conducted:

You know, they terrible, terrible. In the morning at 7 o'clock in the morning, you know how they come, roll call. OK. You know, we are sleeping and they come like. (Luciana goes out of the room, stomps back in and yells ROLL CALL). Why is this??? You know, we are sleeping, why they have to do that horrible thing. Why don't they say (quietly), roll count, or roll count, normal, or roll count. I don't know why, they have maybe.. I don't know.

A number of the women had been victims of domestic violence, sexual assault or torture at the hands of men. Gendered violence is particularly pertinent in the female asylum system, as conflict-related sexual violence is a clear contributor to the forced migration of this population, and in turn the likelihood of women in detention having suffered from such violence is high (Canning, 2010, 2014, 2017). These experiences had left many fearful of men, and so they were particularly disturbed when male officers entered their room. The policy of the removal centre was that officers would knock before entering rooms. In practice, such knocks were often cursory and followed by an immediate opening of the door whether the officer was welcomed in or not.⁴⁷ Women who had no prior experience of imprisonment were also frightened by the implicit threat of role count. They were concerned they would receive further punishment if they were not able to make it back to their rooms before the count began. While it was unlikely women on their way to their room would receive anything but a firm word from an officer there was an underlying sense that anything could happen in detention which created a tense atmosphere.

Luciana, who lamented the way in which staff conduct role count earlier, described how this practice made her feel vilified:

They really really, they make us feel like we are dangerous people, they feel afraid of us. Look at me! I have never done nothing wrong. I feel as.. yes, I

⁴⁷ The problem of officers entering after cursory knocks has been identified as a problem in both official reviews (Lampard, 2016) and inspections (HMIP, 2015b) of Yarl's Wood Removal Centre. I also witnessed this behaviour while interviewing women in their bedrooms.

don't have papers. But you know, and they made me feel like they lock me, and they make sure I am lock and they look at me like, ok, you have to stay there. Because you.. morally.. I don't know what they are thinking, but they make me feel really bad.

For Luciana and many others the constant counting made them feel that staff truly believed they were dangerous. Roll count was incompatible with an establishment which was not intended as a prison, it did little but belittle women and make them feel like 'numbers' and criminals.

Feeling like a criminal

The physical appearance of Yarl's Wood and its policies made women feel that they were being treated as criminals. Elewa, who was otherwise fairly positive about the conditions of the centre declared towards the end of our interview how it was the attitude towards her that had the most profound impact on her sense of self:

Yeah, I think for me, what I really don't like about here, it's the whole attitude. The whole attitude of being treated like immigrations/criminal. That I don't like. Yeah. That is how they make you feel, every single day. Everybody.

Maria, who was originally from South Africa, had spent the four and a half years leading up to her detention living in London. Her husband was British and she had a two year-old daughter living with family in the community. Like many others in detention, Maria's incarceration had been triggered by missing an appointment at the Home Office. She had reporting requirements as part of an application to remain in the UK, and had missed a scheduled sign-on meeting after taking a week's holiday. The consequence, a period in detention, had taken her by surprise. Although Maria acknowledged that the centre was doing their best to make her feel comfortable, referring particularly to the hairdressing salon and the library, she was adamant that it still did not feel 'right' to be detained, when she had a home she could go to outside, and because she had committed no criminal offence. The label of criminal profoundly affected Maria's confidence in herself. She was overwhelmed trying to illustrate to anyone who would listen how she was a good person, and was becoming nervous

and confused with the effort to maintain the appearance of her notion of someone who was not a criminal.

It was not only women who had not committed a criminal offence who struggled with their detention. Samantha, who I described earlier as having found herself unexpectedly in prison following an altercation with her friend, found her detention difficult, albeit for different reasons. Whereas Maria and others emphasised their lack of criminal record, Samantha felt her prison sentence had been unfair in the first instance. Then, her move to immigration detention compounded her feelings of shame. She felt stigmatised first by her prison sentence and by the perceived additional punishment of immigration detention. She had begun to question her sense of self as a result: *'I don't know if I was too self-righteous or believed in myself too much. I'm not that, that's not for me, you know that's not.. that's not for me.'* Samantha had tried hard to be an upstanding member of the British community; which she described as being kind to her neighbours, raising her son well, attending church and volunteering for charity. She wanted a better education and to make something of her life more than she believed would have been possible in her home nation. In prison Samantha had benefited from therapy and counselling. No such support was available in Yarl's Wood at the time of my visit⁴⁸.

Some women tried to justify how and why they could be treated as criminals. This attempt to understand was used as a mechanism to cope, as women searched for meaning that would rationalise their treatment. Barbara felt the government warranted the action based on lack of citizenship: *'We are not criminal. But they behave like we are criminal, because we are not British, and that is why.'* Barbara felt there was a political agenda behind her treatment by the government as an American, non-citizen. She believed that, as it was an election year (2015), the government were detaining and removing more people to help win votes. This belief helped Barbara maintain her sense of pride; explaining her treatment as a political act was less personal, thus circumventing the offence of not being wanted personally. Samantha used a similar means to defend herself against the perceived attack against her. She argued that her status as an immigrant overcame all other aspects of her identity, and her treatment as 'less than' a UK citizen was the result. Nonetheless Samantha still believed the

⁴⁸ This has not always been the case, and when Bosworth (2014) conducted her research in the centre there were therapy options available. However, in the months before my visit the contract for psychological help had finished, and the new health care contract did not allow such provision.

stripping of all other roles was offensive, and that this practice stripped her of her dignity:

Me personally yeah, it's like your dignity has been taken away here innit. You ain't got no rights. You're an immigrant and therefore you must have to swallow whatever comes to you. That's not right. We are somebody's children, somebody's mother. Someone's daughter, someone's wife. Someone's sister. A fiancée. Grandmother! We all got them in here yeah. And all we want is treat us like how you want to be treated.

Linked to the stripping of roles, was a sense that all of the identities possessed by women had been stripped away, leaving them with the only justification being that they must be viewed by the Home Office as animals. This conceptual tie between treatment as a criminal and as animals has also been referenced before in detention literature (see Bosworth, 2014; Bosworth & Turnbull, 2015), and is important to the argument that women were not treated with sufficient dignity in detention. Hali had been in immigration detention for 93 days. Originally from Kenya, she was married to a British man. She described her distaste at the treatment of women during transportation to and from the centres⁴⁹. *'They say we are animals anyway, so that is why they are doing all that. How can you put a woman in handcuffs that has not committed a crime?'* When I asked Barbara if it was possible to have dignified detention, she was clear:

No. When you house people like cattle in a locked building, with locked doors there is no dignity there. That's meant for people who break the law, and knew they were breaking the law and did it anyway.

Women were not able to justify the criminalised nature of their treatment as morally conceivable, thus, they believed the Home Office and those working for the institution must believe them to be either criminal and thus deserving of harsh treatment, or alternatively they must be thought of as animals who were unworthy of dignified care. Victoria was from Jamaica and had lived in the UK for 13 years. She was a Grandmother to children in the UK and had been married to a British Citizen

⁴⁹ Hali was referring to any instance where women are taken to and from the centre, this can be a transfer from a police station, visits to hospital or trips to the airport when attempts at removal have been made.

for 5 years, though she had left him when the Home Office had begun to engage with her, for fear she was stopping him from travelling. Victoria was 65 at the time I interviewed her, and had approached the Home Office voluntarily to try legalise her stay in the UK. Here, she adds further to the argument of dehumanisation, feeling she was ‘hunted’ down by the Home Office:

You who put in your paper, that's the one they target! It shouldn't be! Because you're honest. If you never honest you wouldn't go to a solicitor and write and send down your paper to them, you would be hiding yourself! Hide yourself! Because when you don't send in your paper, no-body know about you, no-body know anything. But when you send in everything, they know your whereabouts. Everything about you. Why them hunt you like that? It shouldn't be that.

That Victoria felt she was hunted is an important addition to her description. Hunted, to most conjures images of the hunting of animals, which is linked to women’s feelings of dehumanisation when dealing with the Home Office. Esther had spent 40 years in the UK, having been brought to country as a 6 year old. She faced deportation to Ghana after a short prison sentence. She had worked a professional job⁵⁰ and would be leaving her three children in their teens and her own mother behind. Her children and other family members had full British Citizenship, but Esther told me how she was lax about getting her passport never thinking she would end up in prison and then facing deportation. In a similar reference to Victoria’s perception of being hunted, she felt women were animals waiting for slaughter:

my feeling about this place is... you're like chickens, we're the chickens in, we're the chickens and all they have to do... all we.. all we are waiting for is which one they are going to say is to be slaughtered. That's my feeling.

During my time in Yarl’s Wood a news story was aired by Channel 4 news, which supported women’s views that they were thought of as animals. In undercover footage aired during the program staff at the centre are heard to refer to women as ‘beasties,’ and ‘animals.’ Further, guards are heard to suggest violence as a means of dealing with women that would not be considered acceptable for actual animals in captive: ‘They’re all animals. Caged animals. Take a stick with you and beat them up. Right?’ (Channel 4 News, 2015). Most women had watched the program when it aired. They

⁵⁰ Esther never mentioned what this job entailed, just that it was a good job in an office.

explained how their worst fears had been realised, as, to perceive treatment as less than human was painful enough, but to have this perception confirmed removed any sense of hope that they were mistaken. The effect on women's sense of self was, as exemplified by Esther, *'devastating.'*

Uncertainty

There is no upper limit to the time that people can be held in immigration detention in the UK. As academics have described elsewhere (on prison Crewe, 2011; and on detention Bosworth, 2014; Hasselberg, 2016; Turnbull, 2016), the women in this study suffered greatly due to the uncertainty surrounding their time in detention. Those who had never spent time in prison struggled to understand how their ongoing detention could be justified, while former prisoners drew on their experience of imprisonment to make sense of this new form of confinement. All women were confused by their detention and were unable to predict what would happen next in their case. All these things caused mental anguish for participants.

Indefinite detention

The indefinite nature of detention scared women. Even those who had been in detention for relatively short periods of time were anxious, as stories about women who had been in detention for upwards of a year circulated frequently. Luciana told the story of another long-term resident:

I don't know if it's true but, abbb, we found one lady is here for 25 months and she go mental. Two three days ago, one week ago I saw her in the church, she was very strong person, incredible. 25 months in this place and at the end, what's happened? She go crazy. She lost her mind. Now she's not well. What is happening??! How can they have one person for two years here? 25 months. 25 months and this lady at the end they go mental. (slaps hands together).

The story of this particularly unwell woman was told to me by several residents and I had seen the person they were referring to walking the hall, clearly unsettled. Another interviewee shared the room next to her, and described how she would often bang on the walls and scream out at night. From all accounts this woman was 'just like them,' she had spent time with others socially and appeared no different to any other resident. There were no indications this woman would break down, and as a

result women were anxious this could happen to them too. The women were not unfounded in their fears. There is well founded evidence, across jurisdictions and disciplines, that immigration detention has a negative effect on the mental health of residents (Engberg, 2013; Kellezi & Bosworth, 2016a; McLoughlin & Warin, 2008; Robjant, Hassan, & Katona, 2009; Steel et al., 2011; Steel & Silove, 2001). Depression, anxiety and PTSD all become more likely to occur the longer women are held in detention (Bosworth: 303-322 in Shaw, 2016).

Indefinite immigration detention made women feel trapped and helpless. Vondra was 70 years old. She was from Jamaica and had severe epilepsy. She had moved to the UK in the early 1990s and explained how her passport and birth certificate had been mislaid. Vondra described to me how she had tried to regularise her visit to the UK early in her stay, and that the Home Office told her they would be in touch to discuss her status. After four years of signing on to the Home Office Vondra was asked to come in for questioning and was detained from there.

I interviewed Vondra alongside a young woman, Afiya, who, along with others in the centre, was taking care of Vondra⁵¹. Vondra had been in detention for 5 months when we met. She described to me how she felt ‘helpless,’ ‘worthless’ and ‘useless’ in detention. Every day felt the same, and she had nothing to do to increase her sense of self-worth:

You know, you get up in the morning if you feel to have breakfast or.. then lunchtime comes and then you have nothing to do but sit around and look. It's the same story, same attitude, same people, the same everything. Nothing, nothing, absolutely nothing. It's being detained.

Vondra went on to describe how she supposed it could be the same for another 10 years, with the only change that perhaps the staff would decide to be stricter on the residents. She believed it was this stretched sense of future time that caused so many women to harm themselves while in detention. Uncertainty is a difficult sensation to live with, and her explanation was that many women could not handle the pain of it. Vondra's ruminations here reflect the findings of Griffiths, who described how indefinite time spent incarcerated within a removal centre can feel longer than the lived reality (Griffiths, 2013). Stuck between seemingly indefinite time in detention

⁵¹ It was evident to me that Vondra needed this unofficial assistance from other residents, as, throughout the interview, she nodded off to sleep regularly.

and the threat of immediate removal women found themselves paralysed, and thus showed signs of learned helplessness.

Women who had spent time in prison were no less troubled by their indefinite imprisonment. Former prisoners understood their confinement in terms of their stay in prison, and always referenced the differences and similarities between the two institutions. Samantha explained:

But here.. it's really hard. It's hard to cope because when you in a prison, you know you have a day that you is going to be released, but inside of here it is a death sentence. You don't know, you don't know will it be today, tomorrow, the next two years, the next three years. Nobody says anything to you and it's hard doing that. It's hard. It's hard.

Reference to time in detention as a death sentence was not uncommon, as were suggestions that detention was a life sentence. This point further emphasises the vilification felt by women in Yarl's Wood. The only others with similar sentences are prisoners who have committed serious crimes such as murderers, terrorists or similar. Therefore, women find it hard to feel they are thought of with the same distaste that people feel towards this group of especially immoral offenders.

Former prisoners I spoke with often told me they would prefer to be back in prison amongst the familiarity of the women they had come to know there, the routines they were comfortable with, and serving a determinate sentence. Regina, had come to the UK from Lithuania and had become involved in drugs in London, she was eventually sentenced to prison for shoplifting. Regina was very clear that she preferred prison, especially the routine and clarity of the rules. In detention she found the inconsistency from staff troubling. She told me of the various ways she 'cheated' them, from stealing shoes from the gym to scamming additional tickets to bingo sessions. But the greatest preference Regina had for prison derived from the knowledge that she had a clear plan for her time in prison and release:

I like in prison you know, because you know the day you go out. Because they give you paper when you come in supposed to come to you within one week. Your sentence is so so many days, but you do so so so and so so so, so you released then and then. Done. Ok. And you are sitting and waiting every day. That's what you do in there. And here? At the moment, I feel like I'm doing a life sentence. You know, nearly life, already seven months done.

The impact of what they saw as effectively an indefinite sentence destabilised former prisoners. Vicky felt the system was designed to test her. Vicky had served multiple prison sentences, and was comfortable with the function of prison. To her, and to others, prison made sense because a crime was committed, a sentence served that reflected the harms committed by the individual and then a release day provided to work towards. I asked Vicky what impact indefinite detention had on her, and in her thick South London accent she replied:

It gives you a headfuck. Excuse me for my word (laughs). It messes your head up. Cause you start thinking, these people are testing me and it's like.. do you know how many times I have gone to James⁵² and said, please, put me on the first coach back to jail. Because I know my head is straight. Doors are locked, I'm in with my girls. We're doing all time. One day we will get our release innit. What you lot are doing, you lot is giving us a bit of freedom. Doors are opeen, Associatiooon, but guess what youse lot are just testing, testing, testing.

Some former prisoners felt the government, Home Office, and staff were testing, or pushing them to re-offend or act-out while in detention so that this could be used against them when bail or immigration decisions were being made. These women felt vilified by this treatment and were fearful their actions would be misinterpreted and used unfairly against them.

Lack of understanding

The inability to understand why detention was indefinite played on the minds of women. Attempts to be freed from detention appeared to be a constant pursuit, though much like in board game Monopoly, the chances of them being freed from their imprisonment appeared to them down to chance or the ability to pay a substantial fee. Samantha described her most recent trip to court:

Even yesterday I went to court but, the judge, I know the fact that I didn't have all the evidence so he didn't going to give me that chance though, I was feeling down... but at the same time, you still doesn't know what is going to happen, you still doesn't know when are you leaving, cause I have to do something else. That I have to go to bail, not knowing if they are going to give

⁵² The names of staff have also been changed to protect anonymity.

me bail, because you gonna abscond, you understand? So this just depresses you...

It is difficult to decipher from these words exactly what Samantha was required to do to ensure her release from detention, and on probing she was not able to tell me. This was a similar story for many women who described roundabout trips to courts and judges with little success. Indeed, over the course of my interviews with women in detention I was still unclear how the process of release worked for sure. An exchange between myself and Regina sums up my own confusion after I asked what would happen next in her case:

Regina: *Judge told me, the same judge was ordered three times on me and she says you can apply for next bail after 28 days. Thank you for offer but after 25 days I have my appeal court. Thank you for that. Left 10 days now.'*

Alice: *'So in 10 days you have your appeal court? To appeal the decision made by the last bail?'*

Regina: *'No, it is my, I have appeal from making a deportation order. Decision to make a deportation order. Cause I only yesterday, I don't have a deportation order! No I don't. I was thinking that I do, but I don't.'*

Alice: *'So..'*

Regina: *'I just only have a decision to make a deportation order.. decision to make a deportation order. And I already appealed that.. I don't know.. cause my friend yeah.. I can hear her voice now. Even in here! Even you know! She get the same day, papers. Decision to make a deportation order and deportation order. She gets two of them in the same day. I didn't get a deportation, I get a decision to make a deportation order.'*

Alice: *'A decision to make a deportation order.. this is all very confusing to me..'*

Regina: *'I don't understand what this means to be honest. I need to ask Frank [the librarian] or Beth [member of staff].'*

Women were fighting against a system that appeared incoherent and inconsistent. This was often compounded by difficulties finding competent lawyers⁵³, low-levels of

⁵³ Difficulties in finding and keeping competent lawyers from detention has also been heavily criticised in official reports (Coussey, 2014; HMIP, 2015b; HMIP & ICIBI, 2012; Lampard,

education and sometimes limited English. There are a number of processes people in detention can undertake to try remain in the UK, and I found as many of the women in this study seemingly trying numerous methods at once, as those who had very little idea what was happening in their case. Luciana summarised the general mood in the centre:

There are a lot of people don't know what is going to happen. Nobody know. That is the problem, nobody know what is going on. Is no one to come tell us. Oh, look that day you going to have this, or one day you gonna, you have to do this. We have to be looking, oh what I need to send, oh I need to... even sometimes we say we don't know what we are doing but we do it.

Luciana captures here the frantic attempts made by people in detention to do anything possible to help their case. Luciana's comment regarding making attempts when the person does not know what it is they are doing was particularly evident in discussions with participants. Women felt there was little sense to the system, and that decisions were made arbitrarily. Afiya, described how this made her feel anxious:

I find it very scary in here. Because I don't know what to expect. One minute everything is ok, next minute people getting deported for no reason, so I find it, very hard to adjust to.. this kind of place, and how the mentality of the people working with you are...

The result of this confusion was a sense of indifference from the government and Home Office towards the residents of the centre. They believed the Home Office did not care what happened to them, and this explained why the system was chaotic; women were not worth the effort required to develop a clear, navigable system of immigration enforcement.

People also described to me mistakes in the system. Some told me they were not the person the Home Office believed them to be. One woman who was initially told she would be deported to Somalia though she was a Dutch Citizen. In the first case Anam told me her story through a friend who translated as she spoke very little English herself. Anam claimed to be a British Citizen, born in the UK but then brought up by her Grandmother in Pakistan. When she returned to the UK many years later, she told me the Home Office accused her of holding a fraudulent passport

2016), by NGOs (BID, 2005; Girma et al., 2015; Phelps, 2009) and in academic writing (Bosworth, 2011b, 2014; Gill, 2009a).

and have since claimed she was a different person. Her ID at the detention centre, she claimed, was in a name that was not hers. Anam's claim appears far fetched, and such apparent unlawful treatment would be damning to the Home Office, yet, it aligns with the stories of others. Another resident, Vicky, had moved from the Netherlands to the UK as a teenager. She found herself in trouble with the police as a teenager and had used her cousin's name to avoid trouble. Her cousin was a Somali national, and so, when her deportation order was placed this historical link was used and a deportation to Somalia attempted. The latter case had been resolved and the Home Office was now attempting to remove Vicky to the Netherlands. The difference here, perhaps, is in Vicky's ability to speak English and make concerted efforts to clarify her identity without relying on interpreters or lawyers.

Fairness and uncertainty

The decision to detain, release and remove women was unclear to those affected. There was little women could see that linked actions made by themselves or their fellow residents that resulted in a favourable outcome. Women often found the Home Office infuriatingly indifferent to their personal circumstances. Many felt they were not given a chance to explain their actions, or to air their concerns for the wellbeing of their families to the people making decisions regarding their cases. In many instances women felt that the Home Office were working against them, picking and choosing which information would work best towards removing them. Ruby was a student who had been taken into detention after the English test she had taken to qualify for her student visa was thought to be fraudulent. She had been in the UK studying since 2011, the interview was conducted in English and Ruby helped me by translating an interview for her roommate also. I asked her what it feels like when the Home Office does not believe your situation:

It's really painful, to be really honest. That you are trying to convince someone that please, we are not telling that right or wrong. Just give us a chance to prove ourselves. But Home Office not wanting to give a single chance to us. I don't know why they believe in all wrong things, why they not believing all the good things? All the things which are going in our favour they are not going to believe in all these things. And they believe in all the things that are against us, I don't know why.

Ruby illustrates here the impact when an individual is 'grouped' with others, with little regard for individual circumstances. This was especially painful for women in detention, who felt they were grouped with the small number of individuals who do try to take advantage of the immigration enforcement and asylum system to remain in the UK. The nature of this grouping led Ruby and others to feel diminished, as though they were not worthy of individual attention or care.

Other women described more personal animus. The Home Office, they believed, simply did not like them, and this was the cause of their troubles. Krista was from Latvia, and had been a victim of trafficking in her country before she came to the UK. She told me how she had used drugs to self-medicate due to her past, using drugs to numb her emotional trauma, and on becoming addicted turned to shoplifting to support her habit. She had been brought into Yarl's Wood following her prison sentence. Krista had been in detention for 8 months and had tried to be released via the bail system with no luck on multiple occasions. When I asked her why she thought she was still in detention she replied:

Stress, angry because some people, I don't know how English system working because some people fight in here get released, some people is a big criminal records and they still get released. And it's affected I don't know, like feel immigration don't like us, I don't know.

Like the other women who formed part of this project Krista was unable to understand why she was still in detention, nor the way in which she could be released. This was causing her to act out, and along with her roommate she was known as a 'troublemaker' in the centre. This behaviour, however, was explained by Krista as an emotional explosion. She could not cope with her detention and her disruptive actions were one of few ways she could express her feelings. The alternative was to self-harm, and Krista showed me the scars on her arms from this practice while in the centre. She made the point that she had never harmed herself in prison. She was, without doubt, struggling to deal with her time in detention.

Being a woman in detention

The women in this study had experiences of incarceration that were specific to their gender. Many had children, in the UK and elsewhere. Not all children had been

dependent on their mothers for their care, but women were still concerned that their deportation would have a serious impact on the grown children they had left behind. There were also women in this study who had suffered from domestic and gendered based violence and their experience of detention was deeply affected by these histories and their related perceptions of dignified treatment while there.

Mothers

Children have not been allowed in Yarl's Wood since 2010 following extensive campaigning from NGOs, charities and the Liberal Democratic political party at the time. Immigration detention was deemed too damaging for children (see Medical Justice, 2010), and the practice was stopped with the exceptions reported in the introduction to this dissertation⁵⁴. However, while the detention of children in this centre is now considered unacceptable, parents can now be separated from their young children while their mother, father, or both spend time in immigration detention. Luciana had a young daughter, born in the UK and British through her husband. She described how her continued estrangement from her daughter affected her:

Imagine, you have your family (laughs) but it make you feel here.. you know you didn't steal (starts to cry), you didn't do nothing wrong to no-one. That's what make you feel really bad you know. We have a family, I have a baby. Yesterday she was four years and then, why, are, they have to take too long. Why don't they tell me, why they didn't send me to, why they don't take any decision quickly, you know. They take too long.

Luciana was worried she would have to leave without her daughter, and could not understand why the Home Office was taking so long to make a decision on her case. Samantha had a young boy, aged five, and described to me how she had been maintaining the façade that she was away for work since she had been sentenced to prison. The child was getting older and had started to notice things had changed since Samantha had been in detention. Samantha described what happened when his Dad had brought him along to court:

⁵⁴ Families with children should not be held in immigration removal centres, however they can be held in 'pre-departure accommodation' for 72 hours. However, Ministerial review can be sought for an extended stay of up to a week (McGuinness & Gower, 2017).

The other day we take him to the court cause I think, his dad's was at the court so he'd have to bring him, take him from school because he would have been late to pick him up. He was screaming, cause he say 'mum, I see you on the telly, in that room? What you doing in there, you not coming' and I said, oh bubba, oh I didn't know they wouldn't let me, they shouldn't have said that, but that just came out. Cause I never said nothing at all to him. Cause his perception is that I am at work. So I keep it like that. So I try to buy things for him, to keep it like that. After I said that he was so broken, so I have to be more careful.

Samantha found the distance between her and her son the most difficult part of detention. When she had been in prison her son was able to visit regularly, he lived in London and she was imprisoned in a women's prison that was only a bus ride away from her child's home. Since moving to detention, however, the boy was not able to visit often as his father worked during the week, the cost of visiting was now two rail tickets and the trip would take most of a day. Samantha described vividly the impact this had on her:

So sometimes I will black, sometimes when the reality hits. I'm here. I'm here from last April... Another time I just blocked it out, can have a laugh with you, because that's me, but it's hurt like hell. My child is out there, his skin, is like eating like legions because he has eczema and his dad haven't got the time, to that care that we would put in. You understand where I'm coming from? So if I sit down and think about it every day, I'm going to be miserable. And I have to be, play the game in the evening. I have to be strong, I have to try to be strong as much as I can. But I have to, I have to tell myself, I have to try. It's hard. It's hard.

The distance families had to travel limited visits severely, and some mothers explained how their children would need to miss school to visit more regularly. Other mothers described how they discouraged their children to visit so that they would not miss their own weekend activities, sports or church. Some women also found the visits from their children too hard to cope with, due to the severe heartache caused when visits concluded.

Despite the difficulties that presented themselves, women tried what they could to maintain relationships with their children. Jade was a young woman from

Barbados. Her 11-year-old daughter was living with friends in her home country after Jade's plans to settle in the UK and bring her daughter to stay had been thwarted with her detention. In Jade's room she had three child's dolls in boxes sitting on her windowsill. She explained how they were her daughter's Christmas present. The gifts remained on her windowsill in March because she was unable to raise the money for international postage from detention.

Further evidence of the stripping of women's roles as mothers were found in descriptions of the impact residents detention had on their children. Krista had three children, daughters aged seventeen and seven and a ten year old boy. She described to me how her eldest daughter was concerned for the youngest, and Krista described hearing the youngest crying when she called. Her seven year old could not understand why her mother had been detained and Krista had been told her daughter waited by the window for her to come home every day. Her children's school were also growing concerned for the children who were regularly in tears. Some mothers were no longer calling their children, because their young children asked questions they were not able to answer about when they were returning home. Both mothers and children found this too upsetting to manage.

The impact on offspring was not limited to young children. Women in detention with grown children were similarly stressed by their inability to explain their situation. Those parents with children at university were concerned their detention and possible deportation would impact their studies for the worst. Chrissie had lost contact with her son who had sought asylum in South East Asia. Before her detention their usual mode of contact was 'Whatsapp,' an internet based messaging service. Her inability to use a phone which enabled this service meant she was unable to explain to him where she was and how to contact her otherwise. Winnie was being held in the Yarl's Wood couples' accommodation with her husband. They were from Kenya and had been in the UK for 15 years. Winnie had children in their 20s and believed the confusion caused by their parent's detention was affecting their mental state:

You don't know what is going on. The children are confused and it affects their brain, it gets in their head and what's government doing? At the end of the day government will treat them again, maybe for depression.

Immigration detention, and the threat of removal, clearly interrupts the social role formerly maintained by mothers before they were incarcerated. For the women in

this study, this reduced their sense of dignity as their identities were diminished and replaced with a sense of failure to perform their role.

Domestic and gendered violence

It has been noted elsewhere the disproportionate number of women in immigration detention who have been victims of domestic or gendered violence (Canning, 2014, 2017; Girma, Radice, Tsangarides, & Walter, 2014). From the interviews conducted for this study it appears the impact of this for women surfaced in two different frustrations. The first was that detention acted as a trigger for past memories, and the second was that their experience of violence left them unable to enact the gendered roles expected of them for the purpose of their immigration case.

Melia⁵⁵ was from Jamaica. She described to me how she had been tortured at home and how this had led to her leaving the country. She had submitted a Rule 35 form to the Home Office, in which she stated a doctor had confirmed she had suffered from torture. Before she was brought into detention she was receiving treatment for physical and psychological effects of her past experiences in the community. Melia could not rationalise why she was being held in detention and threatened with deportation. Like the women described earlier she found the immigration rules unfair and arbitrary:

They haven't even gone through what I have gone through. No hassle and they get their stay, and me? I have to be struggling, I have to be begging, what have I done? Heb? The scars, the wounds. Everything I have. My GP they send me for counselling in London, they treat me. I have gone deaf because of the beating. I do operation because of the beating, and you still refusing me. you know? I am like, wow.

To not be believed, despite clear evidence of her torture, was an offence to Melia's dignity. She felt that her story was being dismissed, and the only explanation for this was that she was in some way considered not trustworthy and that this must be due to being considered of poor character due to her low-status as an 'immigrant' to the UK. Melia was adamant her health was being damaged due to detention, and she

⁵⁵ Melia is one of few women I met again after detention in Jamaica. During one of my visits to the NODM offices in Jamaica Melia was there. She was trying to appeal her removal from Jamaica claiming it had been unlawful. She had only been back in Jamaica for 2 days when I met her there, some three months after I spoke with her in detention.

suffered from symptoms of PTSD due to her confinement. Afiya had lived in the UK since she was 8 years old had also suffered in the past from gendered violence. She suffered from mental health problems which she found were exacerbated in detention:

For me, it is very difficult, because sometimes I cry a lot, because I find it brings back memories of things that I've been through that is not nice. Like abuse and.. all the emotions of the past just catches up with you, and you find yourself more depressed than ever...

Stories of domestic violence were upsettingly common during interviews. Participants sometimes described in great detail the violence that their partners had subjected them to. Kim had a substantial scar on her face and described to me how her partner had slashed her when she tried to leave him and told her: *'no-one will ever love me with this scar in me face.'* Other participants were in detention after leaving abusive partners who they had come to the UK to marry. Vestine and Elewa from earlier had both left violent husbands, had applied for asylum and were in detention awaiting a decision on their cases. They both explained how they could not go home to their families; Vestine's parents had fled Rwanda and Elewa had kept the breakdown her marriage secret from her family, as she feared it would impact on her mothers' safety in Kenya.

Many people who are facing deportation fight for their right to remain in the UK based on family ties. However, women who had suffered torture, domestic violence or, in one case, the murder of a husband before seeking asylum, explained how this route was not available to them. In their cases they were unwilling or unable to build new romantic partnerships. These women felt this counted against them in their fight to remain in the UK. Kim explained:

And there is the next question they always ask. Do you have a partner or kids here? Sometimes it's not that you haven't found a partner or children. You abusive relationship you coming out of because there are men here, they know your situation and you, they bring you to their house to live with and they abuse you because they know your situation. So in that kind of environment sometimes you would rather stay by yourself. Have a little pet, a cat or a dog and just have peace of mind and hope that they send your papers to you so that you can go work and be independent.

Kim went on to explain how her family life was in the relationships with her many British nieces and nephews. She was a dedicated aunt and attended school meetings, took the children to activities and cared for the children whenever her sister was unable to. Kim was further distressed as her sister had died unexpectedly two weeks before her detention. She worried for the children, knowing especially that the young girls no longer had a female family member to advise them on relationships and what to do when they started to mature. She emphasised how important it was that the Home Office understood family was not simply about ‘sleeping with a man.’ Women felt they were considered ‘unworthy’ of membership in the UK by the Home Office due to these conditions, and consequently suffered from reduced self-esteem and feelings of lessened self-worth.

Coping in detention

The women I spoke with for this project were, on the whole, not coping well with their confinement. They were distressed, angry and confused by their detention. They suffered a plethora of conditions they deemed to be a result of their time there, and these ranged from loss of memory right through to thoughts of suicide and actual self-harm. At the time I visited Yarl’s Wood the healthcare provision was in disarray. An inspection of Yarl’s Wood in the weeks after my visit, and in the independent reviews of Shaw and Lampard the state of the system is detailed, all negatively (HMIP, 2015b; Lampard, 2016; Shaw, 2016). The impact of this on the women in detention at the time was substantial. Problems with healthcare often dominated interviews and stories of physical health concerns going untreated along with severe mental health problems, self-harm and suicide ideation were prolific. The impact of this was not restricted to the individuals with problems but also to the remaining residents who worried that they too, would become ill and feared the treatment, or lack of, they would receive.

Confusion and loss of memory

Women were undoubtedly stressed by their time in detention and this was leading to loss of memory and general confusion. The stressors of detention, such as how long they would be in detention and if they would finally be removed from the country, tired women out mentally and they found they were not longer able to concentrate

or remember things like they used to. Maria was suffering from confusion regularly, she tried to explain why she thought this was:

Yeah, you know when you read a book, or when you are able to.. your brain is just going all over the place. You're not able to fire all your brainwaves and think clearly.. is it because... oh I.. Is it because of all these cameras? Is it that people look at you up front, down. I don't know what it is but you would think more clearly at home, than when you are inside here. You are able here.. you just.. it's all over the place.

Maria struggled to concentrate on the things she used to enjoy, like reading or writing. She explained how she was forgetting basic spelling. She described how she, along with a lady from Jamaica, sat for ten minutes as they both tried to remember how to spell 'Jamaica.' They laughed the problem off at the time, but it was still playing on Maria's mind how she, and those around her, struggled to complete tasks that would seem simple in their own homes.

Vee, who was originally from Granada, explained how she felt her memory was fading in Yarl's Wood. Vee had been in detention for 11 months at the time we met, she had served a prison sentence before this and lamented how her memory in prison was strong. She had been writing a book when she arrived in detention, but had recently 'given up.' She described how she had begun writing notes to herself because she would wander to the shop and forget why she had needed to go there in the first place:

If I have to go to the shop and I will remember what I have to, because I leave my room to go to the shop, not a few minutes ago for this tin of milk, but I forget. I forget the key in healthcare I have to go back for the keys. I come back up and I went on the other side, because I try to remember what I need to get and as soon as I remember I went straight to the stop and I go stand outside the shop there, I just make sure I get it because I couldn't remember what I was going for.

This memory loss scared Vee, who, even in prison, had previously had a very strong memory. She was only 30 years old and fearful that she would remain forgetful in the future. For Vee the loss of memory was linked to an inability to cope with the indefinite nature of her detention, which she referred to as a death sentence. Vee

described how she had been in detention so long, her emotions were becoming internalised, and this was also terrifying for her:

When I feel so low inside tear don't come out anymore. These tears dropped inside of me and that is really bad when I start crying inside. So sometimes I try my best to see the tears would come out, but the tears still not come out. It's hard for your tears to come out. And the tears are falling inside me. It's really bad. Cause it, what can I get, my memory and at my age I don't want to have memory loss. But I have to keep on asking, I write it down so I know when I come back, I will put down the key and I will search everywhere and the key is right there. It's really hard. It's hard, it is frustrating.

Vee's experience here shows how her sense of self was severely affected by detention. She felt she could no longer trust her own memory, and with this began to second guess who she was as a person. Consequently, her self-esteem and sense of self-worth were substantially reduced.

Physical health problems

Women described to me many existing physical medical conditions including diabetes, heart problems, asthma, arthritis, stomach ulcers, and epilepsy. Most of the conditions were pre-existing, though most participants were clear that their time in detention had either exacerbated their condition or that they were not getting the treatment that they required. Other women described undiagnosed symptoms such as excess vaginal bleeding or blood in their stool along with headaches and difficulties sleeping. These women equally felt they were not getting the care they required.

Vee, alongside her memory problems, was also suffering from multiple health issues. She was suffering from stomach pain and trying to have an ultrasound organised. She was on medication for her stomach, high blood pressure, and she told me they had put her on something for her mind since she was in detention 'because I'm mental.' Exacerbating these problems, she explained to me the struggles she had getting treatment from healthcare. She felt they did not believe her, and that the staff were uncaring and rude to her. She described to me her attempt to take back control of her health:

One time I tell them I'm going to go to the room, the tablets that I've got in the room I will take them all and lie down and die with my pride and dignity

because here, it is not even for a dog to come. That's when they took away my medication from me. Because I reached to that, that there was no other help but just to die.

Much to Vee's upset her use of agency in this example had a detrimental effect on her on-going experience of detention, as, after her threats to her own life healthcare no longer allowed her to have medication in her own room. Instead she had to visit healthcare for each pill. She felt infantilised by this practice, that she was less than able to manage her own health as an adult woman.

Abigay was from Kingston, Jamaica, she explained little about how she had come to be in the UK, or her time here, but told me her fears about returning. She had lost family members to gang violence, and her teenage daughter had been injured in a machete attack. Abigay was in her mid-fifties and suffered from diabetes, high blood pressure and cholesterol. She had been in detention for three months, and had run out of her own medication from home after the first month. Since being in detention she had trouble sleeping, due to the stress she felt during the day. She had also started to find blood in her stool. When Abigay approached health care she waited three weeks for an appointment and was then put on the wrong dosage of medication. She felt staff did not believe she was ill, and she referred to healthcare as a stable, where the residents were the animals.

Mental health, self-harm and suicide

Depression, anxiety and stress were common for interviewees. The women I spoke with were open about these feelings and many explained how they were on medication for their conditions, or should be on medication but were having trouble accessing what they needed. Women employed a number of coping mechanisms to help them remain positive, however these actions were limited by the restrictiveness of their confinement, poor access to mental health support and the indefinite nature of their detention. The resulting effect was a population in severe distress, self-harm and suicide ideation.

Micah, whom I first met at the door to legal visits, detailed how her physical health had deteriorated in detention because of the stress of her situation. Micah was only 19 and appeared even younger due to her diminutive size. She had come to the UK from Kazakhstan on a valid visa and had been detained after turning to the Home Office for help when the family member who was supporting her in the UK told her

she could no longer stay with him. Micah has lost 8kg in the 5 months she had spent in detention. She was unable to stomach most of the food in Yarl's Wood and, after reaching the stage where she was unable to eat most things without vomiting, she resorted to only eating pot-noodles from the shop. Micha's epilepsy was also becoming worse and she was suffering from fits and blackouts regularly. She told me how she thought she was losing her mind, and was unable to think from stress. When I spoke with Micah she had spent 3 months in detention, she was released after 5 months. I met her again in the community some months later, and continue her story in the following chapter.

Micah's story is a more extreme example of how mental health can be affected by stress and deteriorating physical health. The stress she experienced, however, was not unfamiliar to the women who participated in the research. Women lamented the impact of the stress of detention had on their mental health. Vee explained how she had, at first, used her friends to help relieve her stress, but after 11 months she was no longer able to find comfort from them. She had begun to withdraw from everyone:

There is no happiness... I used to go to Dove, sit down, chat with, sit outside in the garden. I just don't want to go nowhere. What I do, I pull the curtain, I close the door, lock the door behind me and I lie down.

Vee was not alone in this technique of withdrawal. For her, it was all she felt she could do to cope, and this was echoed by others who preferred the relative serenity of their room to the generalised distress that characterised the atmosphere of Yarl's Wood. The distress of others had a severe impact on women, who, even if their own mood was relatively high felt themselves grow more concerned as they witnessed others change from 'normal' to distressed and sometimes, as in the case described earlier, to become mentally unstable. The indefinite and arbitrary nature of their detention made them feel the same could happen to them at any time.

Indeed, some women shared with me candid stories of distress, self-harm and suicide ideation and attempts. Dana was the roommate of Krista, introduced earlier, and had a similar backstory of trafficking and drug dependence. She had been trafficked in Latvia at the age of 13, and, though she had been able to get away from her traffickers and come to the UK, she had taken hard drugs to help her cope. She had received a prison sentence for shoplifting and this is how she found herself in immigration detention facing removal from the country. Dana explained how she was

charged with the assault of an officer in detention, which she suggested was unintentional. After learning of her charge in court she had decided it was too much. She described to me, in detail, what happened next:

After I don't want to leave, I put ligature around my neck, the officer come they were so shocked because I was so red and if maybe couple minutes I will die. I never self-harm in my life, I start to self-harm in here.

I asked Dana and Krista what it was, that made them turn to self-harm in detention, when they had previously not done so before. For Dana, it was the indefiniteness of her imprisonment: *'We feel this if for life, we feel we never go out from this place.'* Krista added that detention felt like a double punishment to her, she had already been punished and served her time in prison and could not fathom why they were being penalised further: *'And like human rights, not to be punished twice you know and we still get punished and punished and punished. Whatever we ask, no no no no. It's very stressful, really angry, upset.'*

In one of few positives derived from the interviews in detention, some women described how they would stave off low moods by engaging in different aspects of life in detention. In Yarl's Wood every Wednesday was 'Market Day' where a charity called 'Hischurch' would open a shop in one of the spare common rooms of the centre. Hischurch have an unusual arrangement with the UK government whereby they have access to a range of counterfeit goods seized at the border. These items were then sold cheaply to women in the centre. The market, according to the women running the shop, was designed to give women dignity. They claimed that the opportunity to purchase items, rather than be given them, allowed women agency and the ability to purchase goods so that they could return home (if they are removed from the country) in nice clothing and bearing gifts. Samantha explained how she used the market as a distraction technique, and to fend off the stress she feared would cause her physical problems:

the market.. yesterday I came from court, I just went in the market. I got 9 pounds and I just spent it all off. Cause that what just take my mind off what's going on. So that's how I do it. Cause if I dont.. I'm just going to die in here. My pressure is going to.. the next day, pressure give you strokes. One face drop, matters, but I just go curl up somewhere and die.

Others described the market in similar turns, and genuinely enjoyed the opportunity to browse the wares, even if they had no funds to make purchases. It appeared that the woman who ran the shop was correct, that the opportunity to shop for themselves did promote the dignity of women. Residents were able to offset some of the dependence experienced in detention by purchasing outfits and gifts for both themselves and their friends both inside and outside detention.

Conclusion

Painted here is a bleak portrait of women's lives in immigration detention, and one that illustrates how women do not feel they are treated with dignity in this space. Residents repeatedly described situations in which they lacked autonomy and were made to feel dependent and infantilised (See also Bosworth & Turnbull, 2015; Canning, 2017). In addition, women felt the appearance of Yarl's Wood was akin to a prison, and that their indefinite detention was representative of the government and Home Office believing them to be as morally defunct as the UK's 'worst' criminals. They felt vilified and shamed by their criminalisation and suffered greatly from a loss of self esteem as a result (See also Bosworth, 2017; Bosworth & Kellezi, 2012; Griffiths, 2012; Silverman & Massa, 2012). Mothers were unable to fulfil their roles as carers and felt this identity had been stripped from them, causing substantial distress. Women who had previously suffered from gendered violence were especially vulnerable to all the violations described to dignity here (See also Canning, 2014, 2017), and yet this population make up a substantial portion of women interviewed for this project. Not surprisingly then, mental and physical health problems were prolific in the centre. Women suffered from extreme stress, anxiety, depression, PTSD and a host of physical problems exacerbated by these conditions residents (See also Engberg, 2013; Kellezi & Bosworth, 2016a; McLoughlin & Warin, 2008; Robjant, Hassan, & Katona, 2009; Steel et al., 2011; Steel & Silove, 2001). Women were not coping well with their confinement, and this could be evidenced by the number of women describing to me both idealised and real attempts at self-harm or suicide (See also Cohen, 2008; Kellezi & Bosworth, 2016a).

Much of the evidence provided here has been recounted before in academic work, yet, the stories in this chapter add an additional layer to research on the

experience of detention, which supports the argument that women in Yarl's Wood are not sufficiently treated with dignity. The outcomes for women in detention here align with the suggestion made in the opening chapters that individuals, when not treated with sufficient dignity, will suffer from declining self-worth, self-esteem and ultimately depression and related mental health problems. In the following chapters I now turn to the legacy of detention, where I illustrate that the negative outcomes for women in immigration detention not only continue upon release or removal, but in some instances are exacerbated.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE EXPERIENCE OF 'RELEASE'

I have reached the extent of saying why am I suffering in this world like this? I have suffered at home. I have suffered in detention. Now I am suffering where I am here. So you see, I am being squeezed, I am nearly bursting'. – Brenda, released from detention in 2010.

From my time conducting fieldwork in detention, I knew that being released from these institutions was a source of joy. In removal centres women often celebrated the release of others by cheering loudly and singing. On their way out, people said their goodbyes to friends they had made in detention, often moving with some difficulty towards the reception area through the crowd of women that formed around them. Once in reception those who were due to depart were held in a waiting room while managers, Home Office staff, and members of the health care team signed the necessary paperwork for their release. Finally, women would be reunited with the luggage and other personal possessions they had brought with them to the centre, before receiving a slip of paper which they could exchange for a rail ticket at Bedford station if they were not being collected by family or friends. A van would then take them 8 miles to the train station, from where those released were then free to continue their journey.

I spoke with a small number of women while they were in the holding room at reception; Home Office staff in the centre had allowed me to shadow their work during my first week in Yarl's Wood and this included when they issued women's release paperwork to them before departure. I asked a few quick questions of the women at this point, although I was always accompanied by a member of the Home Office on-site staff and so any responses may have been influenced by their presence. However, it was clear that people on the cusp of release were relieved and happy to be leaving detention. They were looking forward to being back in the community.

It was with some sorrow then, that I discovered in the second stage of this project, that women's lives post-detention were difficult. Over a 6-month period, I spoke with 12 women who had spent time in immigration detention, some for only 11 days, others who had been there for up to 7 months. All of them were struggling with their life post detention. Women experienced their new lives in the community as another form of incarceration, and their 'freedom' was paradoxical. While they had been freed from the bars and razor wire of the removal centre, their lives were heavily

restricted by reporting conditions, they felt socially excluded and lived in constant fear of re-detention. Some women were left powerless by inadequate housing arrangements and conditions and were left vulnerable to further abuses of power from both the state and individuals they relied upon to survive.

Women or men who leave immigration detention in the UK are rarely granted any long term right to remain in the country. Instead, they are offered a far more provisional status of bail or temporary admission. In 2017 only 26 (less than 1%) of the 4,122 women who left detention were granted indefinite leave to remain, 415 were released on bail (10%), 1,615 on temporary admission (39%), and 35 were released under the ambiguous category of 'other' (1%) and 2031 were removed from the country (49%).

These legal categories mean that women remain uncertain about their futures for another indefinite period of time until the Home Office makes a decision on their immigration case. At this point, they may be granted some form of leave to remain, or removed. All are at risk of being re-detained at any point.

Only one of the women in the sample for this dissertation had received any right to remain at the time of our interview. All of the others had lived in the community from between 6 months and 6 years waiting for a decision since their last stay in immigration detention. Some of the research participants had been detained more than once, in what can be a circular process going on some years.

In this chapter I describe the women's experiences of life after detention from their living conditions to the restrictions imposed by the Home Office on their daily lives. I explore the ongoing relationship they have with the government post detention, and the uncertainty and confusion they face while waiting for a decision from the Home Office on their ability to remain in the country. Then I turn to the legacy of detention and explore the impact of this policy on women after they have been released. Finally, I explore the gendered aspects of experiences post detention that are specific to being a woman. In all of the examples, I reveal how women feel dehumanised and treated without dignity. Although they all struggle to resist the negative impact their experiences have on their sense of self, they have limited success. Women in the community, struggled the most, out of all of those I interviewed.

What happens after detention?

An individual who has been released from immigration detention, but who has not been granted the right to remain is not legally allowed to work in paid employment. The women in this project relied on one of two sources to survive: the government, and their friends or partners. Those who were waiting on decisions for an asylum claim, but had yet received a decision from the Home Office, were provided with support from the government. This typically involved some type of accommodation and provision of food. Women described several ways sustenance was provided to them, from collecting an allowance from the post-office, having the use of a card-based system which they could spend in select stores. Alternatively, some people were provided with food at their accommodation and received no income source for their nourishment needs.

Women who had received a negative decision from the Home Office on an asylum claim, or who had been released pending a decision related to another type of claim to stay⁵⁶ were not provided with any assistance from the government. This group of women, without state support, were dependent on charities, families and friends for housing and all other means for survival. It was not always clear, to the women, or to me, what they were entitled to, or at which point of their immigration enforcement process exactly they were, or were not, supported by the government. In reality, they were often dependent on different sources for survival. The level of support also appeared to vary, and women were not always willing to declare the details of their financial situation. But in any case, women were limited due to their inability to earn a living through employment. In the following paragraphs I explain in more detail the impact of living on precarious and limited incomes.

Income

All the women I spoke to wanted to work and provide for themselves. Financial independence, they said, would not just assist them with practical matters, but was central to their sense of self. Unable to work, many struggled. Dana, who was from Oman, had spent a month in detention. As a lesbian she felt unable to return to her

⁵⁶ Most women I interviewed stated they were seeking asylum, but this was not always the case, and some were not able to express to me what exactly they were waiting on a decision for.

country of birth where she would be at risk. Dana had been detained in three different institutions, starting in Dungavel IRC before moving on to Colnbrook IRC's women's unit and then finally Yarl's Wood IRC before she was released. When we spoke Dana had been out of detention for approximately a year. She was not receiving funding from the government, although she had been trying to organise accommodation through the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) who house people seeking asylum through government contract. She was surviving on handouts from friends. She had made a friend online who would send her money, and she was living with her ex-partner. Dana found this dependence unpleasant. It undermined her self-confidence and her sense of self. '*Living off other people*', as she put it, made her '*hate myself*'. In a rare positive account of her time in detention, Dana said that she had been happy that she could work there, earning around £15 a week working in the kitchen. Dana found the inability to work degrading. For her, working and providing for herself offered the greatest defence against losing her sense of self:

I don't brush everyone with the same brush, but I think with me because with me, allow me to keep my pride, my dignity, my self-respect, self-worth everything like this, let me go do my own job, do whatever you want to do guys, but let me do my own job. Earn my own living, build my own life.

The state of dependence experienced here by Dana was a common theme throughout the interviews and easily the most common grievance raised by women in the community. Brenda was seeking asylum, she had fled her home village in Uganda after her husband was murdered in front of her and their children. She approached a man for help in her own country, who promised to send her to safety in the UK. Instead, she said, he trafficked her into the sex trade. She escaped, and began a life in England using the identity of another woman. After some years, in 2010, she was caught by immigration officers when they came to her shared accommodation in search of someone she lived with. He was not at home, but the passport Brenda had been using was flagged as wanted by the Home Office and so she was taken to immigration detention. She was released one month and one week later after applying for asylum, approximately five years before her interview with me. She told me she was not aware of the concept of asylum before she was detained.

Despite being trafficked, when she was released from Yarl's Wood Brenda was not initially offered financial assistance from the British government. Unable to

pay her rent, she was soon evicted from her apartment. She stayed with friends when she could, but often took to sleeping on buses in London. Brenda would board a bus at 7pm at night and ride until the morning when she would go to a friend's place for a shower before spending the day on the streets. When interviewed she had been provided with NASS housing, but was still surviving on £30 cash a week which she received from what she referred to as social services. She described how her limited means impacted on her sense of humanity:

It is really hard, hard thing to do. When you are just there. Without working, you want to eat, sleep, want to dress, do the things like human beings.. you can't.. I feel sometimes so bad, if I have to go to my friend, please can you give me 5 pounds, I want to buy this, you feel that sometimes now most of them, sometimes they get fed up. I don't bother them...

As Brenda's words make clear, her experiences in the community undermined her sense of autonomy and independence. Such matters are closely linked to 'feeling human' in academic literature pertaining to health and social care (Madan, 1992; Miller & Keys, 2001a; Moore & Miller, 1999; Sautier, Vehling, & Mehnert, 2014), prisons (Liebling, 2004; Liebling & Maruna, 2005; Singer, 1972) and in existing works on immigration detention (Griffiths, 2013; Turnbull, 2016) and with people seeking asylum in the community (Canning, 2010, 2017; Hasselberg, 2016).

Where Brenda was reliant on charity for her living, others depended on their partners. This arrangement, while preferable, was not without its problems. Women worried about their lack of independence. Larissa, who was from Kurdistan, had been studying accountancy in the UK before her detention. She had applied for an extension to her student visa, but this had been declined by the Home Office. She appealed the decision, and while awaiting a decision, married her partner, who was a European Citizen. The Home Office believed the wedding was fraudulent and sent immigration officers to her wedding party to detain her. She spent three months in detention. When we spoke, Larissa had been released for five months. Although happy to be out of Yarl's Wood, she was frustrated by the employment restrictions which left her unable to work as a cleaner alongside her studies as she had been prior to detention. Her unemployment, she felt, made her a burden on her husband and on the tax payers of Britain. She had written to the Home Office to request that she could continue to work but had not received a response.

Women simply could not understand the restrictions on paid employment. Ryane, had been trafficked from Nigeria and caught by immigration when she was working as a prostitute to repay her 'debt' to the woman who brought her to the UK. She had spent six weeks in detention during her latest visit, but had been detained three times since she first arrived in the country in 2011. She found the restriction on work to be dehumanising. She was worth less than an animal in Britain, she believed. Pets were treated with more care than she had been, she insisted. Other countries, she also insisted, allowed people seeking asylum to work and pay their bills while waiting for their papers. Ryane did not believe her friends back home would believe the way she was treated in the UK:

Sometimes if I told my friends other country, look what is going on like, that kind of thing doesn't exist! I say yes it exist here! Because the way that they are saying on the TV is not the way they are doing.

Like the women I spoke with in Yarl's Wood, Ryane believed that Britain presented a false image to the rest of the world. Despite its claims to be a country of rights, in a familiar refrain, Ryane believed her human rights had been denied. Her sense of having been 'tricked' into believing the UK was a safe haven added an additional layer to her feelings of injustice at the hands of the Home Office. As with others in the study, Ryane believed she would not be in the UK and in their present, difficult, situation, had she known the hostile environment in she would find herself. In her account, the relationship between self-realisation and dignity, and how easily it is undermined, was clear.

Women who were supported by the government, at first glance, appeared to have greater financial security than those who were not. They at least had some kind of income. These women were provided with accommodation, and a debit card with which they were able to purchase goods from approved stores. Yet, they all were unhappy. The 'Azure' cards, in particular, were cited as a great source of frustration and embarrassment. Azure cards look like debit cards, but they can only be used at certain stores such as Tesco, Sainsburys, Boots and Mothercare. Most importantly, they cannot be used to withdraw cash or to purchase bus passes or rail tickets. At the time of my research, single women received £36 a week on their Azure card, while mothers with children could receive up to £80. At the end of each week the card was reset. Any unused funds were wiped so that women were never able to save for bigger purchases.

Azure cards are often mentioned in research with men and women seeking asylum in the community (Allsopp, Sigona, & Phillimore, 2014). The use of the cards, and other similar voucher systems have been heavily criticised for restricting the autonomy of people seeking asylum in existing work (British Red Cross and Boaz Trust, 2013; Doyle, 2009; Hamilton & Harris, 2009; Mulvey, 2009; Phillimore, Thornhill, Latif, Uwimana, & Goodson, 2010). They have also been shown to cause users to feel ashamed and stigmatised (Klein & Williams, 2012; Refugee Action, 2006). The women in this dissertation experienced many of these feelings.

The women in this study were not unaware of the current political climate in the UK where migrants and people seeking asylum have so often been vilified by popular press as burdens on the state (See Canning 2017; Fekete 2001). Azure cards highlighted their dependence on the government to the public. Many found them embarrassing to use. *'It's not easy to live on that, a~~z~~ure card,'* Ryane exemplified,

it's not easy because it is something that, you understand, is hell like because you don't have financial because it is just particular place that you need to buy something. Sometimes it is shameful to bring that kind of card, because some people are like, what is this? Even in front of a queue of people, they was like, what is this?

Shopping assistants unfamiliar with Azure cards could be particularly insensitive. Ryane, and others, described shopping assistants holding up the checkout lines while they waited for managers to come confirm the cards were authentic. Their questions drew attention to the women's status as people seeking asylum, rendering it their most important quality, thereby denying the rest of their identity.

The additional funds provided for children was also restrictive. Julie was from The Democratic Republic of Congo, she had a 10-month old baby at the time of interview. She was pregnant with her child when she was in detention for a month in 2014. Julie lived in shared NASS accommodation and was provided with an Azure card containing £80 of credit each week. She was pleased to have the support of an income, but found the choice of shops restrictive. She explained how Mothercare, which was the only shop where she could buy things for her baby, was expensive. She told me how clothes for the baby cost up to £50, which meant she had nothing left to buy clothes for herself. She similarly found entertaining her small child difficult

without funds for toys or activities; her accommodation lacked even the most basic of entertainment such as a television or radio.

Other women observed they could purchase food and goods for a much cheaper price at local markets if they had cash. Similarly, culturally specific items were often not available in mainstream stores, and women would rather shop at local nation-based food stores. Those who had allowances provided through the post office or from charities were at least able to choose where to spend their money, though they still found it difficult to budget on £36 a week.

Yet, women were not abject. Instead, many were creative in their management of Azure cards, finding ways to work within the system. A number had friends who would buy their own groceries with their Azure card, and give women the cash so that they could buy goods from their own choice of retailer. Some, however, did not know anyone who could help them exchange their credit for cash, or were too embarrassed to ask repeatedly for help. Phoebe, who was from Kenya and had been given right to remain in the UK had two young children, aged around 7 and 2. She had been pregnant with her elder daughter when she was detained for three months in 2007. Phoebe was provided with an Azure card to purchase goods for her herself and her daughter once she was born. To get around the restrictions of the card Phoebe would wait outside her local Tesco each week and approach shoppers to ask if they could help. Her success in gaining help was variable, she was often yelled at by people who thought she was doing something illegal, while others spent £36 but returned her less than this amount, knowing there was little she could do about it. Phoebe felt ashamed to be waiting outside the shop each week and was eventually banned from the Tesco when a security guard noticed her spending time near the store regularly. She described how she was further shamed when the guard shouted at her and told her to go away. She also felt she was discriminated against, having witnessed shoplifters treated discreetly, taken to the security room, by the same staff who had publicly scorned her. She could not justify why she was treated differently:

What is this security shouting at me in front of the customer? Calling me bad woman, why did he not speak me, and take me to that room? Call the police and then they come and speak, and oh I can explain myself there, what is this, shouting at me in front of the customer? I was hurted, I was hurted so bad. It was so stressful, it was so stressful for me because I wasn't even able to go there again.

In addition to restrictions on food and goods purchases, women were also unable to purchase bus or train tickets with the Azure cards. If they were to travel further than walking distance they required an additional source of funding for the trip. Ryane explained how she was unable to visit friends as she lived far from Birmingham City Centre. She felt that she was stuck in her house, and was only able to attend support groups if they were able to help her to buy a bus ticket. She lived with three others in her house, but explained that her housemates were unable to speak English and so she was unable to communicate with them. She described a miserable existence where she often stayed in her room during the day, crying and upset.

The restrictions placed on women that stopped them from seeking employment felt unfair and deliberately punitive. The resulting dependence on families, friends, charities or the government was hard to bear. Women struggled to comprehend why the Home Office would stop them from being functioning members of society when they were all motivated to work and build a life for themselves in the UK. Their treatment left them feeling unwanted, frustrated and resentful of their position in what felt like an underclass of the population. Renas, who had been an academic in her home country, was seeking asylum due to conflicts with her work on human rights and the government in her country of birth. She was regularly offered academic work but was unable to accept for fear the Home Office would find out and use this against her application for asylum. Renas was clear that restricting her ability to work was an offence to her sense of dignity, as she explains here:

Actually, Home Office and Immigration they take our dignity completely they took it. This against human rights. The best thing for every man in the world has dignity. You work, and you want to get money, you get clothes, you eat, for what? To keep your dignity. But if the Home Office treat you like this way, and they attack and they fight your dignity it is more hard than they give you to injury in an indirect way.

Renas, along with others, felt the restrictions were deliberately designed to make their lives hard, and thus encourage them to leave the country. Women felt the government did not believe their stories. Only Phoebe, who had been waited for six years post-detention to obtain lawful immigration status as a refugee in the UK, was allowed to work. Her pleasure in this basic right was immense: *'So yeah, I am happy cause you know, I can see the future. I am happy now, the way I am living I am just happy. I feel happy, I feel now I can see the*

future of my children.

The implications of exclusion through restriction and deprivation were devastating for women. As described by others, the ‘othering’ and exclusion of women from society is damaging to their mental and physical health (Allsopp et al., 2014; Canning, 2017; Hamilton & Harris, 2009; Mulvey, 2009; Phillimore et al., 2010; Refugee Action, 2006). For women who had spent time in detention, their lack of autonomy to earn an income and thus direct their own lives felt like continued incarceration and exacerbated the feelings of vilification they experienced in removal centres.

Accommodation

Women who were supported by the Home Office while their asylum case was ongoing were provided with accommodation. For the women interviewed for this project the government assisted accommodation ranged from a bed in a hostel to a room in a share house. Women who were not provided with support from the government were either living with their partner, or had found accommodation through the help of a charity.

Hostels were uniformly described in negative terms, as women found them restrictive, unclean and noisy. Participants were provided with food in these establishments, but complained that the quality of the meals was poor and the meal times limiting. Amra had moved to the UK to study, but then claimed asylum later after her family situation deteriorated at home and her life was threatened. She had been detained for 11 days after her asylum interview. On release, Amra was sent to a hostel. She described to me how the food arrangements there rendered her community-based accommodation merely an extension of her detention:

They provide breakfast early in the morning, 7-30 and after that in between 12 and 2 they provide lunch and 5 o clock to 7 o clock they provide dinner. So it is similar to detention, actually no difference.

Hostels also had restrictive reporting measures, that bore at least a passing resemblance to the heavily criticised roll count used in detention. Women were required to leave their bedrooms and sign-in at reception at various times during the day, including early in the morning. Renas explained how difficult this was for her due to the medication she was taking for depression at the time:

It is like a prison, because if you go out from hostel, you have to sign and every morning you have to sign. Every morning. And at that time I was taking my depression, it make me sleepy in the morning, I can't sleep in the night, in the morning I fall asleep. I say to them I can't, I am sleepy in the morning, at 7, at 8 they ask me to do sign.

The restrictive food regimes and reporting measures of these hostels were an unwelcome reminder of women's time in detention. The feeling of vilification, suspicion and lack of trust developed in removal centres was reinforced by the experiences in hostels. Though technically 'free' women felt no less vilified by their new environments than they had in detention.

Women in shared houses were not restricted in their movements, but, as they had been in Yarl's Wood, they were still unable to choose with whom they lived. Brenda did not enjoy living with her housemates. One man, who would regularly become angry and kick doors, was particularly difficult. Echoing the words of those in detention, Brenda described her living accommodation as a form of mental torture. She was unable to find peace in her home and had no funds to go elsewhere when she needed a calm space to deal with her depression. Other women were victims of bullying in their homes, and told me how their housemates were openly hostile towards them. Homes were also sparsely furnished. Julie and her 10-month old son lived in a share house, and described how she had no microwave to heat food for the baby, or television or radio to help her pass the time.

Still other similarities existed between the accommodation provided by the Home Office and immigration detention. Like people in detention, women in Home Office accommodation were moved regularly between houses and could be asked to leave at short notice if they received a negative outcome for their case. Renas explained how she felt that as soon as she would begin to make friends and start to get to know the local services in her new city she would be moved again. She was never provided with a reason for the moves, and had no choice but to go where she was sent. Renas considered this to be harassment: *'is kind of attack to us. Is this right? Is there respect human right to do this with us? To move us? From many cities, many places.'* The distress felt by women when they were moved, and before, with the constant threat of relocation, reflects again the extension of practices experienced by women in immigration detention. Both Gill (2009a) and Griffiths (2014) describe how the uncertainty surrounding the movement of people throughout the detention estate

resulted in feelings of depersonalisation, instability. Gill particularly suggests this practice helps to reinforce the idea that people in immigration removal centres are transitory and easy to remove from the country (Gill, 2009a). In the community, there is no reason to suggest the outcome of uncertainty is any different and is fully supported by the testimonies provided here.

Women who were asked to leave their provided accommodation completely were usually given little notice, and often had nowhere to go. They were at this point reliant on charities to house them. This is what had happened to Brenda, from earlier, who, when unable to find accommodation and so spent her nights sleeping on night buses in London. This option was suggested to her by charities who were unable to find space for her, and advised her of the best routes for the practice suggesting this is a common solution for women in Brenda's situation. Riding buses was a safer option than some women could find. Phoebe gave the address of her ex-partner to immigration when in detention to help secure her release. She was able to stay on his sofa for a few nights, but she explained how he lived with men who were selling drugs and that even he did not feel safe in their company.

Living with uncertainty

The length of time women had to live in the conditions described above were, like their time in detention, indefinite. The women I spoke with had lived in this uncertain state for between 5 months and 6 years. Only one participant had received a positive decision from the Home Office with regard to her asylum case and had moved on to a semi-permanent visa with the rights to work and claim benefits when needed. The ambiguity of their lives added another layer to already difficult situations. Women had no means to tell at what stage they were in their respective cases and most were anxiously waiting for long periods between updates from the Home Office. In the meantime women were required to sign-on to the Home Office and were fearful of re-detention. Like the uncertainty of detention, such matters curtailed their independence and autonomy.

Relationships with the Home Office

The way in which women first made contact with the Home Office varied considerably. Some women had escaped from traffickers and were guided to a

reporting centre by a helpful member of the public. Others had been picked up and taken to detention on arrival at the airport, while still others had approached the Home Office in attempts to extend visas and were detained during this process. Whatever their circumstances leading up to detention, the women found the process of immigration enforcement confusing.

Nina, who had been married to her husband for 30 years, had lived with him in the UK for 4 years prior to her first confrontation with the Home Office. Nina was a victim of domestic violence perpetrated by her husband and the marriage had failed. She had returned to her family in her home country but had not confessed to them that she and her husband had divorced. On realising the restrictions her family would place on her when they understood what had happened, she attempted to return to the UK. She did not realise her spousal visa was now invalid and she was stopped at the airport and detained in Yarl's Wood for 7 months. Nina described her reaction to this development:

I am coming here like a blind person, I am no have idea... the woman they have strong right here, the woman she here, the solicitor they said you have right to come because your visa still working. About this I still come back here. When I came here they never mention what they do, they put you in detention and they say it is very good, lots of people detained, but you keep my freedom and my right, what is this?

Nina had expected the UK to be helpful, but found herself in what felt like a prison. Her case was further complicated by the responses she had given at the border, when she had failed to mention the history of domestic violence. In later interactions with the Home Office, her story regarding the violence she suffered from her husband was disbelieved as she had not initially disclosed the fact immediately on arrival to the UK. In her work on victims of gendered violence, Canning notes that a culture of disbelief within the Home Office is a common problem for women seeking asylum (Canning, 2017). Women's stories are often not believed, based on apparent discrepancies in their accounts. Yet, the work of Smith for Freedom from Torture (2004) and Muggeridge and Maman (2011) for Asylum Aid, suggest many inconsistencies in the accounts of women seeking asylum are the result of poor interviewing practices by the Home Office. Likewise, Canning illustrates how women are silenced by their own sense of shame at what has occurred in their past, and find the declaration of past violence too difficult to bear (Canning, 2014, 2017).

In the case of Nina, her responses were accurate at the time she made them. Upon re-entry to the UK her family were unaware of her divorce and she was no longer with her husband. However, after her ex-husband found she was in detention he informed her family of the divorce, and told them she was now in prison in the UK. It was only then that the trouble and threats from her family began.

The confusion felt by women regarding how immigration enforcement in the UK can be highlighted by their admissions that they were completely unaware of the most basic ways of life in Britain, let alone the intricacies of the asylum system. Amy, who was trafficked to the UK for sex, should never have been detained⁵⁷. She spent 6 months in the UK before she managed to escape from her traffickers, who had kept her inside at an address in London. She was helped to report to the Home Office by a member of the public who found her on the streets of London and offered her assistance. She had come from a remote village in her home country, and was not used to electricity or running water. She was unaware how to use a mobile phone, let alone what asylum was and how she could claim it. She was detained for a month until her experiences of trafficking were flagged up during her asylum interview. Amy was not clear why she was released or how. While in theory she understood that women who had been trafficked like her should not be detained, she had seen other women in detention with similar experiences who were not released. The only way she could understand her release was to describe it as magic:

They don't have to like do anything, we been here, myself, when I got release they say maybe is it magic. Is it British magic that brought me out, I don't even know because I have no idea how they got me released because people have been there, good people is in there, people with terrible things but yet they will keep you there.

It is clear from Amy's experience that the unclear nature of immigration enforcement allowed little room for her to assert any agency in what happened to her. By ignoring the cultural differences of women from different nationals around the world any

⁵⁷ Based on the UN High Commissioner 'guidelines on the applicable criteria and standards relating to the detention of asylum-seekers and alternatives to detention' that if an individual has been tortured in the past, or if they are a victim of trafficking they should not be detained as it is considered too damaging (UNHCR, 2013), and the Home Office's own guidance on adults at risk in immigration detention (Home Office, 2016b).

autonomy they may have had is disallowed, making it easier for the Home Office to assert its powers to detain and remove individuals.

The immigration system became no less confusing to women once they were released from detention. I asked Dana if she had anyone she could contact to ask questions about her case, and she explained to me her struggle to find answers. She told me she had heard there was someone she could call, but then lamented how she did not believe the Home Office knew themselves what was happening, and explained what happened when she had tried to contact them:

I phone you today, you tell me something and I phone your colleague tomorrow she's going to tell me a completely different thing. It's like a ball, one kick me here, the other kick me there the other one kick me there and I, I, again I stop. And I've been in the same way I was. Time is passing, I'm getting older and everything is gone and I'm still in the same place. Soo what are you meant to do?

Her inability to find answers left Dana feeling diminished. Her interactions with the Home Office appeared futile, and it left her feeling unimportant, unwanted and lost.

The threat of re-detention

Although released, women were not free from the Home Office, instead they had to report regularly at an immigration office in their general area. At the reporting centre, they often waited in long queues to have their name checked off on a computer system. The regularity of visits varied, typically becoming less regular the longer women had been waiting for a decision from the Home Office. Women were typically required to report once a week soon after released, and then this was revised to once a fortnight, once a month, and in one case a participant who had been waiting five years to receive a final decision reported once every 6 months and had been doing so for two years at the time that I spoke with her.

Women were terrified of signing on. It was not uncommon for women to be taken to detention without warning upon reporting to the Home Office and a few had experienced this already when they were first detained. Ryane explained in vivid detail the rising anxiety women described in the lead up to signing on:

...anytime I want to go and report I have this anxiety, depression on me and thinking oh god, I just want to go and report and come out, I don't want to be

detained. So is, something that you know your mind keep on letting you know that. Even today, like maybe tomorrow I want to go and report, tonight I can't sleep.

Any delay or problem with computer systems were an added stress, and Ryane went on to explain how one day the system was down when she went to report:

...you see me sweating, having, shaking, my heart went like... up and and I am just praying not to have this high blood pressure, because I am too young to have that kind of thing. So I was just sweating, oh god, you see me, I was shaking. It's really hard, it's really hard.

Another technique used by the Home Office to detain men and women is known as a morning raid. A number of women in this study had been detained in such a manner. In these instances, women are woken early in the morning by a team of enforcement officers who will take individuals to detention. Renas described the terror of this practice:

So, when they come to me in the morning, at about half past 7, I was sleeping in my room. Then suddenly while I am sleeping I heard some people behind the door, try to open the door and I heard them, they talk with each other. Then, I wake up, but my room it was very dark because half past seven in the winter, and so suddenly they enter to my room and they switch on the light. Then I saw police, many police, I shocked, I thought I am, this was nightmare, or dream. Then I couldn't move, I couldn't say anything I couldn't catch myself in bed. I want to realise what happen. I became, look on, watch, everything in my room, on my bed. I want to realise is this my room? Is this, am I in reality or in a dream? Because it is very hard to wake up to see front of you a lot of police. Then they said to me, we will take you to detention. At that time I don't know this word, detention. Centre detention?

This practice, and all other acts of unexpected detention left a lasting, negative, impression. Women were scared. The threat of re-detention was a constant looming threat for all the women in this study, and made them feel that they were never really free from incarceration. Even Phoebe, who had received her right to remain described how she was still easily startled when someone knocked on her door. She also had an aversion to the sound of heavy boots, the rattling of keys and ringing

phones; sounds she had heard in immigration detention. Though now free from immigration control, the feeling of captivity had never truly left her.

The legacy of detention

The stories from participants were overwhelming in their sadness and included description of extreme stress, anxiety and depression. Eight of the twelve women interviewed for this study were undergoing regular therapy sessions to help them cope with their experiences since arriving in the UK, and all women described mental unrest from anxiety through to suicidal ideation and depression more generally. Not all problems with mental health could be blamed purely on their time in detention, but women were clear that even if detention did not cause their problems it certainly exacerbated existing troubles. The description of depression which had developed in detention was very similar in women in the community than that described by women who were in detention at the time of interview. However, women in the community were able to discuss these feelings in retrospect, which highlighted how painful the memories remained for them.

Intrusive thoughts, depression, and loss of concentration after detention

The depression they experienced in detention did not go away upon release. Instead, feelings of distress from detention became compounded by the continuing hardship and restriction faced by women while waiting for a decision from the Home Office. Women found it difficult to speak about their time in detention because it reminded them of painful memories. This was summarised by Micah:

...when I talk about that I really start to remember everything and I start to cry you know, and it make me so pain, so I try sometimes to not talk about that you know, because I stress myself more and more you know, but sometimes you know, you needed to say like everything just to tell you that everything because when you keep in your heart it is not good as well, cause you have more stress like, and that.

A number of participants described how they tried to avoid talking about detention, and had only agreed to an interview in the hope that it would help others who might be detained in the future. This was also reflected in the refusals to be interviewed I

received from women I approached to be interviewed for this project. The prospect of speaking about detention was simply too painful for some women.

Though some women were able to avoid talking about detention in their daily lives, avoiding thoughts of detention were not feasible. Ryane explained how detention crept into her daily life and caused her nightmares: *'Even me, I can never, this experience can never leave me. It can never leave me at all. It is like, sometimes if I sleep, it is like the reflection is coming back. You understand?'* Ryane was so distressed during her time in detention she had tried to commit suicide. In our interview she showed me several scars caused by her attempts and described her fear of going mad there: *'I can't stay, I can't eat, I can't have fresh air, I can't, it's like everything in my life is just upside down.'*

Intrusive thoughts were common, and women reported crying easily, severe apathy, and isolating themselves from others, alongside clinically diagnosed mental health disorders of depression and PTSD. Women believed that they would never be able to forget their time in detention and that it would shape how they lived for the remainder of their lives.

In attempts to stave off their symptoms of mental distress women tried to keep busy in the community. Yet, even if they were able to obtain funds to travel or attend college, they often found it hard to concentrate. Some described memory loss. Amy attended a local college and though English was her first language found herself unable to understand the classes:

I am so so struggling. Like, at times it's something I know how to spell, but I can't. Sometimes I can't spell properly, and I am just like struggling to go into the college. I try to like, engage myself in so many things, but like, bring myself to who I am, no. I am finding it so so hard to be honest with you.

Renas, an academic in her own country, suffered from severe memory loss and apathy. She described how she suffered from chronic tiredness, which she partially blamed on the medication she was taking to deal with the depression she had suffered since her time in detention:

I don't like this, my medication, I want to leave it. It make me very lazy and my memory, makes my memory become very terrible. Many time I lost my laptop, my phone, my money, so now the staff here, every time when they see me, they ask me 'keep your things! keep your bag!' Yeah, believe me, because many time, yesterday, also I lost my phone and in the class then come back,

then come back in my class. Two months ago I lost my laptop on the seat, I left it. So, every week I lose it. So this affect too much on my memory.

Ryane felt that she had been fundamentally changed by her time in detention and then under Home Office restrictions in the community. She felt that if she had been deported quickly she would have had a better chance at surviving at home, despite threats to her life she felt she faced there. However, with the depression that she now suffered she believed she had been broken mentally by the Home Office, and if she were to now return home she would be unable to cope. Renas made similar accusations against the Home Office, detailing a series of losses to herself that she blamed on the organisation:

They make my situation worse, my depression, my ability, my memory, all this effect on my body... I lost my health, my healthy, my ability to think right way. I lost my hobby, my situation not like this. My confidence I lost, I lost my confident. They like they kill us from inside. If you could you by any way this be easier, easier, cause they kill you from inside. So they are criminal, more than they kill me by knife or gun.

The loss and change of self, described here by Ryane and Renas, reflect the works of Coffey et al, who similarly found people released from immigration detention in Australia experienced negative transformations of themselves as a result of their incarceration (Coffey et al., 2010). Likewise, the substantial personal losses described here replicate the consequences of violations to dignity described by Jacobson (2009, 2010) in the opening chapters of this dissertation.

Explaining distress post-detention

Women in the community were greatly offended by their detention and continued to feel the impact of their time there long after it had drawn to a close. They had time to reflect on their experiences of detention upon release and were able to articulate quite clearly why it had offended them so deeply. Detention, they were clear, was unjust and unfair. They had been treated like criminals, when all they wanted was sanctuary. The ongoing experiences in the community while awaiting a decision from the Home Office reinforced their sense that the government of the UK thought them

to be of a lesser status than their own citizens, consequently diminishing their own sense of themselves. This status, they said, felt less than human.

Criminalisation and vilification

Women believed they had spent time in a prison, and since their release the ongoing reporting to the Home Office did little to disprove this perception. Like people who have been imprisoned for a criminal offence and released on probation, men and women who have been in immigration detention must attend a reporting centre. In some ways former prisoners have more flexibility than those released from detention and are able to inform a dedicated offender manager if they were unable to attend an appointment for a clear reason such as employment, religious event or other 'important' events. Women in this study did not have such a luxury. A missed appointment is documented and could be used as grounds for detention, as evidence that an individual had a history of absconding.

The enforced lifestyles led by women made them feel they were treated as though they had done something very wrong. Alongside the fear of re-detention women endured when going to report, they also felt they were being monitored like they could not be trusted in the community. Nina described to me, through a friend who had come along to help translate, what it was like to be in this situation:

But even when I go there I feel bad like they are looking at her like a criminal or something, they don't respect you and yeah, still feel scared when she go there because of the shock of detention is still in her mind.

When prompted to elaborate on how being treated like a criminal made her feel, Nina responded through her friend: '*She said it was feeling like really down, like, the way how they treat her was like, like they were killing her every single day, every single minute so, it was like horrible.*' Nina also described the treatment of other women as proof of the Home Office's lack of care towards people in her situation. Travelling to report was often a substantial effort and though some women were provided with means to travel to reporting centres others were not and had to beg or borrow funds to make the trip. Nina described how on arrival she would often sit in long queues at the office and witnessed women with young children who were given the same treatment:

She said even like the woman with the child they go there to report every week or every two weeks and it was raining and in January it was snowing and it was really horrible with a baby and said that make me like feel.. yeah.

The lack of care evidenced by inflexible reporting arrangements added to women's sense that the Home Office regarded them as suspicious and untrustworthy. Their regular trips to report sentences also served as a constant reminder that their lives remained under the control of the government.

Women were also made to feel like criminals by former friends and associates due to their detention and ongoing involvement with the Home Office. Women were sometimes rejected by others because people assumed they had committed a serious crime. Larissa was surprised to be rejected by former friends on her return to the community. She explained how she had called a friend once she was released, and found she was refusing her calls. Through a mutual friend she discovered her former friend was scared to speak with her *'Because I was in that place and she scared of me.'* I asked if she might be scared due to her own immigration status, but Larissa clarified her former friend was here legally, with all her papers so it was not linked. Though Larissa had committed no crime, the stigma placed upon her by members of the community resulted in real consequences to her ability to actively participate in society.

Other women were rejected by family members in their home countries who could not understand the difference between a detention centre and prison. Nina had initially hidden her divorce from her father because he was ill, and she believed the knowledge may make his condition worse. After she was detained her ex-husband called her family and told them she was both divorced and now in prison. Whether related or not her father died soon after learning this information and her family now blamed her for the death, in a tragic twist that added to her fear of return. Women feared the stigma that may be placed on their families at home if their communities believed they had been imprisoned in the UK and many tried to hide their detention for this reason. This is a well-founded fear. In her work on the consequences of crime for relatives of prisoners, Condry illustrates how families of offenders are in fact vicariously shamed and share in the negative consequences of stigmatisation faced by serious offenders (Condry, 2007). That the women in this study had not committed a serious offence did not matter, as exemplified by Goffman in his original works on stigma, it is the perception of a tainted identity that is the defining feature of acceptance or not to society (Goffman, 1963).

Injustice

The treatment experienced by women throughout the entire immigration enforcement process felt severely unjust. For those picked up during a dawn raid this process of injustice began here. Phoebe described how she felt when officers came to her home:

You see like now, when they come for me, to get me to arrest me. I was not a criminal. Why are they bringing 8 officers? They bringing those 8 officers to come arrest me. Everyone was looking on the window to see who is this criminal. It was so unfair, there is nothing I have done, I have only stay in the country illegally.

Women were unable to reconcile their treatment, ‘as criminals,’ with the way in which they felt they should be treated ‘as humans’. Larissa experienced severe distress after her detention and linked this to her feelings of injustice:

I felt that I didn't deserve, I felt why did it happen to me? I felt that I deserve much better in the future than that one, because like, I struggle. I tried my best, I never stole anything here, and it shouldn't, it just not good place for me.

She described how, though she had escaped further pain caused by detention itself, she still suffered from substantial psychological unrest after:

So, for another one month, two months, I am still stressed out. First month, two months was terrible still. I was buying beer every day, drinking it. Crying, like crying when I am at home on my own. I used to go to a park, I was running fast and people were telling me, girl take it easy!

The pain of their experience was especially vivid for women who were seeking asylum. For Ryane, the pain of detention was linked to her inability to understand why she would be imprisoned when she had asked for help: *‘I come here for safety, for the government to help me, and they are putting me in even more depressed. You understand, it is not good at all.’*

Clara had come to the UK after fleeing from an abusive husband. She was offered passage with a trafficker, but only able to flee if she left her children behind. She already suffered from mental health problems before detention, and these issues had worsened severely when she was in detention. She was taking medication for PTSD

when interviewed. She described a change in her identity after detention, where she no longer felt herself:

My head was just so full of a lot of things. I was crying, I asked myself why? I have come to this country for safety. Why all this trauma? Why all this traumatising? Why are they traumatising? Why are they doing all this, all this things. I don't know if it is political or not, just thinking oh you are lying, you are lying, you are.

Brenda felt that detention, and her struggle to survive after leaving her country in similar circumstances to Clara, brought back memories of the traumas she had lived through when fleeing her home country:

So that was really something, which puts you ten years back where you are being put back in your country and this kind of torture mentally, you think of how you, you think back on all you went through on your country you think of what you are going through in detention, you have no freedom, imagine. You are thinking of what you have done, to be here in detention.

Brenda referred regularly to trying to understand why she had been treated in such a way by the Home Office:

I ask myself, in my life, in myself, I have never been arrested, why?, I ask myself why if somebody didn't kill, didn't steal, didn't commit any offence apart from being illegally live in the country, is that something you have be in detention for?

Amy summarises well the impact of injustice in her experiences both in detention and after:

I came to Britain not knowing that, I didn't know that it would end up this way and, then they take you to where you can like be more depressed and giving you wasn't depressed but then, giving depression in you, you feel maybe they don't like you or what, because there is no good explanation given to you why they are treating you this way. Ok there is punishment for any bad behaviour, but you haven't done anything to that extent that would lead you this process

That Amy felt she was being punished is an important point, and one that her feelings of hurt stemmed from. All of the women interviewed for this project felt their treatment at the hand of the Home Office was disproportionately harsh. This is

especially true of women who applied for asylum as soon as they were physically possible as per the rules and guidelines set for persons seeking asylum. The feeling that the Home Office would then treat them in a way that was unfair and unjust made them feel they had done something wrong, and this led to substantial lessening of already damaged feelings of self-worth and self-esteem.

Gender and the experience of border control

The deprivation, restriction, vilification and injustice women felt post-detention and during their wait for a decision from the Home Office were not necessarily related to their gender. Men who have been released undergo similar experiences (Hasselberg, 2016; Klein & Williams, 2012). There were, however, some experiences that were related to being a woman. Some participants in the study had been trafficked to the UK for sex work. A number of women in the project were mothers. Some had children they had left during their escape to the UK, and others had children that were born here. Relationships with their offspring resulted in exceptional circumstances. Linked to this was a vulnerability to sub-optimal relationships in the hope of protection and to remain in the UK. These topics will all be explored here now.

Trafficking

Home Office policy dictates that people who are victims of trafficking should not be held in immigration detention (Home Office, 2016b), and do human rights protections ratified by the UK such as the UN High Commissioner '*guidelines on the applicable criteria and standards relating to the detention of asylum-seekers and alternatives to detention*' (UNHCR, 2013). As has been described elsewhere in some detail, the detention of women who have been trafficked is especially damaging to their mental and physical health (BID, 2005; Canning, 2014, 2017; Girma, Kershaw, Lousley, Radice, & Walter, 2015; Girma et al., 2014; Medical Justice, 2012). The reality, however, is that victims of trafficking still find themselves incarcerated and the onus is them to prove their innocence (Canning, 2017). This was the case for at least four of the women that were interviewed for this project. Women recounted how they had come to the UK, in the hope of a better life and/ or to escape violent husbands. They were not aware they would be forced into prostitution. Some had spent long

periods locked in houses forced into this role. Others, though not locked in were just as unwillingly forced into their situation. Ryane explained how she had no choice:

So the lady that traffic me, here in this country ask me to pay her money because she brought me here with money, so I had to pay her the money. So I don't have any choice but to pay to work with her.

Ryane explained further the reason she left her country:

We left our country because there are some, we are, people are after our life, people are be here for sometimes they don't know, like me, I was trapped in, I didn't even know that, I didn't know that I was going to come here to do prostitution work no. I was trapped because the people were after my life I had, I needed help to leave my country.

To be placed in detention after suffering through this, and to endure long periods waiting in uncertainty were especially damaging for this group of women. They were unable to reconcile the suffering they had been through with their treatment. Most believed the UK to be a place of rights and safety. Their resulting treatment was a shock. Amy described how she believed British people would be kind and caring. She referred to the relative treatment as 'hell.' Then, to be detained and disbelieved by the government on escape from her traffickers was almost unbearable:

So it more of, there is nothing, they say equality, but there is no equality, trust me. There is nothing like that. They say it, they say it, but there is nothing, because you say I am traffic, normally they don't know what traffic mean. So is that how they going to protect me?

Pregnancy and motherhood

Two of the women in this project had been pregnant during their time in detention. The legacy of detention for them was an especially hard memory, and their release back into the community especially difficult as expecting mothers. Neither felt they had been cared for appropriately in detention and both had feared they would lose their babies as a result. Their experiences are reflected in works from NGOs (See Medical Justice 2013; Girma et al. 2014; Girma et al. 2015) and the Shaw report into vulnerable persons in detention (Shaw, 2016), who all agreed pregnant women should not be held in detention. Pregnant women are now expected to be released from detention within 72 hours of the Home Office confirming their pregnancy, however, at the time of this research the law and guidelines had yet to be established.

Phoebe was still in her first trimester when she was taken into detention and spent three months there:

Let's say for 3 months, and for every place, you are pregnant, depressed. It was too much, it was too hard... so it was like, I remember it was this Christmas, it was Christmas time and pregnant so it was so hard for me, because it was a proper stress. Stress was too much.

Julie missed her 20-week anomaly scan because she was in detention⁵⁸. She was fearful that her child was ill and told me the only medical care she had for her child was through an external organisation called Medical Justice who she contacted personally. Medical Justice, in turn, sent a midwife to her in the centre to check on the baby. Nonetheless, Julie blames the detention centre for the excess stress she felt during her pregnancy and worried what impact that may have had on her child's development. Julie found her time in detention traumatising due to the pregnancy and had contemplated suicide when she felt she could not cope with the stress:

something tell me to suicides you know because you have so problem, you have so stress, you don't know what you can do, you have baby inside you, you scared too much you want to say, I want to kill by myself. Kill by my self family. Kill by myself.

Both women were released before the birth of their children, but additional problems meant their release was not straight forward. Phoebe was released to inappropriate housing, having used the address of her former partner to ensure she would be released. She was unable to stay for long as he shared a house with other men who she felt unsafe around. She was ultimately moved to a town she had never heard of and after spending some time in a hostel was moved to a shared house. Julie was similarly released to hostel accommodation, and though she was late in her pregnancy was told she could not move to a shared house until after the child was born. She was helped by a charity to find accommodation in between but had since been moved to a shared house. She was unhappy in this accommodation and told me how the other residents sometimes told her they did not like her and her baby living there.

⁵⁸ The 20 week anomaly scan is a key milestone for pregnancy care in the UK. It is at this point doctors are able to identify anomalies of the foetus and set in motion any medical care required for the continuing health of the mother and child.

Another participant had become pregnant since leaving detention. Micah, whom I had met earlier in detention, had begun a relationship with a friend very soon after leaving Yarl's Wood and had quickly fallen pregnant. Micah had complex health problems that had been exacerbated during detention, including epilepsy. She had been told by her doctor that she needed to take care of herself and remain calm and relaxed during the pregnancy. She was trying her best, but often felt low and found herself crying easily when she remembered her time in detention and the possibility of being re-detained:

it's like I am scared something because I don't know which minute, what is going to happen. Like I thank god, I am taking the tablets you know, and I just, so it is a little bit stop because I have quiet time, you know like I try to forget you know, all that things. But of course I can't...

When she was first pregnant Micah believed the Home Office could not detain her due to the fact, however at the time this was only a rumour, and she had since worried again she might be re-detained regardless.

Micah was lucky enough to be in a relationship with a partner who helped to care for her during her pregnancy. This was not the case for most women, however. Phoebe explained how she became pregnant with her second child. She felt her confidence had been lost during detention and her time waiting for temporary admission to the country. She had been helped by a charity to complete courses to help her confidence, but was plagued by feelings of guilt about some of the things she had done to stay in the country. She had spent time in relationships with men she believed did not respect her, after they had offered to help her and her first child. She had another child with one man, because she believed he would continue to help her if she gave him a child. Though she knew this was not the right thing to do she felt she needed help and this was one of very few options available to her.

Conclusion

Women, when released from detention, face a different form of imprisonment. Although they are free from the physical walls, gates, and barbed wire they found so offensive in removal centres, they face another regime characterised by uncertainty and restriction that shadows their time in detention. Unsurprisingly then, the women interviewed in the community suffered from serious mental health problems such as

anxiety, stress, depression, PTSD, confusion and loss of memory. They were all adamant their ailments were exacerbated or caused by detention and made worse by their continued treatment in the community.

Indeed, women in the community, were, to some extent, the most anxious and vulnerable of all the groups I interviewed. While some of the pains women were enduring related to the impact of their period in detention, many were specific to their precarious position within the community. Still denied access to the protections of citizenship, their sense of themselves as humans was undermined. Such testimonies suggest the problem rests in dignity, more than detention. In the next chapter, I explore whether women who have been returned to Jamaica illustrate similar findings.

CHAPTER SIX: WOMEN RETURNED TO JAMAICA

'So treat all of us better, because we are human beings. If you cut one of us, the same red blood, cut me you get red blood, you, you get red. So you must treat equal!' – Tanish, removed to Jamaica after overstaying a visa.

In this chapter I discuss what happens to women who have been removed from the UK after spending time in immigration detention. The women on which this chapter is based were all returned under Immigration Act powers or deported from the UK to Jamaica. Drawing on 26 interviews I explore common themes in their experiences.

Women returned to Jamaica wanted to be treated fairly, justly and with respect for their personal circumstances. Instead, they experienced persistent violations to their dignity across all spheres of their lives; women were labelled and stigmatised when they returned to Jamaica, they were considered “criminal” and treated as such. Many discovered that their previous circle of friends and family were much less willing to offer their support than they had expected and hoped. Women found it challenging to look respectable, support their children, or gain employment and as a consequence their sense of self-worth suffered. Some had also been deeply offended by the treatment they received from the UK government during the process of their removal. Combining all these aspects, they described to me a set of circumstances in which it was difficult, if not impossible, to maintain their sense of self-worth. As will become clear, those who had spent time in prison in the UK had better outcomes than those who had only spent time in immigration detention, raising important questions about the relative punishing effect of these two sites that will be discussed in conclusion.

Jamaica and the UK have a long history spanning back to the British colonisation of the country, which lasted from 1655 until 1962. During the 1950s, substantial numbers of Jamaicans entered the UK without restriction (Foner, 1985; Thomas-Hope, 2002; Tidrick, 1966), including some who entered on special schemes under which they were brought over to fill gaps in NHS nursing positions after the second world war (Batnitzky & McDowell, 2011; Brown, 1997). The Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 brought in restrictions for Jamaicans and other former colonial subjects seeking to enter the UK; however, Britain remains a popular destination (Golash-Boza, 2015).

For working-class women in Jamaica it is commonplace to emigrate in search of employment, leaving behind children who are looked after by extended family members (Crawford-Brown, 1999; Thomas-Hope, 2002; Pottinger, 2005). Indeed, across the Eastern Caribbean more generally it is estimated that between 10 to 20 per cent of children live in households where at least one parent is absent due to migration (Blank, 2007). The ubiquity of this practice has led to the term ‘barrel children,’ named after the historical practice of sending home barrels of goods to children left behind by their mothers (Crawford-Brown, 1999; Dillon & Walsh, 2012). Half of the women I interviewed for this dissertation fell into this category; they had emigrated to the UK in search of employment and before detention were sending home regular remittances to their children and their carers.

Others, in my sample, had sought to smuggle drugs into the UK. Geographically, Jamaica is well-situated between places of cocaine production and the affluent markets of the UK and the US (Clarke, 2006; Klein, Day, & Harriot, 2004). Nearly twenty years ago, the National Security Minister of Jamaica put the value of the drug trafficking racket in Kingston at approximately US\$3-3.6 billion dollars (Clarke, 2006). The use of people as ‘mules’ is still common. Individuals employed in this way conceal drugs, either in their own body or within their luggage (Clarke, 2006).

Most of the women I spoke to in Jamaica had either smuggled drugs or had moved to the UK in search of work. Two became involved in drugs or other undisclosed criminality while in the UK. Half of the women had overstayed their visas, had then been detained in a removal centre and subsequently removed. The other half had been caught with drugs on their arrival to the UK, served a prison sentence and had then been deported.

I begin this chapter by exploring the reasons why the participants left Jamaica. Then I describe their experiences on return. In their testimonies a set of overarching themes emerge which I relate to the concept of dignity. These factors include ones that were present in detention and in the community; of being labelled, criminalised and vilified. In addition, women in Jamaica describe extensive deprivation, difficulties they face in keeping up appearances and challenges in meeting their responsibilities as mothers. Women reminisced about their time in detention and were keen to point out the injustice of that confinement. Finally, some described sources of dignity

promotion. In this range of examples we gain a sense of the multiple factors shaping women's sense of self-worth.

Leaving Jamaica

The reasons participants left Jamaica provided important context to their experiences in the UK, and upon return. Women who had emigrated to the UK and were not involved in the carriage of drugs, were often in a better financial position before their departure than those who had become drug mules. These women left in search of jobs or education so that they would be able to better themselves and send home extra money to their children. In most cases they had relatives in the UK who were able to help buy their fares and support them on their arrival. Tanish, for example, who had a disabled daughter in Jamaica, had moved to the UK in the hope she could eventually send for her child:

I have my sick daughter, I was trying to get a future for her, like, if me did get my stay, I would have tried to come, if me could have carried her over and so forth. Because you know over there, they have better opportunity with those kids.

Tanish had spent 5 years in London, staying with a friend and caring for that friend's daughter in return for money for travel around London. When she could, she would send money to her sister in Jamaica, who was looking after her child while she was away. Tanish was arrested by immigration officers who had come to her address in search of someone else. They asked Tanish to show her passport, and requested she also prove her right to be in the UK. When she was unable to do so, she was taken to immigration detention and removed to Jamaica soon after. Most of the women who had arrived in the UK on tourist or student visas had stayed on after these immigration documents had elapsed. They were all returned to Jamaica after being caught by immigration. Often, like Tanish, they were discovered by chance.

There were also women in the study who had tried to renew their visas, but were unable to complete the process and eventually removed. Their failure to regulate their stay usually resulted from their lack of understanding of how the system worked, or how to proceed with the Home Office if something went wrong. Brooke, for example, had lived in England for 8 years before she was deported in 2009. She had moved to the UK to live with her sister, who had arranged her passport and initial

visa. When the time came for her visa to be renewed Brooke's sister sent off her passport as required; however, attempts by postal workers to return her passport failed when no-one was home to receive the package. Brooke described to me multiple efforts to retrieve the passport, and despite attempts to contact the Home Office she was never successful in securing the return of her documents. After 8 years she was also detained when immigration officials came to her home looking for her housemate. Brooke spent 6 months in detention fighting to stay in England before she was returned to Jamaica.

Women who had spent time in prison in England and Wales had typically been caught with contraband on arrival in the country and spent between two and four years in prison. They had been removed once they had served the compulsory prison time their sentences required⁵⁹. Women in this study who were deported due to criminal offences had usually carried drugs to the UK. They told me they did so because of financial desperation. They were struggling to feed themselves and their children, and so when they were offered a large sum of money they felt compelled to participate. This finding reflects other academic work exploring the motivations of Caribbean women to smuggle drugs such as Bailey (2013), who found financial hardship to be a key contributing factor to women's involvement in drug smuggling from Barbados.

Though most admitted knowing what they were doing was wrong, they claimed to be unaware of the potential criminal or physical consequences involved. Olivia spent three and a half years in prison in the UK for trafficking illegal substances. She was a single mother of 6 children when she carried drugs overseas, she explained:

Well, I couldn't find meals for the kids, couldn't find clothing for the kids and I didn't want to turn to prostitution, you know? Or to steal anything from anybody, so I got the offer, so I took the offer. Because the equipment, they didn't say it was like a danger, that you will get caught in the situation.

Olivia said she was unaware that she was transporting drugs, even though she described swallowing pills⁶⁰ before the flight. She was also ignorant of the dangers to

⁵⁹ This is typically half the initial prescribed sentence, which aligns with parliamentary legislation in the UK whereby offenders with a prison sentence of 12 months or more spent the first half in prison, and the second half 'on licence' in the community.

⁶⁰ By pills Olivia is referring to small packages of drugs made up in the shape of large pills, making them easier to swallow.

herself if the drug packages had burst inside her body. Women unlike Olivia who knew they were carrying drugs were equally blind to the consequences if they were caught. A number of participants hinted at coercion in their descriptions of how they came to accept the drugs, which is again supported by other research with female smugglers (Bailey, 2013; Campbell, 2008; Esmee Fairbairn Foundation, 2003). All of the women in this study who were imprisoned for the offence of drug smuggling, like Olivia, were removed following their imprisonment because they had no legal status in the UK.

The differences between those who had migrated to the UK for work or school, and others who travelled with drugs were important. Their experiences on return were heavily influenced by their reasons for leaving. Some of the variance can be easily explained, such as the fact that those who had been in prison had never spent time in the country outside these institutions. Most women in this group had never expected to stay in the UK, and were happy to return to Jamaica as soon as possible. Alternatively, those who had lived in the UK community often fought their removal to Jamaica. If someone had lived in the community they had often become part of it, many had family and friends there and few connections left in Jamaica. On return the women from each group faced different challenges as they tried to negotiate a life for themselves. These differences will be addressed in the text below, but first I will discuss the external factors of the Jamaican environment that are common to both groups.

Returning to Jamaica

Regardless of the reasons for their initial departure from Jamaica, everyone faced a hostile welcome. Women were labelled as “deportees” and “criminals” due to their status as returned migrants and stigmatised as such. I explain below the impact of these external factors to the participants’ sense of dignity.

Labelling

People who have been returned to Jamaica are uniformly considered to be “deportees” by those in the local community. This label, women complained, overrode their individual qualities and experiences. Daloris had spent 3 years in prison in the UK after agreeing to carry drugs for a friend. She was 21 years old when she left, and had agreed to carry them because she desperately wanted to travel. She had a five

year old son at the time of the offence, who remained behind in the care of his aunt. Daloris explained to me the way people categorised women and men on their return:

people label you as deportee. So, somebody will see you and say that deportee boy that is deportee girl or that and they get deport. People classify you and put you into a little box by yourself as deportee.

Although women tried to hide their immigration status to avoid this categorisation, their attempts were rarely successful. Cassandra had spent 14 years in the UK before she was returned to Jamaica. For most of this time she had a valid student visa and survived by working 20 hours a week alongside her studies. She was detained and ultimately removed in 2014 after she tried to change her student visa to an “unmarried partner” visa. Cassandra explained to me the reaction of people in her community when they discovered she had been deported:

You know when I tell people they have a funny reaction about deportee or something. You can't tell everybody because they will start to label you as that. Cause even if they know your name, they won't call you by your name. They say “deportee, deportee”. They call plenty people like that.

Once labelled as a deportee, women recounted, they were shunned by former communities, looked down on, and treated as though they belonged to an underclass. Like the figures in Goffman’s foundational work on stigma, these women were ‘othered’ due to their membership of a group of persons deemed undesirable (Goffman, 1963).

In some cases, stigma left women in fear for their safety and that of their children after intimidation from gangs. Malene had spent 11 years in the UK, she had moved there after the birth of her daughter. Although she had been in stable employment before she fell pregnant, she had been unable to work since her daughter was born and received little support from the child’s father. She left for the UK to provide a better life for her daughter who remained behind with Malene’s mother and sister. After her return Malene’s daughter was threatened by gangs in the neighbourhood because of her status as a deportee and her failure to return with capital. The gang referred to Malene as ‘naked’ because she returned from the UK without any possessions: *‘Yes and she saying that when people cursing me she don't like it, and they tell me why, your mother, she British and she have nothing.’* In Condry’s terms (2007),

Malene's daughter suffered the effects of vicarious stigmatisation because of the 'spoiled' status of her mother.

The impact of the label of "deportee," socially, was debilitating for women. Some tried to hide their status, to avoid being shunned, but this deception made it hard to build close relationships, and left them socially isolated. It also required a relentless performance to appear 'normal' to others. Managing the stigma was hard. Many participants were depressed and described an overall loss of self-esteem (Goffman, 1963; see also Turnbull, 2017).

Most of the women who participated in my research in Jamaica felt unable to seek support. Their shame was compounded by feeling they were unlikely to receive much needed help from former friends and unlikely to secure accommodation. They also believed their status limited their ability to find informal employment. As will be detailed further below, such fears relating to accommodation and employment were often well-founded.

Criminalisation and vilification

The problems caused by the deportee label related to the term's association with criminality. The long history of drug trade and gangs in the Caribbean, and the forced return of a number of well-known gang leaders and members for their involvement in criminal activities (Miller, 2012), has resulted in the "criminalisation" of nearly everyone who is returned to Jamaica. There is a widespread perception, however erroneous, among people in Jamaica that "deportees" have committed crime overseas and an accompanying expectation that they will continue to commit crime on their return (Golash-Boza, 2015). In fact, while a number of those removed from overseas will have committed a criminal offence, there is no evidence to suggest this population are any more likely to commit a crime on return than the average Jamaican (Headley, 2006). Yet, such academic work has little effect on perceptions.

Eve offers a clear example of the situation many women described. She had lived in London for four years. She was returned to Jamaica when she was unable to produce evidence of a right to be in the UK during a chance encounter with the police. She described passionately the way she had been labelled not only as a "deportee" but also as a criminal:

You tell them, say, you come home, you remove, if you removed they say why they deport you? Cause them look at you one way, a criminal. You understand? You must be criminal, CRIMINAL!

Women like Eve felt vilified, shamed and excluded from their communities. They also felt they were unimportant to other people because of it. They feared the negative social reaction of others, and went out of their way to avoid confrontation. Malene described her hopelessness:

No, nobody really cares. Nobody cares. Nobody cares. I'm just there. Nobody cares. Nobody don't ask you how you feeling. What you doing? What you need? Nobody cares. I tell you the truth. If I'm really hungry, I am even scared to ask someone. Cause you know nobody, nobody cares.

Although half of my sample had not been 'deported' for criminal activity, but rather had been administratively removed, this made little difference to their experiences in Jamaica (see Turnbull, 2017 for similar findings). Essentially, they were considered criminal by their local communities. Removal centres, like prisons, exacerbated the stigma of returned populations, as these spaces were perceived as punitive, and the people who had been detained within them seen as 'guilty' by association (Turnbull, 2017).

Notwithstanding the numbers who are regularly sent back to Jamaica, the women's stories suggest that there was widespread ignorance about the process of removal, or the complexity of immigration control in Britain. This is exemplified by Grace, who was 16 years old when she left Jamaica for the UK hoping to study. On arrival in Britain she was declined entry. She was told her sponsors, which included her mother, had insufficient funds to support her. Grace was sent to a hotel near the airport for the night and told to return the next morning for a flight back to Jamaica. She left the hotel and went to her mother's home in London instead. During her time in the UK Grace had worked her way up into the position of manager at a sports store in London. She explained how people misunderstood the process of removal:

Some people tend to judge you, right, for instance when you come out there before and see me and people see me. People assume because you're deported you do something wrong. You're probably was in drugs or going for some foolishness or something, they don't understand you can just overstay and get deported.

Women who were in the same position as Grace, who had been removed due to a violation of immigration law, were particularly offended by the assumption they were criminal. Eve, introduced earlier, found her transition back to the Jamaican community so troubling she contemplated ending her own life and that of her children:

Trust me, one day I plan[ned] to kill myself and kill the kids. The way I went through it, I.. it was rough. Trust me. I can't imagine, live here like 13 years. To come back, just because of your status.. to commit a crime, well that's different. But, when you came back because of your status.. it's not easy.

It was difficult to tell if Eve had truly contemplated ending her life or that of her children. When I spoke with her I had no fear for her safety. However, her powerful testimony makes clear that she had struggled to reconcile how difficult her life had become due to what she felt was a minor offence. She resented being grouped with women who had carried drugs to the UK. Eve also believed people in her community would be more willing to help her out if they understood she was “just” an ‘illegal immigrant’.

Women who had spent time in prison were often defiant about their criminal label too. They pointed out how unjust it was that the criminal label followed them home. Not only had their sentence finished, but as a number of them pointed out, they had never committed an offence in Jamaica and so they should not be punished there. Many women who had been imprisoned for drug trafficking explained how their choices had been restricted by their difficult life circumstances and limited options for survival. This defence provided many of them the confidence to protect their sense of self-worth. Some used their story as a warning for others. Here Olivia explained:

When I just came home it wasn't so welcome for me where I live, cause people pointing fingers at me, saying 'oh, prisoner' and all of that. But I didn't care. I'm proud because at the end of the day I make an example for others. You know?

The use of the term proud here suggests the impact of labelling was minimised by Olivia’s reaction to it. Women who could not justify why they had been returned felt especially wronged and vilified by the label they considered unfair and unjust.

Building a life in Jamaica

The labelling and resulting stigma caused by the deportee label with its implicit and explicit criminalisation had practical and emotional impact. Emotionally, as described in Malene's example, women felt no one cared for them. With no one to reinforce their value, women begin to suffer from a loss of self-esteem, and many had become isolated since their return. Practically, being labelled and shamed as a criminal made it hard for women to find legal employment. Inability to find work left women feeling they were a burden to family members and in many cases the women I spoke to were enduring considerable economic deprivation.

Chronic deprivation and poverty

In July 2015, when the interviews for this project took place, the unemployment rate for women in Jamaica was 17.7 per cent⁶¹ (Statistics Institute of Jamaica, 2016). In this already difficult job market women found that employers were unwilling to hire from a population considered undesirable. Many also faced age discrimination. In Jamaica employers can advertise for employees within an age range, and for women this range was typically under 35. This finding is supported by other researchers, who found employees in Jamaica between the ages of 45 and 65 were more likely to be fired, and less likely to be hired in the first instance (Mujtaba et al 2006; Mujtaba, et al 2004). Most also believed their national records⁶² were marked, and avoided applying for any position that required employment checks for this reason⁶³. They lacked confidence to approach potential employers for fear they would be “discovered” and discriminated against.

Very few of those I interviewed had secure employment. Most survived by utilising the informal urban economic markets of downtown Kingston and Montego Bay. Their utilisation of these markets allowed women to participate in money-making activities outside the formal economy, which they referred to as ‘hustling’⁶⁴.

⁶¹ The female unemployment rate has since fallen to 14.1%, as reported in October 2017 (Statistics Institute of Jamaica, 2018).

⁶² Participants were unclear what their ‘national record’ contained, but most likely they were referring to police records held by the Ministry of National Security.

⁶³ It was unclear if this was fact or rumour, though it was brought up by almost all women interviewed.

⁶⁴ For a detailed historical overview of women working in the informal urban economy of Kingston, Jamaica see Harrison (1988).

In Jamaica hustling practices range from the selling of goods on the street, wiping windcreens at red lights and assisting tourists to carry their luggage to more creative service provisions such as the braiding of tourists' hair or similar. Women in the study appeared to favour the selling of goods, and described how they had to build up their stock of items over time. They would start with one or two pieces, such as a bottle of shampoo or roll of toilet paper, and when they sold them they would use the profits to slowly accumulate a larger collection of items for sale. They hawked their wares on blankets and carts on Kingston's busy downtown streets.

A small number of women had become more successful vendors and ran market stalls or shops. They could make enough money to find accommodation and feed themselves and their families most of the time. However, increasing competition and economic instability meant even they had to top up their earnings by taking on additional work such as laundry or other service opportunities.

Less successful hustlers or vendors rarely had enough to cover all their needs and so their income was supplemented by begging from friends and family. The practice of begging, however, was another source of shame for women in this study. Those who had lived in the UK had become accustomed to their role as provider for themselves and their children in Jamaica. These women were used to being independent and were proud of the help they could provide. Begging was an overwhelming, though necessary, departure from this role and the lack of autonomy it caused resulted in a great deal of distress.

Inability to secure meaningful employment and income for most of the women in the study resulted in circumstances of prolonged deprivation, poverty and dependence. The ongoing fight for survival was a common theme in the interviews. The story of Joanne epitomised the problems many faced. Joanne was 65 years old when I interviewed her. She had spent approximately 11 years in the UK before she was deported in 2014. In London she had survived by catering for small parties and with the help of family and friends. Joanne contrasted her inability to manage her new life in Jamaica, with her previous situation in England where she had been independent, and able to send money home. Joanne felt pained by the loss of her autonomy, especially when she resorted to begging for help. Furthermore, accommodation was difficult to find and expensive if women were unable to stay with family and friends. Joanne described to me her current accommodation in Jamaica:

*The place? It's like.. it's not clean. The place is not clean. The drain blocked.
Insects. Rubbish. You come in like dump, and you have to be squeezing in
those kind of places. I cannot manage it, you understand me?*

Some of the women returned to Jamaica had retained homes on the Island. Most, however, were returning after many years abroad and found their homes in various states of disrepair. Jocelyn had spent 4 years in the UK, first as a visitor, and then as a prisoner after being held for her involvement in “helping” an acquaintance⁶⁵. She had left her house in the care of her adult son and his cousin, and on return had found they had stolen anything of value and left the rest in disarray:

*Oh, I'd have my house that I leave. But everything was mash up. Everything.
Jewellery, passbook, everything. Cause they never keep the place, them mash
up my furniture and everything.*

On return, Jocelyn was left with a house, but no possessions or furniture. Hers was one of the more optimistic accounts however, as she was able to obtain a small loan from the bank using the collateral from her home which she used to start her small market stall.

In addition to accommodation problems, it was not unusual for women to go without food. Joanne, was initially living with her twenty-four-year-old son, but was asked to move from the one-bedroom home in Kingston by her son's girlfriend. Her son continued to support her for a time, but he had since lost his job:

*Now he's not working. He would like help from me, but I can't even help
myself... I don't remember sitting and eating anything warm for a month cause
I don't have the money and he don't have it either.*

Women found the struggle for food hard, particularly in relation to their former lives in the UK. Earlene had spent 10 years working in London at various cleaning jobs. She had left four children in Jamaica, aged between 7 and 13 years old, and sent back money for them when she could. She discussed with me how she felt when remembering what her life was like in the UK:

⁶⁵ Jocelyn was not clear on what ‘helping’ involved, but referenced how she loved to help people, and this is how she came to be in trouble.

Sometime now looking in my fridge, the only thing I see here is a water bottle. You know? Sometimes I feel like I drink some milk, and I think, oh my God back in England you can get a big jug of milk for a pound. And out here, a little small box cost you 50 [JMD, ca £0.30] and you can't even buy it.

Earline and others continued to wonder if their lives would have been better if they had never left Jamaica. Such uncertainty about past choices caused them considerable anguish. The economic situation in Jamaica was perceived to have deteriorated in their absence, disadvantaging anyone who had not remained in employment throughout.

Joanne described the impact of this kind of economic deprivation. As a caterer in London she had hoped to continue similar work on her return to Jamaica. She was, however, unable to raise enough money to cook regularly. Instead she held a small market stall selling what goods she could find. Joanne's situation was additionally difficult as she felt threatened by a family member, whom she blamed for her son's death. Her inability to secure employment limited her ability to move away from the area that she was living in, close to this family member. Joanne found her situation infantilizing, using the term 'big woman' which in Jamaican English describes an adult woman, she explained:

I am not a child, I need to behave like a big woman, a big people life. I can't work. I can't think that the bad man there, go to the police... Anywhere I walk I have to look... last Saturday morning, I'm coming across a man, frightened with a gun at me. I cannot live those kind of life! I'm not used to that life when I'm in England! You understand? I can't manage it. I can't manage life out here.

The infantilization felt here by Joanne can also be linked to a lack of autonomy. As an adult she would expect to have the means to move to a place of safety. That she was not able to was an offence to her sense of self as an adult and caused her to feel distressed.

Expectations

Women had often relied on the help of friends and families to get by before their trip to the UK, but found this avenue of support closed to them soon after return. Naomi had spent approximately three years in prison in England. She had been struggling to

earn money and was approached with an offer to carry drugs. Naomi also told me she was unaware what the packages she was asked to swallow contained. On her return from Britain in 2003 Naomi described how former friends treated her differently, no longer offering the help they once did. She described making telephone calls to former friends when in search of something for her dinner:

I was calling a gentleman to ask him for two cabbage to steam for my dinner and he give somebody else his phone to answer to me. Yeah. And I know he is there. He give it to somebody else to answer.

Being ignored by people these women had called friends before their return hurt. Some participants were subject to aggressive acts by former friends. Women who had emigrated and spent long periods overseas were expected by the local community to have earned relatively high wages compared with their Jamaican counterparts. Those in this study were accused of wasting their opportunity, and consequently they received less help from their community to resettle in Jamaica. Anna, who had been in the UK for two years before she was held by immigration in 2005, described how she isolated herself on return to avoid hard questioning about her situation:

They say oooh you up foreign and you come back in here, they want me to get them something, give them that. So I just stay to myself. If they going to ask me for something that is what they is going to say after. [They asked me] was there wasting your time, why did you overstay in the first place?

Women were embarrassed. They isolated themselves to avoid the harsh judgements of those in their communities in a bid to escape the emotional consequences of their treatment by others. However, in doing so they often suffered from further social isolation and the depression that often come alongside it, such as those experienced by men and women in Turnbull's (2017) work.

Nyesha, for whom migration was a way to escape an abusive relationship, spent 11 years in the UK, returning to Jamaica in 2012. She explained her frustration at being badly treated by people around her and how this affected her sense of dignity:

I know people know within themselves that's what happen, because they said, you go away for so long, why you come back here to just sit down like this, and they will question you. How much did you pay for your fare? How much did you

do that and, so I know they have it in them. That I am deported. And they thinking, sometimes they say you can't even buy this here, and you been away for so long. Can you buy me this, and you don't even have money, you can't even do your hair, you can't even.. you know.. which is very undignified. To me. You understand?

Nyesha felt shamed when she was unable to fulfil the role expected of her as a woman who had worked overseas. On return Nyesha was forced to return to the home of her former partner, although they were no longer in a relationship. Nyesha spent most of her time indoors and had little contact with anyone outside her immediate family.

Being a Woman in Jamaica

Women described important aspects of their identity they were unable to maintain on their return and how this impacted on their sense of self-worth and wellbeing. They were not only expected to be wealthy on return from abroad, they were also expected to “look” a certain way that reflected this wealth. On return they were likely to continue their role as breadwinner for their children, also assuming the caring role of their children now they had physically returned. In many cases these demands were impossible to meet and impacted on the way women felt about themselves.

“Keeping up appearances”

The physical appearance of women on return was influenced by their relative experience in detention or prison. Women were often taken into immigration detention in Britain without warning, and had been given only minutes to pack their belongings. While some were able to arrange for a friend to deliver their belongings to the removal centre or airport, not everyone succeeded. Delivery was often difficult to organise due to cost, and the relatively remote location of removal centres. In any case, women were restricted to a single suitcase weighing approximately 23kg, as per standard economy flight rules and regulations. While they were permitted to pay for an additional suitcase, many could not afford to do so. The loss of belongings caused great angst to many who knew the value of their loss in their new situation. Malene described how she could have used her belongings to better her circumstances:

They didn't give me back my stuff that was really the trouble. If I got my stuff, cause you know, in Jamaica, if you have things, if you don't even want to wear them, you can sell them and get yourself some money. You understand? But I just lose everything. That was my problem.

Malene had been working as a cleaner for a church in the UK, and sent money to her daughter in Jamaica when she could. She returned to Jamaica with nothing but her handbag and two pairs of tracksuit bottoms and t-shirts given to her at the detention centre. She told me she was too ashamed to leave her house in Jamaica because of her clothing. As described earlier, Malene and her daughter were being victimised by gangs in her area because Malene had returned 'naked.'

Turnbull (2017) described a similar lack of possessions among those returned from detention. In her work the sudden removal of men and women from detention stopped them preparing what would help them to (re-) integrate on arrival. Sudden detention does not allow people time to sell possessions, withdraw funds from bank accounts or collect items such as valuable electronics or certificates of achievement required for employment. In Turnbull's work this inability to prepare is linked with feelings of indignity and injustice, where men and women feel they are being disproportionately punished (Turnbull, 2017). People felt humiliated by their return when they had nothing to show from their time in the UK, and the punitive nature of this practice stayed with men and women once they had been removed (Turnbull, 2017).

Women in Jamaica were upset by the loss of their personal effects as it made it difficult to meet the expectations of their community on return. In addition to appearing wealthy, women were expected to share their wealth with family and friends. While overseas most of those in the study were sending back money for their children, which made a substantial difference to their welfare. Even from prison, women could make a difference to their children's lives with their relatively low wages (Golash-Boza, 2015). The importance of remittances made by family members who have emigrated overseas are clearly evidenced in academic literature, where they are shown to be fundamental to many households, allowing greater opportunities for development, such as schooling (Connell & Conway, 2000). Remittances also protect against income shocks caused by natural disasters, such as hurricanes, that are common in the Caribbean region (Clarke & Wallsten, 2003).

The return to Jamaica, thus, resulted in the loss of a valuable source of income that many children and other family members were relying on to survive. Again, there was a difference in impact between those deported due to administrative offences and the women deported due to criminal offences. The latter group had been in prison and their families were aware of their date for release, and their impending removal. These women and their families could prepare their return. In contrast, women in immigration detention were often detained and removed suddenly, with no time or ability to warn their families or prepare for their return. The loss of personal effects and the means to help themselves and their families on return was felt by the women in this study to be an especially unjust and unfair punishment.

Of the women I interviewed, those who were able to “keep up appearances” on their return were coping better than their counterparts. Daloris had spent three years in prison after she was caught with drugs on arrival to the UK. She described to me how she managed to hide the circumstances of her return from people in her community:

You could not tell that I have been deported. Because I come with a suitcase and I was properly dressed and at the prison, I buy like shampoo, conditioner, soap and all these stuff so I carry those back with me as well so I would be able to give out too, so people wouldn't know [that I am a deportee] if I don't tell them.

When I asked Daloris if it made a difference how a woman looked on return, she explained that if people looked unkempt, untidy or were wearing old or ill-fitting clothing they were classified as a “deportee” immediately. In Goffman’s (1963) terms, women’s appearance conveyed ‘stigma symbols,’ which made them immediately indefinable as belonging to the undesirable “deportee” identity. Joanne described to me the outfit she was wearing when she went to the Home Office to report and was detained; brown jeans, jacket and shoes. This outfit was normal in the UK, but made her look out of place in Jamaica. She did not have a change of clothes when she was removed in 2001 after spending 11 years in the UK. She described the reaction of her community:

They heard that I was in foreign. And they don't see me look like someone who has been in foreign. So, you have some people around there starting to set on me, because I'm not moving like a foreigner. You understand me?

With “moving like foreigner” Joanne referred to the behaviour and self-confidence expected from people who had been abroad, whom are expected to have gained experience and wealth. These expectations are not unfounded. There is a long history of family members emigrating from developing nations then returning with increased wealth and ample social and cultural capital to share. In turn, entire families are helped to improve their social position (Connell & Conway, 2000; Conway & Cohen, 1998). Women who were unable to meet these expectations and to help their families in this way reported feeling the opposite of self-confident. These women were embarrassed and lacked the self-esteem to be seen by anybody outside their home.

Responsibilities as mothers

The situation of women with children was complicated by their roles and responsibilities as mothers. Many could not afford to feed their children. Women described how they had to choose between feeding their offspring or sending them to school. Shantel had spent 9 months in prison in the UK for carrying drugs. She had accepted the drugs with the idea to stay in the UK after, and send back money for the two children she had at the time, the youngest of which was a baby. Since return Shantel has given birth to three more children, and described to me why she felt unable to send them to school:

You have to have lunch money for them, cause you can't send them with empty stomach. It's better that they outside and they hustle a bit and get some dumpling and butter, then they go to school. But, you understand. When you send them [to school]...they not taking in the lesson because it's too much empty in the stomach.

Women were aware of the importance of education for the future of their children and their inability to send them to school upset them. Many had limited education themselves, and wanted a better future for their children. Their failure to provide food and schooling for their children made them feel guilty and ashamed. Matters were compounded if they had been providing for their children before leaving Jamaica, or during their time in the UK.

Reunification with children was also usually not straightforward. Women had often spent many years away. On return relationships were sometimes tense. Malene described the relationship she had with her daughter, who was close to turning 18:

*She keep arguing with me. I don't know you, you is not my mum, you know?
And I'm saying to her, I used to help you when I was over there... But it is like
I can't talk to her. When I'm saying something, she don't want to listen to me.
She's telling me, it's like she's carrying a hatred for me.*

Nyesha felt her son resented her absence during his childhood and described her struggles to build back their relationship:

*I tell you, my youngest son he resent me so much. I don't know if it is because I
left him so young, he been in touch, but until now I still can't build, (cries) I
can't build back that relationship. Sometimes I think I would be better off, I
would be better off if I didn't leave. But after that relationship with them, it was
my birthday Tuesday, it was so hard for him even to give me a hug and just say
happy birthday mummy.*

Women often described how they had left Jamaica, either by accepting an offer to carry drugs, or to seek employment in the UK, for their children. Their role as providers for their children was of exceptional importance to them. I asked Eve how she felt when she lived in London and could provide for her children:

*Good. Independent. Proud. Yeah man, you feel like you do something to
survive... Yeah man, you feel.. it's not much but you feel rich. Trust me, feel like
saying you independent, you're able, to make something, cause my son, call and
he hungry, me can make it happen, you understand.*

It is common in Jamaica for mothers to emigrate in order to make a better life for their children. However, academic research has shown there can be negative consequences for children left behind (Crawford-Brown, 1999; Dillon & Walsh, 2012; Pottinger, 2005). These include poor school attendance, psychological problems (Pottinger, 2005) and health and emotional problems (Dillon & Walsh, 2012). In addition, the absence of a mother to emigration was shown by Crawford-Brown to increase the likelihood that boys would become involved in criminal behaviour (Crawford-Brown, 1999). Mothers take a risk when they emigrate away from their families in search of work. If they are then returned home with little to show for their time away they must also reconcile themselves with the knowledge that their children may have suffered with little recompense. This was distressing for mothers.

Leaving the UK

The time women had spent in the UK, and the circumstances surrounding their removal from the country impacted their sense of dignity on return. Those who had carried drugs to the UK, were caught on arrival, and spent all their time in Britain in prison, described their treatment by UK authorities in more positive terms. These participants described their treatment as fair, and agreed it had been right to return them to Jamaica at the end of their sentence. In contrast, many of the women who had been removed from the UK after immigration based offences, such as overstaying visas, had unresolved complaints concerning their return to Jamaica.

Injustice

Women returned to Jamaica for immigration offences felt their expulsion from the country was unjust. This group included those who had spent as many as thirteen years living in the UK. Earlene, who herself had spent 10 years in London described the offence she felt watching others with substantial links to the country removed:

after 10 years or 15 years, cause you have people that been here for 15 or more, lots of years and I see ladies in there that is married! And they still send them home. Have children! And they still want to send them home.

Participants felt the government were indifferent to their individual circumstances. Consequently, women believed that they did not matter to the government and this impacted on their feelings of self-importance. Eve felt the government should take into account the reason women move to the UK in the first place:

Worst, most are women, because most are single mothers in Jamaica. When you leave your kids to come to next one's country, I'm not talking the trouble makers and the ones that don't want for anything, but, if up now and give them no problem, just get old and the system file says overstay, me think England should do a better job, give them a chance man, make them make the most of life, cause sometime it just life you want, better, help.

Most of the women in this study were single mothers as Eve suggests, and had travelled to the UK because they had been unable to support themselves and their families in Jamaica. They described the cruelty of the lack of compassion they

encountered. Women who had not committed a criminal offence struggled to comprehend why they were being made to leave. Participants could understand why those who had trafficked drugs or were involved in other crime were not wanted in the UK, but took offence to the idea that they were also not welcome. Not only had they caused no trouble in the UK, but many reported that they had made great efforts to participate fully in their adopted community. Cassandra felt the government should have taken into account her contributions to society over the 14 years she had lived in the UK:

They could have give you a chance because you are there for so long. But they didn't give that to me. Because I was on the system, I used to pay my tax, I was working in a health organisation, I was working in a hospital...

Nyesha felt the Home Office were removing the wrong people:

I think once you are there you are not giving them any trouble, there are people there that gives trouble, and I always wonder, they are so arrogant and rude and yet the Home Office didn't seek them out. You are there to try to do the right thing. Obey all the laws and rules and you are the ones that are being picked up.

Nyesha had left Jamaica to escape an abusive relationship. She lived for 3 years in the UK by extending her student visa lawfully. When the Home Office declined to offer her another renewal, she began a lengthy appeal and reapplication process. She explained to me how she spent the next 8 years in the UK fighting to stay through appeals and the courts. In 2010, she was asked to sign on, attending the Home Office regularly so they were able to check her whereabouts. In 2012, while still signing on, she was invited for an interview and told her application had been denied 6 months earlier. At this point she was taken directly to immigration detention and removed two weeks later. Nyesha said she was unable to appeal the last decision because she never received the letter explaining that her latest application had been denied. By the time she was informed in her interview and subsequently detained the period in which she would have been allowed to appeal had elapsed. Nyesha felt she had been tricked by the Home Office and was offended they would go to such lengths to make her leave.

These kinds of complaints surrounding injustice in the detention and removal system of the UK are common throughout this dissertation, yet, they were more

pronounced in Jamaica where they contrasted significantly with the interviews of women who had spent time in prison then removed shortly after. This group of women did not appear to suffer the indignity of unjust treatment. Instead, they saw detention as part of their transition to going home, and importantly going home was their desire. This finding suggests the absence of legitimacy may be a factor in women's perception of dignified treatment. Bosworth has delved into the question of whether immigration removal centres can be legitimate, arguing that these spaces present a substantial deficit of legitimacy (Bosworth, 2013). As institutions that hold men and women indefinitely and lack judicial oversight it is hard to disagree (Bosworth, 2013; Bosworth & Turnbull, 2015). Though outside the scope of this current dissertation, the conceptualisation of legitimacy in detention and deportation is one that justifies future thought and research.

Immigration detention, criminalisation and vilification

Women were especially shocked that they could be detained for immigration offences. As with those I spoke to in Yarl's Wood and the UK community, they felt confinement for immigration matters was a harsh punishment. Brooke described her reaction vividly:

They take me to a [police] station first and I was hysterical, I couldn't breathe because they put me in the cell I couldn't breathe because I was locked up and I was like, my God... what is this?

Many were unaware of the penalties of overstaying a visa. Eve was picked up by immigration after a chance encounter with the police, she had never considered there would be consequences when she overstayed:

I never know it was like what I... It wasn't what I expected. I thought it was more... you understand I never know that you could have hassle from immigration and deportation. I never know, I just see life. I was seeking life. For myself, and my kids.

Their initial treatment did little to help them understand what was happening. Malene's journey to immigration detention began with an interview at an immigration office. She remembered how the staff had taken her belongings away and physically checked her body in case she had anything else with her. They then took her to a

room where she was alone with an immigration officer. Malene had initially been sponsored to be in the UK by her cousin. She remembers the officer asked her the age of her cousins' children. When I asked her if she had known their ages she replied:

I couldn't remember, because I was so, that day, I was frightened about everything, it was like I was telling the man, oh yeah, I think she's 16 or something like that. I wasn't sure. I wasn't sure to be honest. So I think that was one of the thing that let them think that I was lying, yeah, because I was panicking. Because I realised that something was wrong, you know?

Following her interview Malene was left to wait in the immigration office, still unaware she was going to be detained. Her initial interview was at 10am but it was evening before she was taken away in a prison van. Subsequently Malene described a long overnight journey in the van. She described her treatment as wickedness. She felt like she was being treated as a criminal and likened her experience with slavery. She was clear that this treatment made her feel vilified, like she had committed a serious offence.

Some women remained angry about their placement in a removal centre long after their removal to Jamaica. Anna had spent a little over a month in immigration detention when she was caught without a visa. Though she had no complaints about the staff, she recalled her time there in a negative way:

To be honest, if I tell myself, if I go back anywhere else, I wouldn't want to be in that position still, because that's not nice you know. Because it's like you are in a prison actually, it's a prison! Because you are there, you can't get to go outside. You just inside every day...

Indeed, the problem for Anna, as it was for others, was that she had felt treated as criminal. In their eyes, prison was a place for bad people who had committed serious crimes and they could not reconcile their immigration offences with this image. Cassandra had spent three months in detention. She explained to me how being treated like a criminal upset her. She felt she was not treated with dignity "fully" because her time in detention made her feel like a criminal, lowering her self-esteem.

It was not just their self-esteem that was affected, others made clear. Their time in detention had direct physical effects. Grace explained how the stress of being locked in detention caused her to lose weight:

I lost about 10 pounds or more. I was very slim when I came home... Yeah I was very stressed. I have never been locked up before. I have never done nothing in my life to get lock up. I never thought I would do nothing to get locked up. I been on the straight and narrow all the time, so, I could get into drugs and all them things [if I wanted], but I chose to work! I didn't have my papers and it was hard for me because I didn't want to do no drugs and them thing.

Joanne was 65 when she was detained for overstaying her visa. She explained how her distress at being in detention caused her physical symptoms:

And I'm telling you, I'm in there I am SICK. Bleeding through my nose, bleeding through my bottom and all.. all for me telling them I cannot leave the country like this. They say I have to go because I overstayed in the country.

Joanne's symptoms occurred despite the fact she felt the staff had treated her well. She described how one member of staff in particular did not believe she should be in detention and looked after her by making sure she had all the food she wanted from the canteen.

Unlike the women in Yarl's Wood or those in the British community, some of the women I interviewed in Jamaica reported some positive aspects of immigration detention. For the most part, they said they had been treated appropriately by staff in detention, although some made reference to staff who were rude towards other people in detention. Tia's account offers some insight. Tia had spent 11 years in the UK. She initially cared for her elderly mother, but 5 years into her stay Tia's mother died. She was then asked to leave the home she had shared with her mother by her half-sisters who lived there too. She initially worked as a cleaner at the supermarket chain ASDA, but was caught by immigration officials when she tried to find more work through her local Job Centre. When she showed staff in the Job Centre her passport they discovered she was not legally in the country and she was detained from there. She described to me her interaction with staff in the detention centre:

Well, well they treated me with a little dignity respect. And they never, I told you they never handle me bad. If I tell you, it's lie. Even when I am at the detain centre. I go there and if I talk to them rough. They say, how come, no, you are not like that so don't pick up that style. So I say, I'm sorry, and we get back to friend.

In this example Tia reveals the significant impact of one staff member who had taken the time to get to know her.

Others praised the opportunities available to them in detention. Shenice had spent almost three years in the UK. She was brought over by her sister and brother in-law to help them look after their children. Shenice ended up in immigration detention after an unexpected encounter with the police. She described how she had been walking down the street near her home when police approached her. She was unable to produce a passport when requested and so was taken into detention. Shenice had no problems with the removal centre, she missed being outside, but she was pleased to be able to watch movies and television in her room. She was able to wash on arrival, and an officer brought food to her room to eat.

Sources of Dignity Promotion

In what is an otherwise dire portrait of women and dignity in Jamaica, there were some exceptions. Women who had spent time in prison in the UK benefitted from the ability to gain an education and this added to their sense of self-esteem and worth. Similarly, women who were able to prepare for their return to Jamaica were better placed to offset the impact of violations to dignity.

Achievement and contribution

As mentioned above, those who were deported for criminal offences and those who were removed due to administrative migration offences had different experiences on return. One factor that led to this difference was education. Women often had limited education on arrival to the UK. Those who had spent time in prison had benefited from the education provided in them. This group of women improved their English and maths skills, and attended courses on life skills and decision-making. Some told me with pride about the courses they undertook while in prison. Seanna, who had left school at 14 when she fell pregnant with her first child, was bursting with excitement when she recalled the courses she attended in prison:

Computer, social and life skills, I do maths, English, I did a teaching course. I did a gym course, in netball and basketball, to be a coach and I work as well in craft shop, making post card and all of that. I did all, history test, I passed the history test and exam, with all honours!

Not all former prisoners undertook the mass of courses recounted by Seanna, but even a basic education was useful. Daloris had spent three years in prison in England before she returned in 2001. She was 21 and described herself as a party girl when she accepted the offer to carry drugs to the UK. She had a 5 year old son at the time. While Daloris was in prison she focused purely on her reading and writing. I asked her if the skills she had learned from the courses had been helpful since she had come home:

Yes, because before I went there I drop out of school very early... but going there for 3 and a half years came down reading and all of them things there, teach me and I come back home now, it's good.

Many of the participants in the study emphasised the importance of learning to read and write. Most jobs required numeracy and writing skills as a minimum, and those women who were unable to fulfil this criteria found their employment opportunities further restricted.

The education gained in prison did not, unfortunately, ensure employment on return to Jamaica. However, it did seem to help women with their self-esteem. Olivia, who was introduced earlier stressed the usefulness of life skills when I asked if her education in prison had been helpful on return:

Yeah, me a better person, me a better person. And I used to be very ignorant and those things, cause I went into even this, um, this seminar, like seminar for awareness. Yeah.

Some also discussed how they had used their new-found skills to encourage others to better their situation. Seanna had spent four years in prison for carrying drugs, since her return she had become involved helping other women and men returned to Jamaica:

Um, most, you know what I implement the most? Anger management. I did a course because I was a very angry person, and I have implemented that, and oh I did a course called enhanced thinking skills, and this is what changed my life forever now, to this person that I can um, mentor others and motivate others.

The contribution Seanna was able to make to her community gave her a sense of worth and purpose that most women in this study were unable to find.

Preparation for return

Just as they appreciated the education in prison, women who had been incarcerated for a criminal act also benefited from the more established system to help them prepare for their release from prison and return. The help they received typically came from services provided by Hibiscus, an NGO based in London. Hibiscus provide practical assistance to foreign national women affected by criminal and social justice issues⁶⁶. Yasmin had been forced to carry drugs to the UK was intercepted on arrival and spent 4 years in prison in the UK. She described the practical and emotional benefits of help provided by a member of the Hibiscus team:

[A woman from Hibiscus] come and talk to us, if you have no one in the UK to offer us anything or tell our problem... she send some clothes for us or whatever, yeah, when we are going home. Anyone foreign national she will send some things for them to wear home.

Hibiscus was the only NGO women regularly referenced during interviews, and mostly in the context of prison. Hibiscus are present in some UK detention centres, however, many women I spoke with were not aware of their detention-based service. When I interviewed women still in immigration detention, one of the barriers to preparation for removal was their perpetual hope for a last minute injunction. These interventions meant people were unwilling or unable to accept they would genuinely be removed from the UK, and therefore were reluctant to engage with Hibiscus or other services.

There were, however, some positive examples of help gleaned from Hibiscus in removal centres. Earlene, introduced earlier was made aware of Hibiscus through a friend she had made in the removal centre. They offered her £100 in cash, or to pay for an additional suitcase to take more of her belongings home. She chose the additional suitcase of belongings.

⁶⁶ See <http://hibiscusinitiatives.org.uk/> for full details.

Women in detention were also likely to have spent any savings they had accrued, or used up the goodwill of friends and family to hire lawyers in order to resist their removal. This means that nothing is left for them when they return. Women are sometimes able to work in immigration detention centres, however the roles available are limited and payment is as low as £1 per hour⁶⁷ (Bosworth, 2008, 2014). Prisoners, however, were able to work during their time in prison and could return with a small amount of savings. As exemplified earlier in this chapter, the appearance of women on return to Jamaica was an important factor in their ability to effectively resettle and protect their sense of identity and self-esteem. The ability to save towards this, is thus an important protective factor against violations to their sense of dignity on return.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the experiences of women returned to Jamaica, relating them to their sense of self-worth. From these findings, it is clear that those returned to Jamaica were vulnerable to many violations to their dignity. All returned to a hostile setting where they were labelled and stigmatised. Women were vilified and discriminated against, and this environment hindered their ability to gain employment and find accommodation. Their lack of income and stable housing led to a group of women who were often dependent on the good will of others to survive.

On return to Jamaica women found it difficult to maintain the expectations of their family, friends and community, often embarrassed by their new, lower social status. As mothers, women felt diminished, no longer able to support their children as they once did. Finally, some women had an enduring sense that they had been morally wronged by the British government. This view was especially pronounced among women who had been removed following an immigration offence. Their criminalisation and resulting vilification continued to trouble them years after leaving the UK. There were, thankfully, some examples of women who could find a sense of achievement and prepare for their return, offsetting their vulnerability to the offences to dignity described above. However, the overwhelming theme of discussions with

⁶⁷ The issue of pay in immigration detention was recently the subject of a judicial review, with 10 people formerly held in removal centres challenging the practice (See Bales & Mayblin, 2017).

women in Jamaica were experiences that were akin to violations to dignity and all these offences were directly related to their removal from the UK.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

As I have made clear in this dissertation, immigration detention fundamentally erodes women's sense of dignity and self-worth. In this conclusion, I will reflect on the main findings of my research and their implications. What are we to make of these institutions that are so profoundly dehumanising? Are alternatives possible? Before turning to such matters, a prior question arises. How have these assaults on dignity come about when, according to a range of statutory instruments, the UK respects the dignity of those subject to immigration control?

The Detention Centre Rules, to reiterate, clearly state:

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 right to individual expression. (Home Office, 2001).

So, too, the UK is signatory to multiple optional UN conventions to protect the human rights of women deprived of their liberty in the UK. These protections are all based on the underlying principles of the UDHR which are framed by the protection and recognition of human dignity (McCrudden, 2008), as exemplified in the UDHR preamble:

'Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world'

and again in Article 1:

'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood' (United Nations, 1948).

In short, women in immigration detention should be treated with respect. Why then are they not?

Part of the problem, I have argued in this dissertation, is that the instruments used to measure dignity in detention are based on legal notions of human rights and dignity rather than on the lived experience of people affected by immigration controls, or what is known in the literature as 'human dignity' (Misztal, 2012; Shell, 2003; Habermas, 2010). As Bosworth has put it, *'a considerable gap remains between human*

rights theory and practice in Britain's immigration detention centres' (Bosworth, 2011: 181). Taking this disjuncture as my starting point, I concentrated on two key issues in my research: how women subject to immigration control define dignity and the ways that immigration detention undermined it.

In this final chapter, I will restate the main findings of the dissertation, before turning to their implications. As public concern grows over the treatment of people in detention, particularly the treatment of women (see Canning, 2017), it is timely to review the role of these establishments and their consequences, in order to build an effective critique. Placing matters of dignity at the heart of work on detention offers a new way forward which is grounded in experience, while attentive to the legal framework on which the impact of deprivations to liberty are currently measured⁶⁸.

Immigration detention and dignity

I began by reviewing the relevant existing literature. While the field is small, certain key themes have emerged. Scholars and activists have made abundantly clear that immigration detention is characterised by uncertainty (Griffiths, 2013; Bosworth, 2014; Hasselberg, 2016; Turnbull, 2016). Unlike most other forms of incarceration there is no time limit to detention for immigration matters. Such uncertainty persists for those who are released into the community, until they are either removed from the country or allowed to stay in the UK. Both eventualities may take years of waiting (Canning, 2017; Klein & Williams, 2012; Hasselberg, 2016).

The uncertainty of immigration enforcement causes significant harm to people in detention and after. Substantial evidence links this system to anxiety, stress and a host of mental and physical ailments (Canning, 2017; Hasselberg, 2016; Shaw, 2016; McLoughlin & Warin, 2008; Silove et al., 2001; Steel & Silove, 2001). For those who are already vulnerable, for example if they have been victims of sexual violence, as many of the women in my sample were, matters are compounded (Canning, 2014; Canning, 2017; Medical Justice, 2012).

It is not just the uncertainty that hurts. Men and women in detention believe they are being punished (Bosworth et al., 2016; Hasselberg, 2016; Phelps, 2009; BID, 2013). Criminalisation 'others' them, smoothing the pathway to their removal from the UK (Turnbull, 2016; Griffiths, 2013, 2014). At the same time, the increased

⁶⁸ Such as the aforementioned NPM systems and HMIP expectations for immigration detention (HMIP, 2018).

criminalisation of migration is used to legitimise and justify the pains and stigma they experience (Canning, 2017; Condry, 2007). The literature describes extensive pains and harms of detention, all of which, negatively impact people's sense of identity (Bosworth et al., 2016; Bosworth, 2012). Such matters, in turn, cause significant psychological distress (Bosworth & Turnbull, 2015; Bosworth, 2014; Hasselberg, 2016; Bosworth, 2016). The stigma of immigration detention, like that of prison, is hard to accept (Bosworth & Turnbull, 2015; Condry, 2007).

Having set out the main findings from the relatively small body of academic work on immigration detention in the UK, I then turned to the concept of dignity. This is a much larger field. However, I focused the dissertation on phenomenological approaches to dignity, which conceive the concept as socially constructed. In particular, I drew on the work of Chilton (2006), Jacobson (2007, 2009, 2010), Miller and Keys (2001b), and Mann (1998), all of whom focused on the impact of self-defined violations to dignity. These scholars, and others, argue that acts which defy the moral obligations expected of liberal, modern societies have a damaging impact on those effected. People in the studies of Jacobson, Miller and Keys, Mann and Chilton suffered from multiple losses to their sense of self, their self-worth, self-esteem, and self-respect. Based on research in a range of institutions, including social care (Miller & Keys, 2001; Seltser & Miller, 1993; Hoffman & Coffey, 2008), health care (Gallagher & Seedhouse, 2002; Geller et al., 2015; Skorpen et al., 2014; Henry et al., 2015; Haddock, 1996) and prisons (Easton, 2013; Van Zyl Smit & Snacken, 2009; Snacken, 2015; Coyle, 2003; Liebling, 2011; Liebling, 2004), this literature demonstrated the corrosive impact of violations to dignity.

Definitions of dignity

By listening to women who had spent time in immigration removal centres I sought to understand what dignity meant to them. Women offered a number of accounts. Like those interviewed by Jacobson (2010) and Mann (1998), they often found it easier to describe the impact of its absence. In so doing, their testimonies echoed Chilton's view that dignity is a '*dynamic sense of worth that is socially and politically mediated*' (Chilton, 2006).

Women were creative in their responses and used a selection of metaphors to help me to understand their experiences. Abigay, whom I interviewed in Yarl's Wood,

tried to explain dignity to me using a carton of juice. Dignity, she said, was a task that you would give to another person. If, she suggested, she knew the carton of juice on her desk was too heavy, and she was unable to pick it up, she would not make me pick up the juice. That, to her, was dignity. For Abigay, a Christian, to treat someone within dignity followed the familiar biblical exhortation 'do unto others what you would have done unto you'. She did not believe those in the Home Office would want to be treated the way she, and the women she was detained with, were treated. And so, her treatment was not dignified.

Dignity felt personal. It required effort to hold onto and nurture. The account of Eve, speaking after her removal to Jamaica, provides an archetypal example of dignity as used by women in the project. She described dignity to me in the following terms:

Oh. Your dignity, your dignity is your pride, in yourself. You understand? Your dignity is something that you hold onto, you understand? Your dignity is something you want die with. You understand? You don't want somebody to take that from you. Your dignity is something where you hold up your head. But that's for me. That's my dignity. My dignity is something, is what I, my belief and what I hold onto. It's something good you know, your dignity, your self-worth!

For Eve, the link between dignity, pride and self-worth was clear. She had a well-defined sense of self-worth and asserted throughout her interview that she was a strong and proud woman. Yet, her sense of dignity had still been affected by her removal to Jamaica.

Specifically, Eve felt stigmatised and ashamed because people assumed she was a criminal. Her words made clear that the interlocking nature of the two systems, immigration control and prison, is important. Although never tried or convicted, she was, as a deportee, forever associated with criminality. It was not just criminalisation that she resented, however, rather, it was the fact that the UK had not given her a chance to prove her worth before removing her. She felt diminished by the difficulties she faced in providing for her family on return. The stigma of being a deportee affected her ability to fulfil her socio-economic roles and responsibilities.

Eve resisted the violations to her sense of self-worth by reasserting her pride and her own personal value. She worked to find ways to be of value to her community, through helping to feed others with the little she had, and by spending

time with her church group assisting people less fortunate than herself whenever she could. In so doing, Eve distinguished herself from others whom she thought were unable to maintain their dignity. While she had the determination to carry on and make the best of her situation, others, she said, lost their dignity and self-worth by selling their bodies for sex or for use as drug mules. Eve's use of ambition as a means of protecting her dignity was common throughout the project. To many women, a person had their dignity if they were fighting for their pride through bettering themselves.

According to Jacobson, social dignity is granted or denied by others. Being allowed or deprived of social dignity affects people's feelings of self-worth: '*Self-respect, self-esteem, pride*', and '*confidence and self-assurances*' (Jacobson, 2010). This was true for women in this study, however their subjective notions of dignity varied. The women I met during this work were all strong; indeed, they had to be, in order to continue under such difficult circumstances. Yet, their perceptions of self varied enormously.

Some women, when they first encountered the Home Office were already suffering from damage to their sense of self-worth. Those who were victims of trafficking, for example, were especially vulnerable to dignity violations, and this is reflected in the stories of these women in detention and in the UK community. The damaging effect of this has been recognised elsewhere also, especially in the work of Canning (2017), who details the gendered harms caused to women in this group during and after immigration detention in the UK. Building on that work, I brought together the key violations to dignity, regardless of pathway to detention and immigration enforcement, which were familiar to all women: vilification, autonomy, and diminishment. These concepts are distinct but interconnected. Each is important to analyse separately, to appreciate the magnitude and the nature of how dignity is undermined by immigration detention.

Vilification

Women felt vilified by their incarceration. As Jacobson found in her work with marginalised populations, the women I spoke to felt their detention made them '*appear threatening or dangerous*' (Jacobson, 2009: 5). Such vilification manifested in processes of 'grouping,' 'labelling' and 'suspicion' (Jacobson, 2010). It rested in their experience of immigration detention as a form of punishment and was compounded by their perception of being labelled as immoral, dangerous or untrustworthy. Many

of the women who had not been to prison were fearful and judgmental of those who had. They felt stigmatised by their association with such 'criminal' women. In contrast, those who had been to prison were stigmatised by the indefinite nature of their detention, which, they felt went above and beyond the usual punishment for their crimes.

All were offended by the thought that they were considered unwelcome and potentially dangerous, subject to removal. Why would women be locked up behind gates and barbed wire if they were not dangerous, they demanded? In their paperwork, the Home Office referred to their potential 'flight risk.' Women resented this terminology, insisting they could be trusted and did not have to be treated with such suspicion. Their treatment did not make sense, they claimed, especially those who had been signing on to the Home Office regularly for years. They did not want to live in hiding. Instead, women wanted to be part of the UK community where most had lived for many years and had family and friends. If they were to disappear underground, they pointed out, they would likely also lose these connections, which would defy the point of them fighting to stay in the UK.

To be vilified in such a way left most of those I interviewed feeling ashamed, stigmatised and embarrassed. Such unpleasant feelings followed them into the community where it was compounded by the restrictive reporting and living conditions ascribed by the Home Office. In Jamaica, their labelling was especially acute, due to the widely-held belief that only people who have committed a serious crime are deported.

The shame caused by criminalisation lead some women to feel they had failed to live up to the moral standards expected by others. For these participants, their detention was no less than a failure of their entire self (Harris, 2001; Goffman, 1963). For women like Eve, the stigma they endure, and the shame they experience at removal is exacerbated by the difficulties they face in fulfilling their gender roles as mothers and providers. It was made worse by the secondary or associated stigma of their families. (Goffman, 1963; Condry, 2007). The women I spoke to in the UK and Jamaica had little power to resist the stigma and shame of their vilification. As such, immigration enforcement undermined their dignity by undermining their autonomy.

Autonomy

Autonomy is usually understood to refer to the ability to control and direct your own life (Dupre, 2009). That people in detention lacked autonomy comes as no surprise; incarceration inherently limits freedom of choice (Sykes, 1958). Yet, the many forms in which autonomy was denied was striking. Likewise, the ways in which the powerful tentacles of immigration enforcement snaked their way into the lives of women living in the community post-detention was shocking.

The salience of autonomy and independence is regularly referenced in health care literature (see Madan, 1992; Henry et al., 2015; Chochinov et al., 2002). Autonomy here refers to peoples' ability to control their situation within the limits of their medical situation. Similarly, not sufficiently recognising the ability of patients to make decisions related to their treatment or general care has been shown to chip away at their independence and thus dignity (Gennip et al., 2013a; Henry et al., 2015; Geller et al., 2015; Gallagher & Seedhouse, 2002).

The indefinite nature of detention in the UK restricts the ability of individuals to direct their own lives during this aspect of immigration enforcement. In detention people felt unable to control their future. All the women I spoke to in Yarl's Wood were fighting their removal⁶⁹. For them, it was not simply their detention that undermined their sense of self, but their inability to fight it. Without access to lawyers, and in the absence of much understanding of the asylum and immigration system itself, they felt powerless.

In the community, by contrast, women lacked autonomy due to destitution. Unable to engage in paid work, all were reliant on the Home Office, charities or friends and family for survival. They were unable to work, and access to study was limited to schools or colleges sympathetic to their situations. In any case, regardless of their financial ability to attend schooling, the constant threat of re-detention and removal hindered the ability of women to fully participate in activities that could be used to help build feelings of self-worth through meaningful activity. These findings support those of Canning (2017), who refers to the lack of autonomy as one of the harms of the immigration enforcement system in the UK. In her work, lack of autonomy was also shown to lessen the self-esteem and worth of women (Canning, 2017).

⁶⁹ This is not to say there were not women in Yarl's Wood at the time seeking to return home, as there were, they just did not form part of my sample.

Diminishment

The combination of vilification and lack of autonomy was added to by feelings of diminishment. Diminishment is defined by Jacobson as *'making an actor feel smaller or lessened by the form and content of the interaction'* (Jacobson, 2009: 4). This violation was apparent across all three fieldwork sites. The very nature of the relationship between participants and the Home Office was one where women were made to feel inconsequential. No attention was given to their personal situation, and they felt that any factors that could help their argument to remain in the UK were disregarded. This led to feelings of diminishment, as women felt as though they were not worthy of individual attention or care.

The uncertainty of their situation and their sense that they were being treated unfairly, made women feel worse. The Home Office, they believed, was chaotic. The government was not willing to take the time to assess the impact of the processes that were in place to manage migration. Together, such factors, drove home their lack of importance, and were cited as examples of their dehumanisation. Animals in the UK, they thought, held higher positions in society than they did. Over time, and through constant interactions which re-enforced their perception that they were thought to be lesser than their UK Citizen counterparts and even their pets, women's sense of self worth was diminished.

The loss of identity that women reported captured another facet of diminishment. Participants lost many aspects of their selves, from those associated with their work or study, their involvement with churches and communities or their family lives. But it was mothers who were especially likely to describe the effects of diminishment.

Across all sites mothers felt their roles were taken away, their inability to work or to provide emotional support for their children made them feel like 'less' than a mother. This was especially pertinent to Jamaican mothers, who were typically the breadwinners for single-parent households on return from the UK. Immigration detention, and the threat of removal, clearly interrupts the social role formerly maintained by mothers before they were incarcerated. For the women in this study, this reduced their sense of dignity as their identities were diminished and replaced with a sense of failure to perform a role that was cherished by many.

The role of the institution

A common factor across the violations to dignity described by women in this dissertation is that they are caused by the policies and actions directed by the Home Office and the UK Government. This is especially important in the discussion of dignity. Negative outcomes after violations to dignity are exacerbated when an individual is exposed to violations over time or when individuals are vulnerable, with the violating actor in a position of power and authority (Chilton, 2006; Jacobson, 2009, 2010; Mann et al., 1994). This is most certainly the case when an individual encounters the immigration estate in the UK, even if detention is not experienced. As detailed earlier, women in the community are still under the control of the Home Office, and thus subject to the power and authority of this institution. However, it appears that if a man or woman is deprived of liberty under immigration powers there are additional aggravating factors that come in to play.

When men and women are taken into immigration detention they are separated from the image of themselves that they have created in their community, and the support mechanisms that maintain this image (Goffman, 1961). This plays out in a varied fashion in immigration removal centres, given the complexity of populations held within them. Without the supportive mechanisms of their former lives, these individuals are particularly vulnerable to the impact of dignity violations. Likewise, women or men who may not have had time to form community bonds and support mechanisms are unable to build them from within removal centres, thus they too are vulnerable. To suffer from a violation of dignity in the community may have the initial emotional reaction of anger, embarrassment or disbelief; however, the longer-term impact of this violation can be negated by positive reinforcement from other facets of life, such as employment or personal roles such as that of a mother or father. The way in which a person's self can be impacted by their environment can be found in the work of Cohen and Taylor (1972) in their discussion of extreme life experiences and the risk they pose to one's self. They write that in most cases of disturbances to regular life patterns, such as the death of a close family member, the other parts of our selves provide support for the disturbance. For example, the support of a husband or continued responsibilities to our careers help people to maintain their sense of self worth. However, in the case of a detained individual there are few protective roles which can be called on, resulting in an irrevocable shift in how one sees themselves. The sense of self of this population becomes based on how

they are treated within that institution. In other words, the dignity-of-self that an individual may have held in the community can become eroded by the dignity-in-relation experienced within a removal centre. This is particularly the case when an individual is removed from their regular life for long periods of time. Some relationships can be maintained for short periods of time, or jobs held open, but over time these relationships and opportunities drift further away (Cohen & Taylor, 1972). In the case of deportation the act of removing someone from friends, family and support networks can be permanent.

As described above, violations to dignity are caused by people. In the case of institutions it is important to note that violations to dignity *'arise from deliberate decisions, policies, and programs rather than being seen merely as unchangeable life circumstances'* (Chilton, 2006). In the case of removal centres, violations of dignity have arisen from the decisions, policies and programs used to implement immigration enforcement. Raising the awareness of dignity violations and the impact of these for individuals allows decision makers to amend policies to reduce the occurrence and impact of violations to dignity in removal centres.

The outsourcing of immigration controls to private companies is also likely to have some bearing on the potential for violations to dignity within removal centres. Of the eight removal centres in the UK, at the time of writing, all but one are run by private companies, with the other run by HM prison service. Thus, removal centres are also institutions that are run based on profit motives. It is then possible that greater emphasis is placed on profiteering from expansionism, where more individuals held within these spaces can result in greater profits for the companies involved, than in providing environments that are sympathetic to the needs of the individuals held within removal centres (Bacon, 2005). The outsourcing of removal centre contracts can also result in confusion surrounding the accountability of these institutions to protect the rights of individuals held within them (Bosworth, 2014). It is, thus, not only the institution themselves which can increase the likelihood of violations to dignity for the people held within them, but the overarching policies of the state, which make it easier for responsibilities to be outsourced and possibly avoided.

In summary, there were three defining features of immigration enforcement in the UK in relation to dignity: villification, lack of autonomy and diminishment. Together, these factors undermined women's sense of self worth, self esteem and self

respect. This is not to say that there were not other violations to dignity that were important to women in this study, as there were. However, it was clear that the trio of offences highlighted here were the most commonly found. Now, I turn to the final contribution of the dissertation, where I make sense of the implications of the findings of this dissertation for policy and practice.

Can immigration detention ever be dignified?

At the outset of this chapter I argued that the poor conditions and the negative outcomes of immigration detention apparent in the existing literature suggest there is a disjuncture between dignity as defined by and protected in legislation and the experience of those detained in removal centres. My own research firmly supports this split, and I conclude that the current system of immigration enforcement does not fit within a set of liberal human rights norms that we would expect from a country such as the UK. The question that such an observation demands, is why? In the following paragraphs I suggest two arguments. The first, and one that is held by a number of border criminologists, leans towards a deliberate neglect on behalf of the government. The second, places the blame with the legal frameworks themselves; they are too vague and thus difficult to enact.

The neglect of human rights norms

According to some border criminologists, matters are simple: the government is deliberately neglecting human rights norms, in order to enforce immigration control. Turnbull (2016) suggests, for example, that making men and women in detention wait is a deliberate tool governments utilise to emphasise their power. Removing people from the community effectively 'others' such people, and furthers the government's attempts to remove them from the country (Grewlock, 2015). Removing women from the community, in both this project and in other works (Canning, 2017; Hasselberg, 2016; Bosworth & Turnbull, 2015), severs the links they held in the community. The longer men and women are detained the greater the effect of their 'othering,' and with it the erosion of their ability to fight removal with the help of personal networks and local legal and community support (Canning, 2017).

For women released from detention, the displacement and restriction of access to work, education and social interaction, prevented them from participating

as full members of the UK community (Canning, 2017). Like detention, this more subtle form of exclusion facilitates their removal as it creates a group of people who are considered undesirable and thus disposable (Turnbull, 2017; Grewlock 2015). These arguments are supported by Bosworth and Turnbull in their discussion on penal power and immigration detention who point out how the marking of people in detention as the other who do not belong in the UK aids in the objectification of this population, and ultimately allows them to be dehumanised and expelled (Bosworth & Turnbull, 2015).

The temporal uncertainties of detention, which can be simultaneously suspended and frenzied, renders those subjects unable to wield agency. Women and men in detention find it difficult to plan for any outcome (Griffiths, 2013; 2014). This, for Griffiths, is a tool of power that is inherent in an incoherent and impenetrable immigration system, which further helps in the government's aims to remove people from the country. Gill (2009a) adds to this argument, in his analysis of the forced mobility of men around the detention estate as an example of governmental power. He suggests the seemingly unnecessary movement of men between removal centres reaffirms them as transitory and depersonalised. Such strategies make it harder for people to obtain help to fight their detention and removal, and thus makes it easier to deport them (Gill, 2009b; Gill, 2009a).

Canning (2017) argues that the asylum system of the UK is a form of structural violence. The harms caused to women by the government are not only avoidable, she points out, but also foreseeable and foreseen by those in power. Canning's argument is well supported by a body of literature that presents evidence for the way in which the government control and deter people seeking asylum by means of policies which cause poverty and deprivation (Allsopp et al., 2014; Bloch & Schuster, 2005a; Bloch & Schuster, 2002), displacement (Bloch & Schuster, 2005b), and the securitisation of borders (Wilson, 2015). Considering this evidence, and that of this dissertation, it is difficult to argue that the harms caused to women in detention and after are not intentional. However, there does exist another layer to the problem of dignity violations that suggests human rights norms are not so much ignored, as misinterpreted due to their ambiguity.

There are many criticisms of legal frameworks surrounding human rights protections. In the opening chapters of this dissertation I explored a small section of literature pertaining to the concept of dignity. There I explained how I focused this project on phenomenological approaches to dignity, which conceive the concept as a socially constructed matter. Legal frameworks, conversely, rely on the more metaphysical definition of human dignity; that it is something all humans are bestowed with, and that it must be protected, with little regard to the conceptualisation of the notion (Guerra, 2001; Johnson, 1971; Sensen, 2009; Dales, 1977; Korsgaard, 1992). As may then be expected, the criticisms of dignity in legal frameworks often centre around the ambiguity and vagueness of the concept (Jacobson, 2009; Birnbacher, 1996; Hailer & Ritschl, 1996). This is perhaps the cause of the disjuncture between the apparent attempts of the UK government's Home Office to secure dignified treatment in detention and after, and the lived reality presented by the women in this study.

Human rights frameworks have, however, been used to successfully challenge some aspects of immigration detention (Canning, 2017). As an example, when I began this research in 2015 pregnant women were held in immigration detention indefinitely. At the time of writing, they are now subject to release 72 hours after the Home Office confirms they are pregnant. This development was enshrined in the 2016 Immigration Act, after lobbying by lawyers and NGOs using various human rights legislation to support their case⁷⁰ (see for example Medical Justice, 2013; Girma et al., 2015). This evidence provides support for the former argument: that the government have in fact neglected human rights norms, and while promising in its incitement of change, the effective challenge of detention practices is time consuming, expensive and a great deal more effort would be required to ensure all damaging aspects of detention are remedied (Canning, 2017).

Despite the ambiguity and complexity of human rights norms there are, however, institutions in the UK in which human rights norms have resulted in substantially improved treatment of the populations which require their protection. The health and social care literature referred to in the opening chapters of this

⁷⁰ The review into the detention of vulnerable population in detention by Shaw (2016) also played a part in this development.

dissertation provides numerous examples of the ways in which human rights norms can be conceptualised into effective frameworks. For example, ensuring patients in hospital have privacy has been shown to ensure their sense of dignity (Gennip et al., 2013b; Aranda et al., 2010; Hemati et al., 2016). Another case, provided by Hemati et al. in their conceptualisation of dignity in end of life care, illustrated how respecting privacy was conceptualised by closing hospital curtains and ensuring other patients could not overhear sensitive conversations regarding their treatment (Hemati et al., 2016). Other works in health care also recognise the importance of respecting the different cultural and religious norms surrounding privacy in their treatment (Scarre, 2012; Loggers et al., 2013; Sautier et al., 2014).

Using the definitions and desire for privacy provided by women in this dissertation, similar conceptualisations could be developed for those involved in immigration enforcement processes. Women who were victims of trafficking or sexual and gendered violence, for example, should be provided with greater levels of privacy in respect for their experience; for example, if a woman desires so, the use of female-only housing in the community.

Exceptions to the rule of harm

In the opening paragraph of this section I presented my conclusion that the current system of immigration enforcement does not fit within a set of liberal human rights norms that we would expect from a country such as the UK. However, in this dissertation one important exception to the overarching findings of offence and harm to women was found and is deserving of analysis. Half the women I spoke to in Jamaica had never spent free time in the British community. They had been incarcerated in prisons and had then passed through immigration detention on their way back to Jamaica. This very specific group of women did not appear to suffer the indignities of their counterparts. Rather, they saw detention as part of their transition to going home and, importantly, going home is what they wanted. The only problem they had with detention was the fact that it delayed their going home by a day or two.⁷¹

The experiences of these women poses a difficult question for abolitionists of immigration detention, as it suggests that, if used in a very particular way,

⁷¹ With the exception of Daloris who I interviewed in Jamaica, she was kept in Yarl's Wood for almost two weeks due to a chicken pox outbreak.

immigration detention poses no harm to some women. Given the small sample of women and that this finding was retrospective during analysis, it is difficult to ascertain exactly why this was the case. Yet, there are certain characteristics of their experience which may explain the lack of harm caused. The first, is that these women never expected to stay in the UK. They had all committed a crime, were given a corresponding sentence, and knew that on completion of that sentence they would return to Jamaica. Thus, their departure from the country was considered just. Though some women did not realise the consequences of their actions at the time of the offence, they also accepted that the punishment handed to them was fair. The second, is that this group of women had never spent time in the UK community. Thus, they were not subject to the 'othering' experienced by many women by their detention, nor did they spend time in limbo living under Home Office regulations in the community. Therefore, this group also avoided the offences to autonomy, diminishment and vilification that detention and immigration control caused to the other women in this study. Importantly, it is also not the case that these women were somehow immune to dignity violations as they did then suffer the criminalisation, labelling, and stigma common to all people deported to Jamaica.

This finding is particularly interesting, because it suggests that if immigration removal centres were used as short term, transient spaces, in the way in which they were initially intended to be, they may not be the damaging spaces they are now typically found to be. Perhaps this is the cause of the disjuncture between rights and experience, where the government and Home Office policies have not caught up with the changing usage of removal centres. But nevertheless, following the arguments of the scholars here, and that of my own work, the policy and practical implications for immigration enforcement as they stand are that these systems do not adequately care for the dignity of the women that they are duty bound to protect. At the very least, these findings support the current groundswell of calls for a time limit in the UK detention system voiced from NGOs, charities and official bodies such as the All Party Parliamentary Group on Refugees, the All Party Parliamentary Group on Migration (APPG, 2015) and the Review into the Welfare in Detention of Vulnerable Persons from Shaw (2016).

In light of my findings, and those of others, regarding the damaging impact of incarceration for immigration purposes (especially Bosworth, 2014; Kellezi & Bosworth, 2016; Coffey, et al. 2010; Canning, 2017; Hasselberg, 2016; Shaw, 2016; McLoughlin & Warin, 2008; Silove et al., 2001; Steel & Silove, 2001), the argument for abolition of immigration detention in its current form is easy to make. There exists a substantial breadth of literature which argues any confinement is structured to be painful, even those institutions which are somewhat less contested, such as the prison (Carlton & Segrave, 2011; Hart, 2017; Ryan & Sim, 2016; Moore & Scraton, 2014; Ryan & Ward, 2015; Scott, 2013; Sim, 2009). In Sim's work on prisons, power and the state he highlights the role of the prison in re-enforcing unequal power relations within society, such as those of gender and race. Similarly, he argues that sustained criticisms and reform has failed to mend the damages caused by incarceration and that an abolitionist position is thusly a better alternative (Sim, 2016; Sim, 2009). On women, the call for alternatives to prison increase, with evidence of pains suffered by this group beyond those intentioned for and incurred by men by design (Carlton & Segrave, 2011; Moore & Scraton, 2014).

Immigration detention similarly re-enforces social inequalities as those held within removal centres are also predominantly from marginalised social groups (Bosworth, 2014). Likewise the increasing penal powers of the state in relation to immigration detention reflect those of the prison (Bosworth, 2017a; Bosworth et al., 2016; Bosworth & Turnbull, 2015), which are already criticised heavily in prison abolitionist literature (Gill, 2009; Ryan & Sim, 2016; Ryan & Ward, 2015), without the additional question's regarding the moral decision to detain individuals for administrative purposes.

But what are the alternatives? The findings in this dissertation from women held in the community, and those in studies which focus on the lives of people seeking asylum in the UK community (Klein & Williams, 2012; Canning, 2017; Allsopp et al. 2014; Bloch & Schuster, 2005a) illustrate that, even without detention, people under immigration control in the community are already treated in a way that is damaging to their dignity. It is thus not as simple as suggesting current community-based practices are the answer.

There has been a shift away from immigration detention practices by the UK government, with increased pressure and criticism regarding the economic and

personal cost of the practice⁷² (Ohtani & Phelps, 2016). There is a review currently in development, conducted by Stephen Shaw who was also responsible for the review into vulnerable adults in detention published in 2016 (Shaw, 2016). However, we are yet to see any developments arise from this ongoing work. Alternatives proposed by Detention Action (Ohtani & Phelps, 2016) and the International Detention Coalition (IDC) (IDC, 2015) are based on a holistic approach to immigration enforcement. They work on a presumption against detention and on minimum standards in the community which encompass: respect for fundamental rights, basic needs, formal status and documentation, legal advice and interpretation, fair and timely case resolution, and regular review of placement decisions. In light of the conclusions of this dissertation, there is promise to these findings, however, it would be wise to be wary of the reliance on legal rights frameworks for the reasons outlined above.

Nonetheless, the research conducted for this dissertation could go some way to assist in the development of the humane immigration enforcement practices suggested by Detention Action and the IDC. As suggested earlier, the conceptual frameworks developed by health and social care practitioners in relation to dignity in care have illustrated the use of practical examinations of the concept of dignity such as the one offered in my own work. The introduction of the right to work, for example, provides a practical example which could reduce the dependence of individuals on the government, and promote self-worth and self-esteem. In combination with the holistic approaches outlined by Detention Action and the IDC in their reports (Ohtani & Phelps, 2016; IDC, 2015), perhaps there is hope for improved conditions for the population subject to immigration control in the UK.

Where to next?

The aim of this thesis was to explore the experiences of women who were or had spent time in immigration detention. I wanted to understand what it was that caused women who had spent time in these places such pain and associated mental and physical ill health both during and after detention. I framed this research as an exploration of dignity, in a bid to understand the nature and limits of its explanation.

⁷² The Home Office calculations for the average cost of a single person in immigration detention to be £86 per day (Home, Office 2018).

As I have shown, there is a gap between the legal and lived experience of this concept. My work has generated additional questions that would be of benefit to the exploration of immigration enforcement in the UK.

For example, I have shown in this thesis that the three elements examined here: detention, release and removal, can benefit from collective consideration. This work is the first project that has brought all three elements together. The use of the three fieldwork sites has enabled me to examine the impact of the three sites concurrently, highlighting themes which are present across the process of immigration enforcement. This is not to suggest that detailed and nuanced work does not exist in each other areas. The works of Bosworth focusing on the experience of detention (Bosworth, 2008; Bosworth, 2014; Bosworth, 2012), Hasselberg and Canning who focus on men (Hasselberg, 2016) and women (Canning, 2017) living under immigration enforcement rules in the UK community, and research focusing on men and women removed from the country from Turnbull (2017) and Schuster and Majidi (2013) are particularly informative contributions to the exploration of various immigration enforcement practices of the UK. Yet, while each can be analysed and compared alongside the others, each has its own independent focus and theoretical and conceptual framework to inform their analysis and conclusions. Including more than one site allows comparisons not only of experience but also of concepts.

It was especially useful to analyse the concept of dignity across spaces of immigration enforcement. Bringing together the definitions provided by women from all of the fieldwork sites illustrated points of similarity across the sites that I have captured in the notions of vilification, lack of autonomy, and diminishment. Likewise, points of divergence could be explored, such as how the offence to dignity for women in Jamaica shifted away from the criminalisation of immigration detention and focused on the labelling they then experienced in Jamaica due to their expulsion. Without the combined use of fieldwork sites many of the reflections made within this dissertation would not have been possible.

The exception presented by women removed to Jamaica following a prison sentence provides the basis for potential future enquiry. It would be useful to consider the pathway of immigration enforcement comparatively alongside criminal justice pathways. Throughout the course of this dissertation my thoughts returned regularly to concepts of justice, fairness and legitimacy in both prisons and removal centres.

There is already an existing body of work similar to this idea, stemming from the small body of research surrounding wrongfully convicted prisoners which may provide a promising point to begin.

The literature on people who have been wrongly convicted is in its infancy, however, it suggests this population suffers long-term consequences which are beyond what is considered the 'norm' for prisoners. According to Adrian Grounds (2004, 2005), for example, men who had been wrongfully imprisoned, and since released, were likely to have experienced a change in personality, to have symptoms related to PTSD and to suffer from depressive psychological disorders. Kathryn Campbell and Myriam Denov (2004) theorise that the factor which exacerbates pains they may suffer while imprisoned is that the very nature of their imprisonment is unjust.

The men in Grounds' research suffered multiple enduring deteriorations beyond what is typical for prisoners. The detriments were related to enduring change in personality, where men became introverted, moody and unable to maintain previous relationships. Many of the exonerated men were also suffering from psychological disorders such as depression, anxiety and present with symptoms of PTSD. Social isolation was, naturally, also common within this population. The symptoms found in this population appear to parallel those of people released from immigration detention into the UK community. Extending the scope of this current project to explore the concepts of injustice and legitimacy would help to answer the question of whether immigration removal centres can ever be dignified.

Final thoughts

States like the UK remain committed to immigration enforcement practices, notwithstanding their damaging effects. As I argue in this thesis, legal protections based in human rights frameworks, however important, are insufficient to protect those held within removal centres. Likewise, women in the community appear subject to a regime that shows little respect for the dignity of those under immigration control and women removed to Jamaica provide a case study of difficult conditions that are at least partially the consequence of their treatment by the UK government. If the UK is to fully commit to its obligations to protect vulnerable populations under international law and moral duty then it is clear that something needs to change.

REFERENCES

APPG. (2015). *The Report of the Inquiry into the Use of Immigration Detention in the United Kingdom*. London.

Allsopp, J., Sigona, N., & Phillimore, J. (2014). Poverty among refugees and asylum seekers in the UK An evidence and policy review. *IRiS Working Paper Series*, 1–46.

Amnesty International. (2009). *Eritrea: Sent Home to Detention and Torture*.

Aranda, K., Jones, A., Sussex, E., & Projects, H. (2010). Dignity in health-care: a critical exploration using feminism and theories of recognition. *Nursing Inquiry*, 17(3), 248–256.

Argyle, M. (2001). *The psychology of happiness* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Bacon, C. (2005) *The evolution of immigration detention in the UK: the involvement of private prison companies*. Working Paper 27. Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford.

Bailey, C. (2013). Exploring Female Motivations for Drug Smuggling on the Island of Barbados: Evidence From Her Majesty's Prison, Barbados. *Feminist Criminology*, 8(2), 117–141.

Bales, K., & Mayblin, L. (2017). “Paid work” or underpaid labour? The labour exploitation of detainees within immigration detention. Bristol: Bristol University Legal Research Blogs.

Barbour, R. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research: a student's guide to the craft of doing qualitative research*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd.

Batnitzky, A., & McDowell, L. (2011). Migration, nursing, institutional discrimination and emotional/affective labour: Ethnicity and labour stratification in the UK National Health Service. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 12(2), 181–201.

- Beck, A. (1967). *Depression: causes and treatment*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Belur, J. (2013). Status, gender and geography: power negotiations in police research. *Qualitative Research*, 14(2), 184–200.
- Benatar, S. R. (2002). Reflections and recommendations on research ethics in developing countries. *Social Science & Medicine*, 54(7), 1131–41.
- BID. (2005). *Fit to be detained? Challenging the detention of asylum seekers and migrant with health needs*. Bail for Immigration Detainees: London.
- BID. (2009). *Out of sight, out of mind: experiences of immigration detention in the UK*. Bail for Immigration Detainees: London.
- BID. (2013). *Fractured childhoods: The separation of families by immigration detention*. Bail for Immigration Detainees: London.
- Birch, M., & Miller, T. (2000). Inviting intimacy: The interview as a therapeutic opportunity. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 5579(July 2015), 189–202.
- Birnbacher, D. (1996). Ambiguities in the concept of Menschenwurde. In K. Bayertz (Ed.), *Sanctity of life and human dignity* (pp. 107–121). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Blank, L. (2007). *Situation Analysis of Children and Women in The Eastern Caribbean*. Barbados.
- Bloch, A., & Schuster, L. (2002). Asylum and welfare: contemporary debates. *Critical Social Policy*, 22(3), 393–414.

Bloch, A., & Schuster, L. (2005a). Asylum policy under New Labour. *City Research Online Original*, 13(132), 115–118.

Bloch, A., & Schuster, L. (2005b). At the extremes of exclusion: Deportation, detention and dispersal. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(3), 491–512.

Bosworth, M. (2008). Immigration detention. *Criminal Justice Matters*, 71(1), 24–25.

Bosworth, M. (2011a). Deportation, detention and foreign-national prisoners in England and Wales. *Citizenship Studies*, 15(5), 583–595.

Bosworth, M. (2011b). Human rights and immigration detention in the United Kingdom. In M.-B. Dembour & T. Kelly (Eds.), *Are Human Rights for Migrants? Critical Reflections on the Status of Irregular Migrants in Europe and the United States* (pp. 165–183). Abingdon: Routledge.

Bosworth, M. (2012). Subjectivity and identity in detention: Punishment and society in a global age. *Theoretical Criminology*, 16(2), 123–140.

Bosworth, M. (2013). *Is it Legitimate? Understanding Confinement in a Global World*. In M. Bosworth & K. Aas (Eds.), *The Borders of Punishment Migration, Citizenship, and Social Exclusion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bosworth, M. (2014). *Inside Immigration Detention*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bosworth, M. (2016). Immigration detention, ambivalence and the colonial Other. In A. Eriksson (Ed.), *Punishing the Other* (pp. 145–164). London: Routledge.

Bosworth, M. (2017a). Border criminology and the changing nature of penal power. In A. Liebling, S. Maruna, & L. McAra (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* (Sixth Edit, pp. 373–390). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bosworth, M. (2017b). Immigration Detention and Penal Power: A Criminological Perspective. In M. J. Flynn & M. B. Flynn (Eds.), *Challenging Immigration Detention—Academics, Activists, Policymakers*. (pp. 52–65). London: Edward Elgar.

Bosworth, M., Hasselberg, I., & Turnbull, S. (2016). Imprisonment in a Global Age: Rethinking Penal Power. In Y. Jewkes, B. Crewe, & J. Bennett (Eds.), *Handbook of Prisons* (2nd ed.). Abingdon: Routledge.

Bosworth, M., Hasselberg, I., & Turnbull, S. (2016). Punishment, citizenship and identity: An Introduction. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 16(3), 257–266.

Bosworth, M., & Kaufman, E. (2011). Foreigners in a Carceral Age: Immigration and Imprisonment in the U.S. University of Oxford, Legal Research Paper Series, (34), 101–126.

Bosworth, M., & Kellezi, B. (2012). Quality of Life in Detention: Results for MQLD Questionnaire Data Collected in IRC Yarl's Wood, IRC Tinsley House, and IRC Brook House, August 2010 - June 2011.

Bosworth, M., & Kellezi, B. (2015). Quality of Life in Detention: Results from the MQLD questionnaire data collected in IRC Campsfield House, IRC Yarl's Wood, IRC Colnbrook, and IRC Dover, September 2013 - August 2014. Oxford.

Bosworth, M., & Kellezi, B. (2016). Doing research in immigration removal centres: Ethics, emotions and impact. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 1–17.

Bosworth, M., & Turnbull, S. (2015). Immigration Detention and the Expansion of Penal Power in the UK. In K. Reiter & A. Koenig (Eds.), *Extreme Punishment* (pp. 50–67). London: Palgrave.

British Red Cross and Boaz Trust. (2013). *A Decade of Destitution: time to make a change*. Manchester: British Red Cross and Boaz Trust.

- Brotherton, D. C., & Barrios, L. (2009). Displacement and stigma: The social-psychological crisis of the deportee. *Crime, Media, Culture*, 5(1), 29–55.
- Brown, D. (1997). Workforce losses and return migration to the Caribbean: a case study of Jamaican nurses. In P. Pessar (Ed.), *Caribbean Circuits: New Directions in the Study of Caribbean Migration*. New York: Centre for Migration Studies.
- Brown, H., Johnston, B., & Ostlund, U. (2011). Identifying care actions to conserve dignity in end-of-life care. *British Journal of Community Nursing*, 16, 238–245.
- Buzan, T. (2003). *The Mind Map Book. The Mind Map Book How to Use Radiant Thinking to Maximize Your Brains Untapped Potential*.
- Campbell, A. (1981). *The sense of well-being in America: recent patterns and trends*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Campbell, H. (2008). Female Drug Smugglers on the U.S.-Mexico Border: Gender, Crime, and Empowerment. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 81(1), 233–267.
- Campbell, K., & Denov, M. (2004). The Burden of Innocence: Coping with a Wrongful Imprisonment. Special Issue: Wrongful Conviction: Perspectives, Experiences, and Implications for Justice, 46(2), 139–163.
- Canfield, J. (2005). Secondary traumatization, burnout, and vicarious traumatization. *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 75(2), 81–101.
- Canning, V. (2010). Who's human? developing sociological understandings of the rights of women raped in conflict. *International Journal of Human Rights*, 14(6), 849–864.
- Canning, V. (2014). Women, Asylum and the Harms of Detention. *Criminal Justice Matters*, 98, 10–11.

- Canning, V. (2017). *Gendered harm and structural violence in the British asylum system*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Cannon, L. W., Higginbotham, E., & Leung, M. L. A. (1988). Race and Class Bias in Qualitative Research on Women. *Gender & Society*, 2(4), 449–462.
- Carlton, B., & Segrave, M. (2011). Women's survival post-imprisonment: Connecting imprisonment with pains past and present. *Punishment and Society*, 13(5), 551–570.
- Channel 4 News. (2015). Yarl's Wood: undercover in the secretive immigration centre. UK: Channel 4. Retrieved from <https://www.channel4.com/news/yarls-wood-immigration-removal-detention-centre-investigation>
- Cheng, H., & Furnham, A. (2003). Personality, self-esteem, and demographic predictions of happiness and depression. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 34(6), 921–942.
- Chilton, M. (2006). Developing a measure of dignity for stress-related health outcomes. *Health and Human Rights*, 9, 208–233.
- Chochinov, H. M. (2002). Dignity-conserving care--a new model for palliative care: helping the patient feel valued. *JAMA: The Journal of the American Medical Association*, 287(17), 2253–60.
- Chochinov, H. M., Hack, T., McClement, S., Kristjanson, L., & Harlos, M. (2002). Dignity in the terminally ill: A developing empirical model. *Social Science and Medicine*, 54, 433–443.
- Clarke, C. (2006). Politics, violence and drugs in Kingston, Jamaica. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 25(3), 420–440.
- Clarke, G., & Wallsten, S. (2003). Do Remittances Act Like Insurance? Evidence from a Natural Disaster in Jamaica. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, (202).

Coffey, G. J., Kaplan, I., Sampson, R. C., & Tucci, M. M. (2010). The meaning and mental health consequences of long-term immigration detention for people seeking asylum. *Social Science and Medicine*, 70(12), 2070–2079.

Cohen, J. (2008). Safe in our hands?: A study of suicide and self-harm in asylum seekers. *Journal of Forensic and Legal Medicine*, 15(4), 235–244.

Cohen, S., & Taylor, L. (1972). *Psychological Survival: The experience of Long-Term Imprisonment*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd.

Condry, R. (2007). *Families Shamed: The consequences of crime for relatives of serious offenders*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

Connell, J., & Conway, D. (2000). Migration and Remittances in Island Microstates: A Comparative Perspective on the South Pacific and. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 24(1), 52–78.

Conway, D., & Cohen, J. (1998). Consequences of Migration and Remittances for Mexican Transnational Communities. *Economic Geography*, 74(1), 26–44.

Cooley, C. H. (1902). The Social Self - 1. The Meaning of “I.” In *Human Nature and the Social Order* (pp. 136–178).

Coussey, M. (2014). *Yarl’s Wood Independent Monitoring Board Annual Report 2014*, 1–25. London: IMB.

Coventry, M. (2006). Care with Dignity: A Concept Analysis. *Gerontological Nursing*, 32(5), 42–48.

Coyle, A. (2003). *Humanity in Prison; Questions of definition and Audit*. International Centre for Prison Studies.

Crawford-Brown, C. (1999). *Who will save our children? The plight of the Jamaican child in the 1990’s*. Kingston, Jamaica: Canoe Press, University of the West Indies.

- Crewe, B. (2011). Depth, weight, tightness: Revisiting the pains of imprisonment. *Punishment & Society*, 13(5), 509–529.
- Dales, R. C. (1977). A medieval View of Human Dignity. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 38(4), 557–572.
- Darlington, Y., & Scott, D. (2002). *Qualitative Research in Practice: stories from the field*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Davies, M. (2011). Concept mapping, mind mapping and argument mapping: what are the differences and do they matter? *Higher Education*, 62(3), 279–301.
- de Zayas, A. (2005). Human rights and indefinite detention. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 87(857), 15.
- Dickson-Swift, V., James, E. L., Kippen, S., & Liamputtong, P. (2007). Doing Sensitive Research: What Challenges do Qualitative Researchers Face? *Qualitative Research*, 7(3), 327–353.
- Dillon, M., & Walsh, C. (2012). Left Behind: The Experiences of Children of the Caribbean Whose Parents Have Migrated. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 43(6), 871–902.
- DoH. (2001). *National Service Framework for Older People*. Westminster: Department of Health.
- DoH. (2010). *Essence of Care*. Westminster: Department of Health.
- Dolan, C., Schuster, L., & Merefield, M. (2009). The impact of deportation: some reflections on current practice, 1–21.

- Donnelly, J. (1982). Human Rights and Human Dignity : An Analytic Critique of Non-Western Conceptions of Human Rights. *The American Political Science Review*, 76(2), 303–316.
- Dore, R. (2001). Dignity and Deprivation. What's Wrong with a Free Lunch?, 98–102.
- Doyle, L. (2009). "I hate being idle" Wasted skills and enforced dependence among Zimbabwean asylum seekers in the UK. Refugee Council. London: Refugee Council.
- Dupre, C. (2009). Unlocking human dignity: towards a theory for the 21st century. *European Human Rights Law Review*, 2, 190–206.
- Easton, S. (2013). Protecting Prisoners: The Impact of International Human Rights Law on the Treatment of Prisoners in the United Kingdom. *The Prison Journal*, 93(4), 475–492.
- Edwards, R. (1990). Connecting Method and Epistemology: A White Woman Interviewing Black Women. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 13(5), 477–490.
- Engberg, M. (2013a). 1081 – Detention and mental health of torture survivors - what do we know and what do we do? *European Psychiatry*, 28, 1.
- Engberg, M. (2013b). The impact of immigration detention on the mental health of torture survivors is poorly documented--a systematic review. *Danish Medical Journal*, 60 (11), A4728.
- Esmee Fairbairn Foundation. (2003). A bitter pill to swallow: The sentencing of foreign national drug couriers. London: Esmee Fairbairn Foundation.
- European Court of Human Rights. (1970). European Convention on Human Rights. European Court of Human Rights: Strasburg.

- Fekete, L. (2001). The Emergence of Xeno Racism. *Institute of Race Relations*, 43(2), 23–40.
- Feldman, D. (1999). Human dignity as a legal value: Part 1. *Public Law*, (winter), 682–702.
- Feldman, D. (2000). Human dignity as a legal value: Part 2. *Public Law*.
- Finch, J. (1984). 'It's great to have someone to talk to': the ethics and politics of interviewing women. In C. Bell & H. Roberts (Eds.), *Social Researching: Politics, Problems, Practice* (pp. 70–87). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Foner, N. (1985). Race and color: Jamaican migrants in London and New York City. *The International Migration Review*, 19(4), 708–727.
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Gallagher, A., & Seedhouse, D. (2002). Dignity in care: The views of patients and relatives. *Nursing Times*, 98(43), 38–41.
- Geller, G., Branyon, E., Forbes, L., Rushton, C. H., Beach, M. C., Aboumatar, H., & Sugarman, J. (2015). of Respect and Dignity in the Intensive Care Unit. *Narrative Inquiry in Bioethics*, 5(1A), 27A–42A.
- Gennip, I. E. Van, Pasman, H. R. W., Oosterveld-vlug, M. G., Willems, D. L., & Onwuteaka-philipsen, B. D. (2013). International Journal of Nursing Studies The development of a model of dignity in illness based on qualitative interviews with seriously ill patients. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 50(8), 1080–1089.
- Gill, N. (2009a). Governmental mobility: The power effects of the movement of detained asylum seekers around Britain's detention estate. *Political Geography*, 28(3), 186–196.

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. (2017). Health and Intimacies in Immigration Detention. In D. Conlon & N. Hiemstra (Eds.), *Intimate Economies of Immigration Detention: Critical perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Girma, M., Kershaw, I., Lousley, G., Radice, S., & Walter, N. (2015). *I Am Human: Refugee Women's Experiences of Detention in the UK*. London: Women for Refugee Women.

Girma, M., Radice, S., Tsangarides, N., & Walter, N. (2014). Detained: Women Asylum Seekers Locked up in the UK, 1–48.

Goffman, E. (1961). *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Golash-Boza, T. (2015). *Deported: Immigration policing, disposable labour, and global capitalism*. New York and London: New York University Press.

Golash-Boza, T., & Ceciliano Navarro, Y. (2017). “My whole life is in the USA”: Dominican Deportees’ Experiences of Isolation, Precarity, and Resilience. In S. Khosravi (Ed.), *After Deportation: Ethnographic Perspectives* (pp. 149–168). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Golash-Boza, T. M. (2009). Fourteen months, four countries, and three kids - Tales from the Field. Retrieved January 5, 2017, from <http://tanyagolashboza.blogspot.co.uk/search/label/Kingston>

Goodrum, S., & Keys, J. L. (2007). Reflections on Two Studies of Emotionally Sensitive Topics: Bereavement from Murder and Abortion. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 10(4), 249–258.

Gregory, D., Cynthia, R., & Phillips, L. (1997). Beyond Textual Perfection: Transcribers as Vulnerable Persons. *Qualitative Health Research*, 7(2), 294–300.

Grewlock, M. (2015). Reinventing “The Stain”: Bad Character and Criminal Deportation in Contemporary Australia. In S. Pickering & J. Ham (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook on Crime and International Migration*. Oxford: Routledge.

Griffin, C. E. (2009). Deportation and reintegration in the Caribbean and Latin America: addressing the development–security paradox. In W. F. McDonald (Ed.), *Immigration, Crime and Justice (Sociology of Crime Law and Deviance, Volume 13)* (Vol. 13, pp. 279–296). Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing.

Griffiths, M. (2012). Anonymous Aliens? Questions of Identification in the Detention and Deportation of Failed Asylum Seekers. *Population, Space and Place*, 18(6), 715–727.

Griffiths, M. (2013). Living with Uncertainty : Indefinite Immigration Detention. *Journal of Legal Anthropology*, 1(3), 263–286.

Griffiths, M. (2014). Out of Time: The Temporal Uncertainties of Refused Asylum Seekers and Immigration Detainees. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(12), 1991–2009.

Grounds, A. (2004). Psychological Consequences of Wrongful Conviction and Imprisonment. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 46(2), 165–182.

Grounds, A. T. (2005). Understanding the Effects of Wrongful Imprisonment. *Crime and Justice*, 32(2005), 1–58.

Guerra, M. D. (2001). The Affirmation of Genuine Human Dignity. *The Journal of Markets & Morality*, 4(2), 295–301.

Gundhas, H. (2018). Reflexivity and theorizing: conceptualizing the police role in migration control. In. Fili, Jahnsen and Powell (Eds.), *Criminal Justice Research in an era of Mass Mobility*. London: Routledge.

Habermas, J. (2010). the Concept of Human Dignity and the Realistic Utopia of Human Rights. *Metaphilosophy*, 41, 464–480.

Hacker, K., Chu, J., Arsenault, L., & Marlin, R. P. (2012). Provider's Perspectives on the Impact of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) Activity on Immigrant Health. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*.

Haddock, J. (1996). Towards further clarification of the concept “dignity.” *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 24, 924–931.

Hailer, M., & Ritschl, D. (1996). The general notion of human dignity and the specific arguments in medical ethics. In K. Bayertz (Ed.), *In Sanctity of Life and Human Dignity* (pp. 91–106). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

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). Drawing the Line : Discretion and Power. In *Border watch: cultures of immigration, detention and control* (pp. 113–136). London: Pluto Press.

Hamilton, K., & Harris, J. (2009). *21 Days Later: Destitution and the asylum system*. London: The Refugee Survival Trust and British Red Cross.

Harris, N. (2001). Shaming and Shame: Regulating Drink Driving. In J. Braithwaite, V. Braithwaite, N. Harris, & E. Ahmed (Eds.), *Shame Management Through Reintegration* (p. Part II). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harrison, F. (1988). Women in Jamaica's urban informal economy: insights from a Kingston slum. *New West Indian Guide*, 62(3/4), 103–128.

Hart, E. L. (2017). Women Prisoners and the Drive for Desistance: Capital and Responsibilization as a Barrier to Change. *Women and Criminal Justice*, 27(3), 151–169.

Hasselberg, I. (2016). *Enduring Uncertainty: Deportation, Punishment and Everyday Life*. Oxford: Berghahn.

Headley, B. (2006). Giving Critical Context to the Deportee Phenomenon of Blame. *Social Justice*, 33(1), 40–56.

Hemati, Z., Ashouri, E., Allahbakhshian, M., Pourfarzad, Z., Shirani, F., Safazadeh, S., Taleghani, F. (2016). Dying with dignity : a concept analysis. *Clinical Nursing*, 25, 1218–1228.

Henry, L. M., Rushton, C., Beach, M. C., & Faden, R. (2015). Respect and Dignity : A Conceptual Model for Patients in the Intensive Care Unit, 5(1A), 5A–14A.

HMIP. (2008). *Report on an Unannounced Full Follow-up Inspection of Campsfield House Immigration Removal Centre, 12–16 May 2008*. London.

HMIP. (2013a). *Detainees under escort: Inspection of escort and removals to Nigeria and Ghana, (November)*. London: HM Inspectorate of Prisons.

HMIP. (2013b). *HM Chief Inspector of Prisons for England and Wales Annual Report 2012 – 13*. London: HM Inspectorate of Prisons.

HMIP. (2013c). *Report on an unannounced inspection of Harmondsworth Immigration Removal Centre 2014*. London: HM Inspectorate of Prisons.

HMIP. (2014a). HM Chief Inspector of Prisons for England and Wales Annual Report 2013 – 14. Office. London: HM Inspectorate of Prisons.

HMIP. (2014b). National Preventative Mechanism.

HMIP. (2015a). HM Chief Inspector of Prisons for England and Wales Annual Report 2014 – 15. London: HM Inspectorate of Prisons.

HMIP. (2015b). Report of an unannounced inspection of Yarl's Wood Immigration Removal Centre. London: HM Inspectorate of Prisons.

HMIP. (2016a). Life in prison: Earning and spending money. London: HM Inspectorate of Prisons.

HMIP. (2016b). Life in prison: Food. London: HM Inspectorate of Prisons.

HMIP. (2018). Expectations for immigration detention: Criteria for assessing the conditions for and treatment of immigration detainees. London: HM Inspectorate of Prisons.

HMIP, & ICIBI. (2012). The effectiveness and impact of immigration detention casework.

Hoffman, L., & Coffey, B. (2008). Dignity and indignation : How people experiencing homelessness view services and providers, 45, 207–222.

Home Office. (2001). The Detention Centre Rules 2001, Statutory Instrument No. 238 Immigration. London: Home Office.

Home Office. (2016a). Detention tables 24. London: Home Office.

Home Office. (2016b). Immigration Act 2016: Guidance on adults at risk in immigration detention. London: Home Office.

- Home Office. (2018a). Detention data tables immigration statistics October to December 2017. London: Home Office.
- Home Office. (2018b). Immigration Enforcement data: February 2018. London: Home Office.
- Horn, R. (1995). II. Reflexivity in Placement: Women Interviewing Women. *Feminism & Psychology*, 5(1), 94–98.
- Horton, R. (2004). Rediscovering human dignity. *Lancet*, 364(9439), 1081–1085.
- Human Rights Commission. (2015). Monitoring places of detention 2015: Sixth Annual Report of the United Kingdom's National Preventive Mechanism (6th ed.). London: Human Rights Commission.
- IDC. (2015). There are alternatives. Melbourne: International Detention Coalition.
- Jacelon, C. (2004). A concept analysis of dignity for older adults. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 48(1), 76–83.
- Jacobson, N. (2007). Dignity and health: a review. *Social Science & Medicine* (1982), 64(2), 292–302.
- Jacobson, N. (2009). A taxonomy of dignity: a grounded theory study. *BMC International Health and Human Rights*, 9, 3.
- Jacobson, N. (2010). *Dignity and Health*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Jamieson, J. (2000). Danger in Fieldwork on Crime. In G. Lee-Treweek & S. Linkogle (Eds.), *Danger in the field: Risk and ethics in social Research*. London: Routledge.
- Johnson, J. P. (1971). Human dignity and the nature of society. *World Futures*, 10(3), 213–248.

Johnson, P. R. (1998). An analysis of “dignity”. *Theoretical Medicine and Bioethics*, 19, 337–352.

Jurado, E., Brochmann, G., & Dølvik, J. . (2013). *Immigration, Work and Welfare: Towards an Integrated Approach*. London: Policy Network.

Kamenou, N. (2007). Methodological considerations in conducting research across gender, “race”, ethnicity and culture: a challenge to context specificity in diversity research methods. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 18(11), 1995–2010.

Kant, I. (1996). *Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals*. In *Practical Philosophy* (pp. 41–108).

Kellezi, B., & Bosworth, M. (2016a). Mental Health, Suicidal Thoughts and Self-Harm Inside Immigration Detention. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, (November), 1–7.

Kellezi, B., & Bosworth, M. (2016b). Mental health , suicidal thoughts and self-harm inside immigration detention.

Killmister, S. (2010). Dignity: not such a useless concept. *Journal of Medical Ethics*, 36(3), 160–164.

Klein, A., Day, M., & Harriot, A. (2004). *Caribbean drugs : from criminalization to harm reduction*. New York: Zed Books.

Klein, A., & Williams, L. (2012). *Immigration Detention in the Community: Research on the Experiences of Migrants Released from Detention Centres in the UK*. *Population, Space and Place*, 18(6), 741–753.

Kolnai, A. (1976). Dignity. *Philosophy*, 51(197), 251–271.

- Korsgaard, C. (1992). Creating the Kingdom of Ends: Reciprocity and Responsibility in Personal Relations. *Philosophical Perspectives*, 6(1992), 305–332.
- Kraynak, R. P., & Tinder, G. (2003). In *Defense of Human Dignity: Essays for Our Times*. (R. P. Kraynak & G. Tinder, Eds.). Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Lampard, K. (2016). Independent investigation into concerns about Yarl's Wood immigration removal centre, (January).
- Lazarus, L. (2004). *Contrasting Prisoners' Rights: A comparative examination of England and Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- LeBel, T. (2012). Invisible Stripes? Formerly Incarcerated Persons' Perceptions of Stigma. *Deviant Behavior*, 33(2), 89–107.
- Leerkes, A., & Broeders, D. (2010). A case of mixed motives?: Formal and informal functions of administrative immigration detention. *British Journal of Criminology*, 50(5), 830–850.
- Letherby, G., Scott, J., & Williams, M. (2014). Objectivity and Subjectivity in Practice In: *Objectivity and Subjectivity in Social Research*, 103–126. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Liebling, A. (2004). *Prisons and their moral performance: A study of values, quality and prison life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Liebling, A. (2011). Moral performance, inhuman and degrading treatment and prison pain. *Punishment & Society*, 13(5), 530–550.
- Liebling, A., & Maruna, S. (2005). *The effects of imprisonment*. Collumpton: Willan.
- Lofland, J. (2006). *Analyzing social settings: a guide to qualitative observation and analysis* (4th ed.). Belmont, California: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning Publication.

Loggers, E. T., Starks, H., Shannon-Dudley, M., Back, A. L., Appelbaum, F. R., & Stewart, F. M. (2013). Implementing a Death with Dignity Program at a Comprehensive Cancer Center. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 368(15), 1417–1424.

Madan, T. N. (1992). Dying with dignity. In *Social Science and Medicine* (Vol. 35, pp. 425–432).

Maier, A. (2011). Torture. In P. Kaufmann, H. Kuch, C. Neuhauser, & E. Webster (Eds.), *Humiliation, Degradation, Dehumanization: Human Dignity Violated* (pp. 101–117). Dordrecht: Springer.

Majidi, N. (2017). Deportees Lost at “Home”: Post-deportation Outcomes in Afghanistan. In S. Khosravi (Ed.), *After Deportation: Ethnographic Perspectives* (pp. 127–148). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Malby, S. (2001). Human dignity and human reproductive cloning. *Health and Human Rights*, 6(1), 103–136.

Mann, J. (1998). Dignity and health: The UDHR’s revolutionary first article. *Health and Human Rights*, 3(2), 31–38.

Mann, J., Gostin, L., Gruskin, S., Brennan, T., Lazzarini, Z., & Fineberg, H. V. (1994). Health and human rights. *Health and Human Rights*, 1, 6–23.

Mann, J., & Gruskin, S. (1995). Women’s Health and Human Rights: Genesis of the Health and Human Rights Movement. *Health and Human Rights*, 1(4), 309–312.

Margalit, A., & Motzkin, G. (2006). The Uniqueness of the Holocaust. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 25(1), 65–83.

Marmot, M. (2003). Self esteem and health. *BMJ (Clinical Research Ed.)*, 327(7415), 574–575.

Marmot, M., & Wilkinson, R. (2006). *Social Determinants of Health*. (M. Marmot & R. Wilkinson, Eds.) (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Mathews, A. K. (2010). Death with dignity. *Creative Nursing*, 16, 185–187.

Matiti, R. M., & Trorey, G. (2004). Perceptual adjustment levels : patients ' perception of their dignity in the hospital setting, 41, 735–744.

McCrudden, C. (2008). Human Dignity and Judicial Interpretation of Human Rights. *European Journal of International Law*, 19(4), 655–724.

McGuinness, T., & Gower, M. (2017). *Immigration detention in the UK: An overview*. London.

McLoughlin, P., & Warin, M. (2008). Corrosive places, inhuman spaces: Mental health in Australian immigration detention. *Health and Place*, 14(2), 254–264.

Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. (C. W. Morris, Ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Medical Justice. (2010). *State Sponsored Cruelty - Children in Immigration Detention*. London: Medical Justice

Medical Justice. (2012). *“The Second Torture”: The immigration detention of torture survivors*. London: Medical Justice.

Medical Justice. (2013). *Expecting Change : The case for ending the detention of pregnant women*. London: Medical Justice.

Mendes, S. (2012). *Skyfall*. United Kingdom: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) and Columbia Pictures.

Meyer, M. J. (1989). Dignity , Rights , and Self-Control *. *Ethics*, 99(3), 520–534.

- Miller, A. (2012). Deportation as a Process of Irreversible Transformation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(May), 131–146.
- Miller, A. B., & Keys, C. B. (2001). Understanding Dignity in the Lives of Homeless Persons. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 29(2), 331–354.
- Misztal, B. a. (2012). The idea of dignity: Its modern significance. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 16(1), 101–121.
- Mitchell, W., & Irvine, A. (2008). I'm Okay, You're Okay?: Reflections on the Well-Being and Ethical Requirements of Researchers and Research Participants in Conducting Qualitative Fieldwork Interviews. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 7(4), 31–44.
- Moore, K., Stuewig, J., & Tangney, J. (2013). Jail Inmates' Perceived and Anticipated Stigma: Implications for Post-release Functioning. *Self and Identity*, 12(5), 527–547.
- Moore, L., & Scraton, P. (2014). *The incarceration of women: Punishing bodies, breaking spirits*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Moore, L. W., & Miller, M. (1999). Initiating research with doubly vulnerable populations. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 30(5), 1034–1040.
- Moran, D. (2012). Prisoner reintegration and the stigma of prison time inscribed on the body. *Punishment and Society*, 14(5), 564–583.
- Morsink, J. (2000). *Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights : Universal Declaration of Human Rights : Origins, Drafting and Intent*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Muggeridge, H., & Maman, C. (2011). *Unsustainable: The quality of initial decision-making in women's asylum claims*. London: Asylum Aid.

Mujtaba, B., Cavico, F., Hinds, R. M., & Oskal, C. (2006). Age Discrimination in the Workplace : Cultural Paradigms Associated with Age in Afghanistan , Jamaica, Turkey, and the United States. *The Journal of Applied Management and Entrepreneurship*, 11(1), 17.

Mujtaba, B. G., Hinds, R. M., & Oskal, C. (2004). Cultural Perspectives on Aging and Older Individuals. *Journal of Business*, 2(12), 31–44.

Mulvey, G. (2009). “Even among asylum seekers we are the lowest”: life on Section 4 support in Glasgow. Scottish Refuge Council. Glasgow: Scottish Refugee Council.

Neal, M. (2014). Respect for human dignity as “substantive basic norm.” *International Journal of Law in Context*, 10(1), 26–46.

NHS. (2000). *The NHS Plan: A plan for investment, a plan for reform*. Westminster: National Health Service.

Nordenfelt, L. (2004). The varieties of dignity. *Health Care Analysis : HCA : Journal of Health Philosophy and Policy*, 12(2), 69-81-89.

Nussbaum, M. C. 1947-. (1997). Capabilities and human rights. *Fordham Law Review*, 66, 273–300.

Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing women: A contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.), *Doing Feminist Research* (pp. 30–61). London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ohtani, E., & Phelps, J. (2016). *Without detention. Opportunities for alternatives*. London.

PPO (2015). *A Report by the Prisons and Probation Ombudsman Nigel Newcomen CBE*, (February).

Östlund, U., Brown, H., & Johnston, B. (2012). Dignity conserving care at end-of-life: A narrative review. *European Journal of Oncology Nursing*, 16(4), 353–367.

Phelps, J. (2009). *Detained lives: The real cost of indefinite immigration detention*, (january). London: Detention Action.

Phillimore, J., Thornhill, J., Latif, Z., Uwimana, M., & Goodson, L. (2010). *Delivering in an Age of Super-Diversity: West Midlands Review of Maternity Services for Migrant Women*. London: Department of Health.

Pleschberger, S. (2007). Dignity and the challenge of dying in nursing homes: the residents' view. *Age and Ageing*, 36, 197–202.

Pottinger, A. M. (2005). Children's experience of loss by parental migration in inner-city Jamaica. *The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 75(4), 485–496.

Provost, L. (2015). *Understanding the effects of trauma on identity: Voices of Holocaust survivors*. New York University.

Ratner, C. (2002). Subjectivity and objectivity in qualitative methodology. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung*, 3 (3), 2-19.

Refugee Action. (2006). *The Destitution Trap: Asylum's untold story*. London: Refugee Action.

Ritchie, J., & Lewis, J. (2003). *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. SAGE Publications.

Robjant, K., Hassan, R., & Katona, C. (2009). Mental health implications of detaining asylum seekers: systematic review. *The British Journal of Psychiatry : The Journal of Mental Science*, 194, 306–312.

- Robjant, K., Robbins, I., & Senior, V. (2009). Psychological distress amongst immigration detainees: a cross-sectional questionnaire study. *The British Journal of Clinical Psychology / the British Psychological Society*, 48(Pt 3), 275–86.
- Rosen, M. (2012). *Dignity: It's History and Meaning*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Rothhaar, M. (2010). Human dignity and human rights in bioethics: the Kantian approach. *Medicine, Health Care, and Philosophy*, 13, 251–257.
- Rowling, J. (2007). Book 7 - *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*. Fiction, 1–501.
- Royal Courts of Justice. *BA v Secretary of State for the Home Department* (2011).
- Royal Courts of Justice. *S v Secretary of State for the Home Department* (2011).
- Royal Courts of Justice. (2012). *HA Nigeria v Secretary of State for the Home Department*.
- Royal Courts of Justice. *MD, R (On the Application Of) v Secretary of State for the Home Department* (2014).
- Royal Courts of Justice. *R. (on the application of S) v Secretary of State for the Home Department* (2014).
- Ryan, M., & Sim, J. (2016). Campaigning for and campaigning against prisons: Excavating and reaffirming the case for prison abolition. In R. Jewkes, B. Crewe, & J. Bennet (Eds.), *Handbook on Prisons: Second Edition*. London: Routledge.
- Ryan, M., & Ward, T. (2015). Prison Abolition in the UK: They Dare Not Speak Its Name? *Social Justice*, 41(3), 107–119.
- Sales, R. (2002). The deserving and undeserving? Refugees, asylum seekers and welfare in Britain. *Critical Social Policy*, 22(3), 456–478.

- Sales, R. (2007). *Understanding Immigration and Refugee Policy: Contradictions and Continuities*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Salovey, P., Rothman, A., & Rodin, J. (1998). Health Behaviour. In T. Gilbert, S. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Psychology* (4th ed., pp. 633–683). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Salovey, P., Rothman, J., Detweiler, J. B., & Steward, W. T. (2000). Emotional states and physical health. *The American Psychologist*, 55(1), 110–121.
- Saltus, R., & Pithara, C. (2014). A sense of dignity in later life: A qualitative study on the views of older women migrants from minoritised backgrounds. *Quality in Ageing and Older Adults*, 15(1), 21–33.
- Sautier, L. P., Vehling, S., & Mehnert, A. (2014). Assessment of patients' dignity in cancer care: Preliminary psychometrics of the German version of the patient dignity inventory (PDI-G). *Journal of Pain and Symptom Management*, 47(1), 181–188.
- Scarre, G. (2012). Can there be a good death? *Journal of Evaluation in Clinical Practice*, 18(5), 1082–1086.
- Schuster, L., & Majidi, N. (2013). What happens post-deportation? The experience of deported Afghans. *Migration Studies*, 1(2), 221–240.
- Schuster, L., & Solomos, J. (2004). Race, immigration and asylum: New Labour's agenda and its consequences. *Ethnicities*, 4(2), 267–287.
- Schwartz Lee, B. (1988). Holocaust Survivors and Internal Strengths. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 28(1), 67–96.
- Scott, D. (2013). The politics of prisoner legal rights. *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 52(3), 233–250.

- Seltser, B. J., & Miller, D. E. (1993). *Homeless Families: The struggle for dignity*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Sennett, R. (2003). *Respect in a World of Inequality*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc.
- Sensen, O. (2009). Kant's conception of human dignity. *Kant-Studien*, 100(3), 309–331.
- Shaw, S. (2016). *Review into the Welfare in Detention of Vulnerable Persons: A report to the Home Office by Stephen Shaw*. London.
- Shell, S. M. (2003). Kant on Human Dignity. In M. P. Kraynak & E. G. Tinker (Eds.), *In defence of human dignity: Essays for our times* (pp. 53–80). Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Shinozaki, K. (2012). Transnational dynamics in researching migrants: self-reflexivity and boundary-drawing in fieldwork. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(February 2015), 1810–1827.
- Sikweyiya, Y., & Jewkes, R. (2012). Perceptions and experiences of research participants on gender-based violence community based survey: Implications for ethical guidelines. *PLoS ONE*, 7(4).
- Silove, D., Steel, Z., & Mollica, R. F. (2001). Detention of asylum seekers: assault on health, human rights, and social development. *The Lancet*, 357(9266), 1436–1437.
- Silverman, D. (2013). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook*. Organization (4th ed., Vol. 4). London: SAGE Publications, Ltd.
- Silverman, S. J., & Massa, E. (2012). Why Immigration Detention is Unique. *Population, Space and Place*, 18(6), 677–686.

Sim, J. (2009). *Punishment and Prisons: Power and the Carceral State*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd.

Singer, R. (1972). Privacy, autonomy, and dignity in the prison: A preliminary inquiry concerning constitutional aspects of the degradation process in our prisons. *Buffalo Law Review*, 21(2).

Skorpen, F., Thorsen, A. A., & Forsberg, C. (2014). Suffering related to dignity among patients at a psychiatric hospital. *Nursing Ethics*, 21(2), 148–162.

Smith, E. (2004). *Right First Time? Home Office Asylum Interviewing and Reasons for Refusal Letters*. London: Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture (Now Freedom from Torture).

Snacken, S. (2015). Punishment, legitimate policies and values : Penal moderation, dignity and human rights. *Punishment & Society*, 17(3), 397–423.

Steel, Z., Momartin, S., Silove, D., Coello, M., Aroche, J., & Tay, K. W. (2011). Two year psychosocial and mental health outcomes for refugees subjected to restrictive or supportive immigration policies. *Social Science and Medicine*, 72(7), 1149–1156.

Steel, Z., & Silove, D. M. (2001). The mental health implications of detaining asylum seekers. *The Medical Journal of Australia*, 175, 596–9.

Stoecker, R. (2003). Menschenwurde und das Paradox der Entwürdigung. In R. Stoecker (Ed.), *Menschenwurde - Annäherung an einen Begriff* (pp. 133–151). Wien: Obv & Hpt.

Stoecker, R. (2011). Three Crucial Turns on the Road to an Adequate Understanding of Human Dignity. In P. Kaufmann, H. Kuch, C. Neuhauser, & E. Webster (Eds.), *Humiliation, Degradation, Dehumanization: Human Dignity Violated* (pp. 7–17). Dordrecht: Springer.

- Storm, T., & Engberg, M. (2013). The impact of immigration detention on the mental health of torture survivors is poorly documented - A systematic review. *Danish Medical Journal*, 60(11), 1–7.
- Sykes, G. (1958). *The Society of Captives : a Study of a Maximum Security Prison* (1st ed.). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Thomas-Hope, E. M. (2002). *Explanation in Caribbean migration: perception and the image: Jamaica, Barbados, St. Vincent* (2nd ed.). London: Macmillan.
- Thompson, G. N., & Chochinov, H. M. (2008). Dignity-based approaches in the care of terminally ill patients. *Current Opinion in Supportive and Palliative Care*, 2, 49–53.
- Tidrick, G. (1966). Some Aspects of Jamaican Emigration to the United Kingdom 1953-1962. *Social and Economic Studies*, 15(1), 22–39.
- Turnbull, S. (2016). “Stuck in the middle”: Waiting and uncertainty in immigration detention. *Time & Society*, 25(1), 61–79.
- Turnbull, S. (2017). Starting Again: Life After Deportation from the UK. In S. Khosravi (Ed.), *After Deportation: Ethnographic Perspectives* (pp. 37–62). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tyler, I. (2006). “Welcome to Britain”: The cultural politics of asylum. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 9(2), 185–202.
- Tyler, I. (2013). *Revolting Subjects: Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain*. London: Zed Books.
- UN General Assembly. *Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment* (1988).

UNHCR. (2012). *Detention Guidelines: Guidelines on the Applicable Criteria and Standards relating to the Detention of Asylum-Seekers and Alternative to Detention*. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

UNHCR. (2013). *Guidelines on the Applicable Criteria and Standards relating to the Detention of Asylum-Seekers and Alternatives to Detention*.

United Nations. (1948). *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

Van Zyl Smit, D., & Snacken, S. (2009). *Principles of European prison law and policy: Penology and human rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Warr, D. J. (2004). Stories in the Flesh and Voices in the Head: Reflections on the Context and Impact of Research With Disadvantaged Populations. *Qualitative Health Research*, 14(4), 578–587.

Wheeldon, J., & Faubert, J. (2009). Framing experience: concept maps, mind maps and data collection in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 68–83.

Wiles, R., Crow, G., Heath, S., & Charles, V. (2008). The Management of Confidentiality and Anonymity in Social Research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11(5), 417–428.

Wilson, D. (2015). Border Militarisation, Technology and Crime Control. In S. Pickering & J. Ham (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Crime and Migration Studies*. Oxford: Routledge.

Wilson, W. (1967). Correlates of avowed happiness. *Psychological Bulletin*, 67(4), 294–306.

World Health Organisation. (2007). *Health in Prisons*. (Vol. 196). Copenhagen.

Wright, S., Waters, R., & Nicholls, V. (2004). Ethical considerations in service-user-led research: Strategies for living project. In M. Smyth & E. Williamson (Eds.), *Researchers and their “subjects”: ethics, power, knowledge, and consent* (pp. 19–34). Bristol: Oxford University Press.

Yates, D. (2011). *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows: Part 2*. UK and USA: Warner Bros. Pictures.