TIME OUT OF JOINT:
TEMPORAL RUPTURE AND MIGRATION MANAGEMENT

Geneviève S.A. Plumptre
Art History and Communication Studies
McGill University, Montréal

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the role of time in contemporary strategies of migration management. From pre-emptive communication practices (media campaigns targeting potential migrants overseas) to detention and deportation, disparate and dispersed technologies of time management are complicit in maintaining a global regime of mobility control that is highly unequal, violent, and exclusionary. These bordering technologies work in conjunction with the "promise" of citizenship to suspend migrants and asylum seekers in a state of protracted uncertainty and liminality; subject to long periods of waiting, administrative backlogs, unforeseen delays, and the shock of sudden arrest or "removal," it is often difficult for migrants to invest themselves in the present and plot out a desired future. By excavating the material, physical, and psychological consequences of border controls that infringe on migrants' time, stymieing or delaying their efforts at resettlement, this thesis demonstrates that temporal autonomy—the ability to manage one's own time—is fundamental to the wellbeing of non-citizens and other vulnerable groups. A shift in emphasis from the spatial to the temporal is significant in part because it draws into relief the subjective and experiential effects of migration management: the complex ways in which state technologies of control play out over the course of a lifetime, shaping both the subjectivity of migrants (their sense of self, security, and rootedness) and their everyday experience.

Abrégé

Cette thèse étudie le rôle du temps dans les stratégies contemporaines de gestion des migrations. Des pratiques de communication préventives (campagnes médiatiques visant les migrants potentiels à l'étranger) à la détention et à la déportation, les technologies de gestion du temps disparates et dispersées compliquent le maintien d'un régime mondial de contrôle de la mobilité mondiale extrêmement inégalitaire, violent et excluant. Ces technologies frontalières vont de pair avec la « promesse » de citoyenneté de suspendre les migrants et les demandeurs d'asile dans un état d'incertitude prolongée et de liminalité; soumis à de longues périodes d'attente, à des retards administratifs, à des retards imprévus et au choc d'une arrestation brutale ou d'un « éloignement », il est souvent difficile pour les migrants de s'investir dans le présent et de préparer l'avenir souhaité. En dégageant les conséquences matérielles, physiques et psychologiques des contrôles aux frontières qui empiètent sur le temps des migrants, bloquant ou retardant leurs efforts de réinstallation, cette thèse démontre que l'autonomie temporelle - la capacité de gérer son propre temps – est essentielle au bien-être des non-citoyens et autres groupes vulnérables. Le passage de l'espace au temporel est significatif, en partie parce qu'il met en lumière les effets subjectifs et expérientiels de la gestion des migrations : la manière complexe dont les technologies de contrôle étatiques se manifestent au cours de la vie, façonnant à la fois la subjectivité des migrants (le sentiment de soi, leur sécurité et leur enracinement) et leur expérience de tous les jours.

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Introduction

Between departure and arrival, exodus and integration, migrants and asylum seekers in search of economic opportunity, security, and protection encounter obstacles that are both "natural" and constructed—the result of restrictive immigration policies that limit legal pathways to entry and citizenship. Even before prospective migrants have left their countries of origin, and well after their admission into neighbouring transit states or new host countries, an array of security devices and bordering technologies are at work shaping their mobility, admissibility, and access to due process. Foremost among these technologies of exclusion is time: in a variety of contexts, from migrant detention and deportation to the arduous process of gaining citizenship or refugee status, time functions as a barrier to resettlement and a persistent reminder of alterity. While the trauma of displacement undoubtedly has a role to play in the temporal frustrations experienced by many migrants, they are exacerbated by state-made policies and instruments of control, which prolong the uncertainty and liminality of non-citizen status. This thesis investigates the role of time in contemporary strategies of migration management, unearthing the violence of procedures that stymie or delay the immigration or asylum-seeking process.

In recent years, migration has become a major preoccupation of Western "receiving" states and a growing source of controversy amongst political constituents. As the world becomes increasingly "borderless" in terms of capital exchange, multinational investment, communications, and other contemporary phenomena, efforts to regulate human mobility seem at once necessary for the maintenance of order and security and somehow out of step with the networked nature of existence under global capitalism. There is much disagreement over the appropriate response of Western liberal states to irregular flows of people— movements that occur without prior authorization, or which fail to comply with the

administrative requirements of either the sending or the receiving country. On the one hand, the duty to protect individuals displaced by war, persecution, or civil strife is enshrined in international law, in Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; upholding this commitment is integral to the self-image of liberal democratic regimes (Dauvergne, 1999). On the other, these unscripted movements violate the principles of sovereignty and territorial control on which the nation-state system is based. The potential security risk posed by unauthorized migration lends credence to the idea that "spontaneous" arrivals represent a threat to civil order and the smooth functioning of administrative procedures. Often, these concerns are fuelled by xenophobic sentiment associating migrants with criminality, terrorism, or the loss of "traditional" (white European) ways of life. Indeed, Western nations have proved adept at finding ways to subvert the claims of irregular migrants and asylum seekers, reasserting their sovereign power to decide who enters national space. Through multilateral agreements and foreign policy arrangements, the geographical reach of border controls is expanding, as so-called "developed" countries divert migratory flows into poorer regions that are generally ill-equipped to deal with the volume of new entrants.

Media reports have lent a visibility to mass migration that borders on the spectacular. Scenes of boats capsized on the Mediterranean; bodies washed up on the Aegean coast; people scrambling to board trains destined for northern Europe; children brutally separated from their parents in detention; and frostbitten asylum seekers risking arrest along the Canada-US border populate our screens, newspapers, and airwaves with nearly incessant regularity. While these stories are important in raising awareness of the risks involved in irregular migration, their ability to elicit meaningful action or institutional change is limited. In feeding perceptions of a migration "crisis," images of disorderly border crossings and mass suffering can serve as a license for extraordinary measures involving enhanced security and policing. At the same time as they evoke compassion and sympathy, they can also give rise to

moral panic, tapping into racialized fears of "invading foreigners." Spectacles of migrant suffering generally offer little in the way of explanation and analysis: it is as though the hardships endured by irregular migrants and asylum seekers over the course of their travels were inherent to the migratory process itself, rather than the outcome of a global border control regime that heightens the vulnerability of people on the move. Decontextualized from the wider relations of privilege and inequality that structure migratory patterns and make transnational mobility a necessity for millions of people worldwide, the very decision to migrate is rendered suspect: a potential death sentence for migrants, which also places destination countries at risk of being overwhelmed (Squire, 2015).

This thesis is motivated by a desire to understand and shed light on the violence of migration management, both as a response to the unpredictability of migration, and as a coordinated attempt on the part of Western nations to deflect political responsibility for asylum seekers, refugees, and other people in need—all the while maintaining a readily available supply of cheap labour in the form of deportable migrant workers (de Genova, 2010). Despite the frequency with which migration is debated and discussed in public fora, the opportunities to hear directly from migrants and asylum seekers about their experiences are scarce. While there has been considerable scholarly research into emerging practices of border security (particularly detention and deportation) which criminalize migrants and reinforce associations of threat (Bigo, 2002; de Genova, 2010; Hodge, 2015; Pallister-Wilkins, 2018), these studies tend to emphasize mechanisms of control, and the reconfigurations in sovereign power they entail, over and above the experiences of migrants themselves. A shift in emphasis from the spatial to the temporal is significant in part because it draws into relief the subjective and experiential effects of migration management: the complex ways in which state technologies of control play out over the course of a lifetime, shaping both the

subjectivity of migrants (their sense of self, security, and rootedness) and their everyday existence.

Increasingly, border control involves a dispersed set of practices aimed at regulating mobility away from the territorial edges of the nation-state: in camps, detention centres, tunnels, airports, and myriad other spaces of holding and transit. The trajectories of migrants as they move through these border zones are often looping, circuitous, and indirect; they may involve multiple stopovers, unexpected diversions, or repeat journeys following deportation, voluntary return, or the expiration of valid travel documents. States have developed complex, spatial strategies of confinement, including detention, deportation, and offshore processing on islands, in their efforts to curb unwanted mobility. However, borders are also diffuse temporal zones, where people's legal status, gender, and racial identity intersect with national migration policy and the biographical facts of their border-crossing experience in ways that shape their inclusion long into the future (Boyce, 2017; Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013). The prolonged uncertainty and indeterminacy that accompanies displacement should make us wary of the oft-repeated assumption that migration is a linear journey from point A to point B, which culminates in resettlement (Andrijasevic, 2010). Indeed, not all migrants end up gaining legal status or citizenship—and even those who do may experience enduring forms of xenophobia, prejudice, racial exclusion, or state intervention that compromise their sense of belonging and disrupt the rhythms of ordinary life (Ramsay, 2017).

This thesis presents case studies from a range of national contexts in order to highlight some of the parallels between Western states' treatment of migrants: the various strategies adopted by liberal democratic nations to withhold both entry and citizenship from irregular migrants, as well as experiential effects of these deferrals on migrants' quotidian existence. From pre-emptive communication practices (media campaigns targeting potential migrants overseas) to detention and deportation, disparate and dispersed technologies of time

management are complicit in maintaining a global regime of mobility control that is highly unequal, violent, and exclusionary. Time plays a key role in the regulation of mobility, not only in the sense that some travellers move more quickly past the border than others (think of biometric identification systems such as NEXUS that assign cardholders "trusted" traveler status; or the necessity of obtaining travel visas for some nationals, a process that can take days or weeks); but also in the sense that the border "sticks" to some people, making it difficult to claim the full rights of citizenship.

For states eager to minimize the number of migrants and asylum seekers arriving without prior authorization, strengthening border security is a matter of determining not only where to erect barriers to irregular migration, but also *when* to intercept migrants over the course of their life trajectories. Western governments, with the cooperation of major source countries in the Global South, private corporations, and intergovernmental organizations such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM), have developed sophisticated techniques of deterrence (including maritime interdiction, carrier sanctions, offshore processing, the criminalization of irregular departure, and other forms of "neo-*refoulement*") in order to reduce the likelihood of transnational mobility and block onward movement for refugees (Hyndman & Mountz, 2008). Gammeltoft-Hansen and Tan (2017) characterize deterrence as the dominant "paradigm" of the global refugee protection regime, an approach to migration management that has come at enormous cost in terms of migrant fatalities and human rights protection. As its negative humanitarian impact grows increasingly apparent, the deterrence paradigm is under pressure both legally (primarily through international human rights and refugee law) and politically (as those countries hosting the bulk of the world's refugees threaten non-cooperation). Understood in this light, "the present refugee crisis represents not a crisis of numbers, but of policy"—evidence of a failure in institutional responses to migration, as wealthier states in Europe and elsewhere continue to prioritize

their own political and economic interests in favour of a more cooperative approach based in shared responsibility (Gammeltoft-Hansen & Tan, 2017, pg. 45).

Nevertheless, the idea of targeting migrants and asylum seekers at the earliest possible stage along their migration journeys carries certain advantages, insofar as it offers a potentially more humane alternative to the violence of front-end enforcement. Part of what makes it so difficult to apprehend the callousness of contemporary bordering practices is that they tend to overlap with humanitarian gestures of rescue and care. Chapter One explores this tension in relation to Australia's Information Campaigns (ICs), which use a range of media, including print advertisements, video, social networking sites, and online interactive games to communicate the risks of irregular migration. Often, this is accomplished by associating irregular migration with criminal operations, especially human trafficking and smuggling. However, ICs also emphasize the emotional, psychological, and economic toll associated with unauthorized mobility, in an effort to discourage potential migrants in their countries of origin or transit from exposing themselves to danger. Drawing on Sherene Razack's (2011) work exploring Canadian national identity, humanitarianism, and performances of white benevolence, I examine ICs from the perspective of their underlying white liberal humanism. As my analysis demonstrates, images of migrant suffering—even when they elicit pity or compassion—can also serve as a means of displacing attention from wider relations of privilege and material inequality. Australia's ICs are a testament to the arrogance of Western governments that claim to know the inner workings of people's minds, to anticipate their movements and intervene in their thought processes.

While Australia has been at the forefront of the use of ICs as a mode of deterrence, a number of Western countries have followed suit with their own overseas media campaigns designed to prevent mobility in advance of other policy instruments. In 2013, following the introduction of Bill C-31 (designating as "safe" a list of 27 countries with high refusal rates

for refugee claims), the Government of Canada launched a $13,000 billboard, bus shelter, and radio ad campaign in Miskolc, Hungary to discourage members of the Roma community from seeking asylum (Levy-Ajzenkopf, 2013). Likewise, a number of European countries, including Belgium, Norway, Finland, and Austria, have made use of social media (primarily Facebook and Twitter) to inform potential asylum seekers from the Middle East about restrictive refugee policies, with a view to discouraging their departure (Schans & Optekamp, 2016). These ICs take advantage of the speed of digital communications to relay the most recent policy changes and ensure that potential migrants have access to up-to-date information. At the same time, they suggest how digital technologies can be used to extend the temporal range of border controls, as governments are now able to access potential migrants even before they have made the decision to leave.

For those already on the move, yet without either the legal protections of citizenship or valid travel documents, an array of bordering technologies intended to sort people according to need, process their claims, and screen them for security risks work to extend the uncertainty of protracted displacement. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the number of refugees in need of resettlement as of June 2017 was around 1.2 million (UNHCR, 2017). Refugee camps intended as "stopgap measures" often prove to be semi-permanent installations, where many wait upwards of ten years to be relocated (Hyndman & Giles, 2011). Asylum seekers in their desired host countries also have to contend with egregious wait times during which their access to employment, education, healthcare, and other forms of state assistance is limited. In Canada, for instance, the estimated delay on refugee determination hearings before the Immigration Review Board (IRB) is 20 months (Pauls, 2018); given the recent increase in asylum claims from people entering via the United States, there is evidence to suggest that it could rise to 11 years by 2021 (Levitz, 2017). While these estimates are, in part, evidence of the sheer volume

of applicants, they come at significant personal cost to migrants whose long-term establishment is still in doubt. In some cases, excessive delays can also function as a form of deterrence, sending the message to others in search of protection that they are likely to endure months or years of insecurity and economic precarity.

Subject to administrative backlogs, unforeseen delays, and the shock of sudden arrest or "removal," it is often difficult for irregular migrants and asylum seekers to invest themselves in the present and plot out a desired future. While such instances of temporal constraint appear relatively innocuous as compared to other, more overt forms of physical endangerment, such as those experienced by the victims of human trafficking and smuggling or by asylum seekers in search of refuge, their effects are often just as detrimental. Chapter Two explores the subjective effect of migrant detention on detainees' daily existence and long-term life horizons. By excavating the violence of bureaucratic procedures that impose on migrants' time and isolate them from the outside world, I argue that temporal autonomy––the ability to manage and make sense of one's own time—is fundamental to the wellbeing of non-citizens and other vulnerable groups. The immateriality of time is such that the temporal violence inflicted on detainees is virtually undetectable—legible only in the voices of migrants themselves, along with the material, physical, and psychological consequences of protracted uncertainty.

The indefinite waiting associated with displacement is often theorized as a state of liminality, in-betweenness, or "limbo." While this captures the difficulties of living without basic certainties about the future, it also connotes passivity. Chapter Three challenges the presumption that all migrants and asylum seekers are without agency as they wait by exploring some of the ways in which migrants repurpose and assert control over state-imposed temporalities. This chapter is focused on Ireland's system of Direct Provision and Dispersal (DPD), which provides asylum seekers with basic necessities such as housing and

food until they receive a response to their refugee claims. Although DPD was introduced in 2000 as an interim measure, it remains a national housing scheme run by for-profit providers, with residents subsisting on a meagre weekly allowance. Indeed, it is the ostensible "temporariness" of exceptional policy instruments such as DPD that masks their violence, making them more palatable both to members of the public and to the international community.

Drawing on Avery Gordon's (2011) sociological study of "prison time" and the exceptional resilience exhibited by some incarcerated individuals, I consider how some asylum seekers—excluded from public life, deprived of autonomy over their daily affairs, and denied the opportunity to work—nevertheless find ways to counteract their own dehumanization and disempowerment. I introduce the term "meantime activism" to describe activism that makes use of the wait that characterizes situations of protracted uncertainty, turning it into an active, future-oriented state. In contrast to more disruptive activist techniques which sow chaos and disorder, "meantime activism" adopts a slower, more incremental approach to the work of social change; it is a process of cumulative transformation rather than of sudden revolution or reversal. This theoretical exploration of non-citizen activism is grounded in a case study of Our Table, a non-profit, refugee-led initiative based in Dublin. Through its pop-up restaurant and café, Our Table invites current and former DPD residents to take part in preparing meals for the public. In so doing, it creates opportunities for asylum seekers—many of whom have been confined for years without the ability to work or cook for themselves—to reassert control over their lives and build a sense of community. The initiative shows how small gestures like cooking and sharing a meal can have a radical, potentially transformative effect, both on individuals' self-perception and on societal attitudes as a whole.

The following chapters are intentionally broad in scope, covering a range of national and geographical contexts, and bridging theory with direct testimony from asylum seekers and migrants. The three sites of analysis I have selected—Australia, Canada, and Ireland—are noteworthy for having invested heavily in policies of deterrence, gearing resettlement programs instead toward migrants who are highly skilled, or whose professional qualifications offer some perceived economic advantage (Dauvergne, 2011). In spite of their self-avowed liberal democratic values, including egalitarianism, inclusion, and the defence of human rights, each of them remains deeply committed to a national ethos rooted in whiteness. In the case of Canada and Australia, the centrality of whiteness to national identity is amplified by ongoing practices of settler colonialism, which make it all the more necessary to delineate between those who are (or who are eligible to become) members of the polity, and those who pose a threat its core principles and beliefs. The myth that "we are all immigrants"—or, as a popular Australian slogan puts it, "We are all boat people"—simultaneously obscures the presence of indigenous peoples, and reinforces the moral legitimacy of white settlers in their claims to universality and the all-encompassing nature of Western identity and experience. In Ireland, on the other hand, the role of migration and refugee policy in the constitution of national identity is bound up with legacies of British imperialism and colonialism, along with a strong current of ethnic nationalism based in the idea of a homogenous Celtic people.

Given the complexity of migration policy and the particular histories that shape the national discourse on migration, there could be merit a more focused, nationally–or even municipally-grounded study of contemporary bordering techniques. However, I see these chapters as three interrelated reflections on the global border "regime"—an attempt to chart its multiple, conflicting temporalities and register the violence of state procedures that unhinge migrants from past, present, and future. In examining the regime through the lens of time, rather than space, I hope to illuminate the dark corners of this state of limbo, of in-

betweenness, into which asylum seekers are thrust, and in which they often remain—out of sight and mind of ordinary citizens—for unconscionably long periods.

Chapter 1
Australia's information campaigns:
A reflection on borders and their visual infrastructure

In late October 2011, photographs began circulating online of a bombed market square in Quetta, Pakistan, taken moments after a devastating suicide attack on members of the Hazara ethnic group. The bombing, which occurred at an annual Shia Muslim rally on September 3rd, 2010, was among the deadliest in a stream of attacks perpetrated by Pakistani Taliban against the Muslim minority, resulting in over sixty deaths and a hundred and fifty wounded ("Pakistan mourns blast victims," 2010). It was some time, however, before mainstream Australian media began to observe a connection between the chaotic and bloody scene pictured in the foreground, and what lay almost out of sight in the background. A press release by the Western Australian non-profit, Project SafeCom, was the first to point it out: as people tend to the injured and clear the area of bodies, "they do so against the backdrop of an Australian Government poster, depicting 'a leaky boat' and warning people not to try to come to Australia in 'the illegal way'" ("Quetta Hazara killings," 2011). As a spokesperson from Australian Customs and Border Protection later confirmed, the billboard was part of an information campaign launched earlier that year to convey the dangers of maritime voyage (Hammond, 2011). Implemented in parts of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, and Indonesia over the course of three months, it was intended to dissuade potential migrants from engaging the services of human smugglers. Along with graphic displays of disaster at sea, posters and pamphlets communicated recent changes to Australian policy, including the "temporary suspension" of asylum claims processing from certain regions (Hammond, 2011).

The images are a stark reminder of Australia's punitive treatment of migrants arriving by boat, and the increasingly prominent role of deterrence policies in its response to asylum seekers. Viewed in the context of the ongoing, brutal persecution of the Hazara, the poster

suggests a callous indifference toward the suffering of vulnerable groups. The photographs shock us because they show, in graphic detail, the results of a migration system that raises the bar for legal passage to nearly unreachable heights, while projecting a calculated message of unwelcome to those who appear most urgently in need of protection. Beyond what they suggest about the inhumanity of border controls, however, the images are also startling for their apparent prescience: the chaotic aftermath of the bomb appears duplicated on the sign overhead, where a similar scene of wreckage is underway. As this chapter will demonstrate, fantasies of racialized suffering are an important and recurring feature of information campaigns, which present the abjection of non-white non-citizens as a counterpoint to the compassion and tolerance of Western "receiving" states.

The use of information campaigns (ICs) as a tool of border control and migration management has grown commonplace over the past three decades, both in Australia and in other migrant-receiving countries in the West. While ICs take many different forms, from advertisements on social media or in local newspapers to interactive games and community workshops, they typically involve a series of initiatives to raise awareness about the negative aspects of migration, so as to discourage unwanted mobility before it happens (Regional Support Office, 2015). Often, this is accomplished by associating irregular migration with criminal operations, especially human trafficking and smuggling. In keeping with other forms of border externalization, such as stringent visa requirements, carrier sanctions, and offshore processing camps, they are intended to limit the number of migrants from so-called "developing" countries and deflect the policing of non-citizens away from sovereign territory (Popescu, 2011). Governments pair with non-state and private actors, including local and intergovernmental organizations, to disseminate deterrent messages inside migrant "source" countries and contain those who might consider leaving (Nieuwenhuys & Pécoud, 2007).

ICs are distinctive from conventional strategies of border protection in that they rely on exposition and communication, rather than coercion and prohibition, to influence individual and collective decision-making. As such, they represent a relatively innocuous alternative to potentially violent policy instruments, appealing directly to individuals' capacity for informed action. This vision of ICs as a more humane, conscientious approach to migration management is one voiced repeatedly by the IOM, which has been at the forefront of their development and distribution worldwide. As stated in the IOM's 2003 World Migration Report, "Information is an important empowerment tool, diminishing the capacity of traffickers and smugglers to exploit the limited knowledge of potential migrants" (p. 69). ICs are thus premised on the notion that migrants suffer from a lack of accurate information about border controls, human trafficking, and smuggling networks, and that providing insight into these dangers ahead of time will spare them undue hardship. Especially when there is a preponderance of rumours and false information about life in destination countries, ICs can provide a potentially helpful resource to those who would undertake such a risky journey.

The risks of irregular migration are, indeed, considerable: the number of deaths associated with Australia's borders since 2000 is estimated at 2,013 people ("Australian border deaths database," 2018). However, to associate these hazards with the recklessness of unauthorized movement, rather than with heightened controls that close off avenues for legal migration, is a misleading and one-sided act of erasure. Regardless of their hypothetical usefulness as an informational resource, it is important to question the motivations that inform awareness campaigns, and call attention to the whiteness of their underlying liberal humanism. Australia has a long history of excluding racialized others; as Dauvergne (1999) notes, the White Australia policy "responded to a fear of the 'encroaching hordes' of an overpopulated Asia" (p. 25). Only since the 1970s, with the inception of official policies on multiculturalism, has a belief in inclusivity and diversity come to be enshrined in the national

imagination (Tascón, 2008). This chapter argues that ICs are indicative of an emerging, humanitarian paradigm in border enforcement, one which attempts to resolve the apparent contradictions between a national identity grounded in liberalism and multiculturalism, and the increasingly self-protective stance of Western nations vis-à-vis migrants and asylum seekers (Gammeltoft-Hansen & Tan, 2017).

ICs provide insight into the relationship between migration policy and constructions of national identity, demonstrating how the state enacts racial exclusions without sacrificing a belief in its own goodness (Dauvergne, 1999; Hage, 2000). By placing the onus for migrants' suffering onto faceless criminal networks, governments in the West can feel good about their role as humanitarian protector. By the same token, migrants' susceptibility to exploitation, criminality, and suffering marks them for containment and exclusion from the national community; there is an underlying assumption that they are in need of assistance to evade disaster and realize their full potential. The first part of this chapter considers the relationship between whiteness, national identity, and what Sherene Razack (2007) terms "the politics of rescue": the nation's (unconscious) craving for vulnerable others as confirmation of its own benevolence. While Razack has in mind the role of overseas humanitarian work in affirming white national superiority, her thinking bears consequences for constructions of race within the nation, too. The second part of the chapter deals explicitly with information campaigns, analyzing them from the point of view of what they communicate about sovereignty and national belonging. The third part relates information campaigns to discourses of humanitarianism and the politics of crisis more broadly, arguing that practices of migrant "empowerment" and humanitarian rescue easily slip into, and may in fact be indistinguishable from, practices of policing and containment. As border protection policies become the object of increased public awareness, Western states' handling of the migrant "crisis" may be as much about crafting a position of moral authority as about saving lives.

Part I: Pain and the "politics of rescue"

In her article "Stealing the pain of others," Razack (2007) reflects on Canada's witnessing of the Rwandan genocide. She is concerned with the way in which Western, predominantly white audiences consume images of black suffering, becoming convinced of their own goodness in this process of empathetic engagement. While writers such as Saidiya Hartman and Sara Ahmed discuss this dilemma at the individual level, as a confrontation between self and other, Razack's innovation is to consider how the pleasures of identification play out on a national scale. Referencing General Romeo Dallaire's national bestseller, *Shake Hands with the Devil,* and the public narrative that it generated, she demonstrates how the book, along with its subsequent film adaptation, resonated strongly with Canadians' self-image as sensitive humanitarians. She attributes the book's popularity to the way it tapped into a convenient, self-aggrandizing "vision of ourselves as a good nation overwhelmed by the brutalities of the New World Order" (p. 381). Razack's article is instructive in thinking about the affective appeal of trauma narratives that solicit compassion and horror while deflecting blame and responsibility. In confronting the genocide, Canadians set aside the specificity of what happened in Rwanda to extract a universal story of human suffering; Rwandans are simply the conduit for our own sense of self-worth. Razack continues, "We come to know ourselves as a compassionate people; indeed, trauma suggests that it is our very vulnerability to pain that marks us as Canadians…In this way, trauma narratives furnish middle power nations such as Canada with a homemade, that is to say a specifically *national*, version of the politics of rescue" (p. 381). Dallaire's dramatic story of black pain and white heroism provides Western, especially Canadian audiences with an impression of our own moral virtue, trying to make the best of a brutal and chaotic situation.

Through her discussion of Canada's response to this humanitarian disaster, Razack (2007) offers a powerful reminder of the nation's capacity for self-delusion. By turning

Rwandans' experience into a human story to which we can easily relate, we are able to forget our own racial power, and the "material system of white privilege" that upholds it (p. 389). The problem with this mode of engagement is that it protects a national mythology rooted in "niceness," at the expense of any critical reflection about Canadian foreign policies and economic activities—ventures that benefit us while endangering the stability and human rights of those in the non-West. While Razack confines her discussion to Canada, her insistence on people's yearning to see their nation as fundamentally "good" bears thinking about in other contexts. Particularly in the case of self-described "middlepower" states such as Australia and Canada, the temptation to remain compassionately detached, apologetic but never to the point of feeling directly implicated in "crises" unfolding elsewhere, may be partly rooted in our national imagination. Such indifference is furthered by the effects of race, which deprive others of the same, complex personhood we allow ourselves.

Like Canada, Australia has attempted to leave behind a past of overtly racist migration policies, characterized at times by the near-complete restriction of Asian immigration, to pursue a more multicultural identity (Dauvergne, 1999; Hage, 2000). Although border control and the offshore processing of irregular arrivals remain a major source of contention both in the media and among politicians, political leaders regularly cite migration as foundational to the country's existence and future development. For example, a government report published in 2014 on "The Place of Migrants in Contemporary Australia" opens with the statement, "Contemporary Australia is a diverse nation. Our cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity is at the heart of our national identity and intrinsic to our history and character" (Department of Immigration and Border Protection, p. 7). Thus, the idea that Australia is a generous, tolerant, and open society, accepting of different backgrounds and beliefs, is celebrated as one of its distinguishing features and strengths. These values also find expression in the way Australia positions itself internationally. As Dauvergne (1999) notes, "Australia courts a

reputation as a humanitarian nation, patting itself on the back for its level of refugee admissions and its commitments to organisations like the United Nations High Commission for Refugees" (p. 43). Importantly, this national mythology of the "immigrant nation" renders invisible the existence of indigenous peoples and serves to reinforce their ongoing disenfranchisement (Dauvergne, 2005, p. 12).

That multiculturalism's embrace of difference should at the same time facilitate practices of racial exclusion may seem contradictory; in many ways, though, acceptance is a strategic gesture that serves to disguise deeply rooted presumptions about white superiority and cultural dominance. This insight is central to Ghassan Hage's (2000) influential work *White Nation*, which collapses the opposition between "bad racists" who are intolerant, and "good nationalists" who are enthusiastic about multiculturalism. Hage (2000) points out, "The very act of acceptance operates as an exclusionary force on the accepted" (p. 103). In other words, the white person's gift of tolerance is also a refusal to admit that there has been a shift in the relation of power between dominant and dominated: "Multicultural tolerance is presented as the result of a mere choice of policy made by enlightened people, mystifying the important fact that it is, *as well*, the product of the increased power, the resistance and the struggle of migrant Australians" (Hage, 2000, p. 101). Here again, the encounter with racial difference is not a true moment of transformation, whereby the dominant white society is made to give up a share of governmental power, or question that power's material base. Rather, the presence of "Black bodies provides whites with a form of 'race pleasure,'" confirming white virtue while leaving white centrality essentially intact (Anthony Farley cited in Razack, 2007, p. 378). Part of the appeal of multiculturalism is that it implies a certain benevolence on the part of the nation and its inhabitants, indicating a popular commitment to inclusion. To borrow Razack's (2007) vocabulary, we might even think of it as a kind of "stealing," in the sense that it presents an independent social and political reality—one that is

primarily the outcome of resistance and organizing on the part of non-white, migrant Australians—as white people's prerogative, an expression of their political progressiveness. The following section provides an overview of some of the Australian government's recent awareness campaigns, arguing that race is constructed through proximity to death.

Part II: Information Campaigns

While public awareness initiatives have become a popular tool of migration management among countries in Western Europe and North America, Australia has been particularly active in their development, having funded numerous overseas campaigns since the 1990s. In these campaigns, which consistently associate "illegal" ocean crossings with misery, misfortune, and trauma, the suffering of non-white migrants is on full display. Over the past six years, from 2013 to the 2018 financial year, the government is estimated to have spent a total of $70.7 million on deterrence advertisements across different media (Whyte, 2015). This figure includes a $6 million investment in a feature length telemovie *Journey* (2015), discussed briefly below. Filmed across three countries, *Journey* (2015) documents the treacherous experience of seeking asylum by boat. Other media used to convey these dangers and relate changes in Australian policy include online, radio, and print advertisements; advisories on public transit; comic books; billboards; leaflets; stickers; community workshops; and theatrical performances (Schans & Optekamp, 2016; Whyte, 2015).

The growing popularity of ICs is somewhat surprising given the lack of empirical evidence on their outcome and effectiveness. Indeed, a number of studies (Richardson, 2010; Schans & Optekamp, 2016; Schloenhardt & Philipson, 2013) indicate that deterrence campaigns are likely to be *ineffective* in shaping perceptions or changing behaviours, since they fail to appreciate the complex motivations behind migration. In particular, they demonstrate a disregard for structural factors that create strong incentives to leave. Schloenhardt and

Philipson (2013) note that without also addressing the "political, socio-economic, and environmental circumstances that cause and fuel migration," deterrence measures can hardly be successful in the long term (p. 25). Moreover, official, state-sponsored campaigns are in competition with informal networks of information sharing, which may appear more trustworthy and less biased (Richardson, 2010). While some campaigns do take into account transnational flows of information, targeting diasporic communities inside Australia, they are by and large aimed at potential migrants abroad. By placing undue emphasis on individual decision-making, government campaigns tend to overlook "the embeddedness of such decisions in collective strategies and social structures" (Nieuwenhuys & Pécoud, 2007, p. 1685). In her case study of refugees already living in Australia, Richardson (2010) observes that such audiences are diverse and capable of interpreting ICs in a variety of unpredictable ways. Even those with first-hand experience of punitive practices such as offshore detention are not necessarily receptive to the government's messages of deterrence.

Together, these studies point to the arrogance of ICs, which claim to anticipate the operation of people's minds and to intervene in their thought processes. According to a spokesperson for the Department of Immigration and Border Protection, "Strategic communication is a cornerstone of Australia's anti-people-smuggling operations and strategy, and the success of Operation Sovereign Borders in significantly reducing the number of illegal maritime ventures to Australia has in part been due to the intensive, wide-reaching, high-frequency anti-people-smuggling campaign" (as cited in Farrell, 2017). The government's current information campaigns, "No way," "You will be turned back," and, "Don't let them go!" can be viewed on the Home Affairs website. As their titles suggest, they are designed to send a clear, authoritative message about Australia's position on irregular arrivals. In one of the videos, a border patrol officer, identified as "Air Vice-Marshal Stephen Osborne," stands in military uniform against a backdrop of rough waters. "Australia's

borders are closed to anyone who attempts to come here illegally, and they will stay closed,"
he states, "It has been three years since the last people-smuggling boat reached Australia, and
our borders are stronger than ever" (ABF TV, 2017). Osborne goes on to assure viewers that
"the arrangement with the U.S. to resettle refugees is a one-off, never to be repeated."
Meanwhile, the background scene shifts to live footage of an Australian patrol boat
intercepting a smuggling vessel and signalling to them to turn back. Ten different translations
of the video (in Urdu, Farsi, Tamil, Vietnamese, and Rohingya, to name a few) are available
on YouTube, and are algorithmically targeted at speakers of these languages (Sun, 2017).

In general, Australian ICs rely heavily on shock, fear, and intimidation to get their
message across. Osborne's rank, tone, and definitive language, complimented by sinister
music, are obviously meant to intimidate viewers and warn them off any thought of
resettlement. Instead of empowering people to explore alternative, safe migration routes to
Australia, the video plays on the anxieties and vulnerabilities of potential migrants. The use of
a military commander to deliver the address is itself revealing, since it suggests that irregular
migrants are dangerous criminals who pose a threat to national security. Drawing on Judith
Butler's concept of grievability, Hodge (2015) argues that the criminalization of asylum
seekers in Australia has been made possible through forms of debasement that cast them as
threats to human life, "as if their being; their personhood, does not constitute a life" (p. 129).
Similarly, Ibrahim (2005) describes "the securitisation of migration"—an emerging paradigm
that links migration to human insecurity—as a new form of racism, based in an underlying
fear that "cultural difference leads to social breakdown" (p. 164). As these writers suggest,
border control is now a military-style "operation," whereby, to quote former Immigration
Minister Scott Morrison, a "full arsenal of measures," including information campaigns, is
aimed at regulating mobility both in and outside of the nation (Australian Border Force,
2013).

In contrast to the examples mentioned above, a number of Australian ICs adopt a more narrative approach, dramatizing the migrant journey as a story of hardship and suffering. It is to these campaigns, that attempt to "get inside the head" of migrants and take on their point of view, which I will now turn. In its 2015 handbook on best practice information campaigns, the Bali Process Regional Support Office (RSO), co-chaired by Australia and Indonesia, notes that ICs should always be contextualized and relevant to target audiences: those that involve community consultation, in particular, are more effective in "designing realistic objectives, and creating meaningful messages" (p. 7). While this is undoubtedly true, the RSO's emphasis on "break[ing] down the targeted group" and "get[ting] to know them" leaves little room for critical reflection about the power dynamics that structure this relationship (Regional Support Office, 2015, p. 17). In promoting identification with (failed) migrants, ICs engage in what Saidiya Hartman refers to as "facile intimacy" (as cited in Razak, 2007, p. 337). That is, they at once turn the migrant into an emblem of pure suffering and displace attention from the complicity and privilege of Western states in creating the conditions for this suffering. Such efforts to "humanize" the experience of migration by laying bare migrants' pain have the effect of reinforcing racist stereotypes about non-Western inferiority.

"Don't be fooled by the promises of people smugglers"

A telling example is the 2010 awareness campaign, "Don't be fooled by the promises of people smugglers," commissioned by the Australian Border Protection and Customs Service. A private, New York-based PR firm, Porter Novelli was hired to design and implement the campaign in Malaysia, a major transit point for smuggled migrants from Asia and the Middle East on their way to Indonesia and Australia (Schloenhardt & Philipson, 2013). According to Porter Novelli's post-implementation report (2011), the main objectives of "Don't be fooled" were to "increase community awareness of people smuggling and

human trafficking activities" and, where possible, to "dissuade potential irregular migrants (PIIs) from the Afghan and Sri Lankan communities based in Malaysia, from attempting irregular migration to Australia either directly or indirectly through Third Countries" (p. 4). Accordingly, Porter Novelli developed a multi-pronged communications strategy, which consisted of advertisements in three popular Tamil newspapers, posters, leaflets, a "case study" video, and face-to-face meetings at community centres (Porter Novelli, 2011). The initial campaign plan also included a draft for a children's storybook, using "an Old Arabia-style fable as the basis of 'child-friendly' messages warning of the dangers of trusting people smugglers; however, the idea was later abandoned due to time and budgetary constraints." (Porter Novelli, 2011, p. 18).

From its inception, a key focus of the campaign was to earn the trust and support of local stakeholders. In June 2010, the firm's Kuala-Lumpur-based engagement agency began a process of consultation with NGOs in order to seek their advice and assistance. Based on recommendations from the UNHCR and the IOM, and with the approval of the Australian and Malaysian governments, the team at Porter Novelli established a list of organizations and contacts with sway among Afghani and Sri Lankan potential migrants. Some of these contacts would become "essential to gaining the support of Sri Lankan [and Afghani] NGOs," and encouraging the participation and cooperation of community members (Porter Novelli, 2011, p. 28). A series of community meetings helped to lay the groundwork for the campaign and its approach. These meetings not only allowed for direct engagement with community members, who were given the opportunity to discuss and pose questions, but also provided valuable information on community demographics, habits, values and beliefs (Porter Novelli, 2011).

The multiplicity of actors instrumental in the development and delivery of "Don't be fooled" is indicative of the increasingly dispersed, transnational nature of border control. In

addition to more conventional, territorial forms of border control and migration management, states have begun contracting out these duties to private, non-profit, and intergovernmental organizations (Ashutosh & Mountz, 2011; Popsecu, 2011). Ashutosh and Mountz (2011), in their discussion of the IOM, describe the growth of "new spaces of 'networked' governance that control and order migratory flows in the interests of nation states" (p. 21). Wary of the ways in which non-state institutions exert their control and influence to carry out exclusionary, state-driven initiatives, they argue that such alliances allow governments to "operate beneath the radar of the international community," lending a guise of humanitarian respectability to measures that undermine migrant and refugee claims (p. 21). At the same time, these arrangements—both contractual and informal—also generate feedback, as non-governmental entities are themselves able to shape the policies and practices of nation-states.

The video, posters, and advertisements developed for the Malaysia campaign relied principally on first-hand accounts and images of migrants claiming to have been "cheated" by people smugglers. To reach the Sri Lankan community, information was disseminated through a combination of news reports and newspaper advertisements. This medium was chosen to compensate for the dispersed nature of potential migrants in this group, and because of the popularity of Tamil papers; by contrast, newspaper advertising was not a focus within the Afghan community due to the comparatively low levels of literacy, and the lack of Farsi papers in Malaysia (Porter Novelli, 2011). Posters and leaflets were also distributed in high traffic areas such as schools, health clinics, apartment blocks, and bus stops, as well as at the Sri Lankan and Afghan Embassies in Kuala Lumpur. The placement of these messages in both institutional and everyday spaces is suggestive of a kind of media "haunting," through which "the effects of systems of power…manifest in daily life" (Mountz, 2011, p. 121). For migrants and asylum seekers already displaced from their countries of birth and citizenship,

the conspicuous presence of government notices along major circuits throughout the city operates as a further intrusion on their lives, a reminder of their liminal and legally ambiguous status. In this way, the state uses media both to reinforce a message of unwelcome and to make the border "mobile": ICs track migrants *en route*, insisting at every stage on their return or removal.

Somewhat counterintuitively, the hypervisibility of government ICs also allows the state to disappear, making itself absent from discursive practices of exclusion. In its design for the leaflets, for instance, Porter Novelli (2011) deliberately excluded campaign branding, in the hopes that this would "get the attention of Afghan and Sri Lankan PIIs who may have thought these notices (leaflets) were placed by people smugglers advertising their services" (p. 15). This authorial ambiguity is heightened by the text, which includes such attention-grabbing statements as, "Want to migrate cheaper?" and "Call me. I will get you to another country." Following these emboldened headlines, the body text clarifies the true intent: "Don't be fooled by promises from people smugglers. They are all criminals. They will take your money and they don't care if you survive the journey or not. Value your life, don't hand it to criminals." By intentionally misleading readers and inciting their curiosity, the headings make a statement about the gullibility of unsuspecting migrants who fall into the hands of criminals. The body text reinforces this view, implying that migrants devalue themselves by making use of illegal services. The leaflets thus present irregular migration via smuggling as a sign of psychological weakness and poor judgment.

The idea that non-Western peoples are mentally "backwards" or irrational is a deeply entrenched inheritance of colonialism. "Although Africans were perceived as naturally inferior," Heller (2014) writes, "it was nonetheless considered that by training them, they could produce modern *rational* subjects" (p. 309). Education was seen as an important instrument through which the native's mind could be salvaged, for their own protection and

moral betterment. As I have suggested, ICs betray a similar presumption as to the naivety of irregular migrants, and the inferiority of their decision-making processes. In so doing, however, they overlook the reality that many people choose to migrate in full awareness of the risks, often because there are few other options. The "Post-Campaign Research Report" (2011), conducted by Porter Novelli in the months directly after the campaign's completion, similarly acknowledges the limits of deterrence campaigns that fail to provide feasible alternatives or intervene at the level of policy. Based on audience feedback, the report concludes, "Negative messages such as 'do not do it,' 'do not pay the smugglers,' 'it is dangerous' were not effective without corresponding policy responses about the PIIs asylum claims, because for many of the audience members, the risks seemed to be worth the rewards" (p. 34).

The state's propaganda-esque ability to "disappear" from its own overseas media practices offers a way to avoid accountability for politically dubious messages, especially those that might contradict popular ideals of multicultural openness. Mountz (2011) conceptualizes this strategic concealment as both haunting and disembodiment. Speaking to Australia's use of offshore detention, she writes, "States grow more powerful through disembodiment. The dizzying array of institutional actors who carry out detention… represents just this disembodiment. Haunting makes it unclear *who* is detained on islands, and *by whom*" (p. 126). While Mountz has in mind spatial practices of dislocation where jurisdiction becomes blurred, her insights might be extended to more material forms of dispersal and detachment. As with geography, media are susceptible to manipulations that make accountability complicated and difficult to trace. This ambiguity serves the purposes of states such as Australia, that wish to deny entry to those seen to be violating national sovereignty, yet are eager to insulate themselves from criticism on the part of civil and international human rights groups.

While the absence of official, government branding was considered a way to make Porter Novelli's notices appear "more credible," their uncertain authorship constitutes a barrier to anyone who would seek out further information about the campaign (Porter Novelli, 2011, p. 15). Nor is Porter Novelli unique in having adopted this strategy: in November 2013, an 18-page graphic novel depicting an Afghan asylum seeker's miserable experience of detention was published to the Australian Customs and Border Protection website (it has since been removed) ("graphic novel," 2014). While the document does feature a government insignia on the last page, it is stylized to look like any other children's comic book. Members of the activist group Cross Border Operational Matters (xBorderOps), which campaigns for the abolition of Australia's immigration detention system, were able to identify its creator as the PR firm STATT Consulting by investigating the document's PDF properties ("mapping the deterrence supply chain," 2014). Language also raises serious questions of accessibility for Australian residents and taxpayers, many of whom may not be aware of the full range of government deterrence activities abroad. The film *Journey* (2015), for example. was not available in English until about a year following its original release date. Only after it was aired on TV in several countries in the Middle East was a version with English subtitles uploaded to YouTube (Ryall, 2016).

The final component of the Malaysia campaign was a five-minute video, featuring three "case studies" of failed asylum seekers and their relatives. In the first clip, a Sri Lankan man gazes into the distance, his tightly cropped face illuminated against a black background. "I lost my wife and son," he tells us, between lengthy silences, "We decided to go to Australia. The smugglers separated our boats" (Janaka Gamage, 2011). Following this, an Afghan woman and Afghan man share their own stories of defeat, describing the emotional and financial toll of unsuccessful smuggling attempts. "I was misled," the Afghan man confides, before informing us that he is in detention, while his family remains in debt to the

people smugglers. Similarly, the woman mourns "a year of her life wasted," and describes her deep regret at leaving home, only to be "captured in another country and sent back": "I am left with nothing…nothing," she sobs. All three clips show their subjects slowly breaking down into tears, and end with the refrain, "This is just one story of the many refugees who think people smugglers can solve their problems. Don't risk your life trying to be smuggled to another country on a boat." (Janaka Gamage, 2011). Distorted shots of a figure struggling underwater and prison-like detention facilities transition from one vignette to the next.

Of all the materials produced for "Don't be fooled," the video is most explicit in drawing a connection between irregular migration and non-white suffering. In the form of three "portraits," it voyeuristically portrays the utter despondence of would-be migrants, whose hopes for arrival are never realized. It offers a clear expression of the ways in which the compassion of Western nations is misdirected to accomplish ends that are almost entirely self-serving. None of the three clips makes any mention of the circumstances that might have prompted these people to migrate; our only explanation for why they risked the trip by boat is that they were "duped" by the smugglers' false promises. We are continually reminded of their dire financial straits and dependents, foreclosing any possibility of redemption for them and their families. Through a combination of spotlighting, cropping, and the speakers' intense introspection, the scenes are dramatized as a sort of confession in which they struggle to come to terms with past mistakes. Their suffering is the conduit for our identification, and the sudden flashes of drowning and captivity further move us to wonder: "What if it were me?" As Razak (2007) observes, "The nearer you bring the pain, the more the pain and the subject who is experiencing it disappears" (p. 377). Her comment brings to light the strange operation through which empathy leads to apathy. Just as the camera frame is almost entirely consumed by the refugees' faces in their grief, so too do we as viewers end up focused on our own vicarious experience of suffering. "Think of the masochism in imagining oneself as the

slave, or the sadistic pleasure in recalling the pain," Razack (2007) insists (p. 378). As though

their words alone were not enough, their tears provide confirmation as to the "truth" of

these experiences, and the severity of the trauma they have undergone. Punctuating each

sequence, the authoritative voice of the Australian government allows us to make sense of

the pain we are witnessing, attributing it to "just one of many" unfortunate errors in

judgment.

What remains hidden in this display, as in the rest of the Malaysia campaign, is the

violence enacted by Western states such as Australia through foreign as well as domestic

policy. On one level, it seems peculiar that the obvious desperation attributed to these

migrants should not help to paint them as genuine refugees, deserving of national pity and

humanitarian protection. After all, as Dauvergne (2005) points out, humanitarian admission is

largely "a matter of emotion, of what stirs a compassionate response in an individual" (p.

161). Indeed, this seems to have been the perception of at least one Sri Lankan respondent,

who voiced disappointment after the community gathering and video screening. This person

"felt that the Australian government should have done something such as releasing the

detained asylum seekers in Australia after members of the community complained about it

during the gathering" (Porter Novelli, 2011, p. 47). Throughout the Post-Campaign Report,

such moments of rupture, when Australian complicity threatens to break through, are

rigorously avoided with phrases to the effect that "policy discussion is out of the scope of

this information campaign" (Porter Novelli, 2011, p. 31). By way of this innocuous,

administrative claim, Porter Novelli handily sidesteps critical reflection and accountability as

to the actual conditions and life chances of those encountered over the course of its research.

Instead, the media fragments left over from the campaign serve as a reminder that their

movements are being monitored, while Australia remains closed to all those who prove

undeserving of the "gift" of membership (Dauvergne, 2005; Hage, 2000). The following

section reflects briefly on the emergence of the "humanitarian border" (Pallister-Wilkins, 2017; Williams, 2015): the sense in which border control, especially where it concerns the exclusion of non-white peoples, is increasingly justified through expressions of care and compassion. Attempting to make sense of this apparent contradiction, it argues that the "politics of rescue" in Australia is inextricably tied to the containment and removal of racial others.

Part III: Containing the crisis, containing "otherness"

The high incidence of death, disappearance, and injury associated with tightening border controls throughout the West has not only fed perceptions of a migration "crisis," but also produced heightened awareness of migrants' vulnerability. In the borderlands between Mexico and the US, for example, unauthorized crossings are funnelled towards the deserts and mountains, with the result that mortality rates have been on the rise since the 1990s (Williams, 2015). Likewise, the sight of migrants afloat on the Mediterranean, capsized boats, and bodies washed ashore has become almost commonplace. While the Australian government does not keep any publicly available record of asylum-seeker drownings, at least two websites—the Australian Border Deaths Database, maintained by a research network based at Monash University, and another, activist run website called SIEVX.com—have compiled a record of all known deaths associated with Australian border protection over the past twenty or so years.

As these examples suggest, the scenes of abjection pictured in Australia's awareness campaigns are not simply fictitious but grounded in real happenings. Just months after the launch of the deterrence campaign described above, an asylum seeker boat carrying around ninety people from the Middle East sank off the coast of Christmas Island, resulting in fifty deaths (Doherty, 2016). In its post-implementation report, Porter Novelli (2011) cites the

Christmas Island disaster as "supporting media coverage" for the Malaysia campaign, along with the Australian government's decision to freeze Afghan and Sri Lankan visas earlier in 2010 (p. 8). From the perspective of the Australian government, boat sinkings are one issue on which state and migrant interests are aligned: stopping the boats is equated with preventing needless casualties, while the only truly "safe" avenue into Australia is through official channels. As the IOM slogan suggests, deterrence initiatives are a matter of "managing migration for the benefit of all" (Ashutosh & Mountz, 2011, p. 28). Held up against the ever-present possibility of mass fatality, measures intended to intercept the flow of migrants are reframed as measures intended to ensure migrants' wellbeing. Importantly, this discursive shift also reduces the scope for criticism. After all, asks Pallister-Wilkins (2017), "who is against saving lives?" (p. 22).

At the same time as ICs imply a certain benevolence on the part of the Australian government, showing the lengths it will go to reduce the likelihood of future injury, they also consolidate "a powerful subject position from which to speak about the violence" (Pallister-Wilkins, 2017, p. 23). The best practices guide to information campaigns, created by members of the Bali Process with additional funding from Australia and Canada, clearly positions Western governments on the side of truth:

> Criminal networks are increasingly using new techniques to persuade potential migrants to engage smugglers' services or expose individuals to the risk of trafficking… As these techniques become more sophisticated, the use of government led information campaigns to combat migrant smuggling and trafficking in persons are of growing importance. (Regional Support Office, 2015, p. iii)

In framing government-led communications as a palliative to other, nefarious sources of information, the document supports the notion that ICs are a kind-hearted and humane approach to migration management. The unscrupulous profiteering of shadowy, criminal

networks throws Australia's humanitarian goodwill into relief, as traffickers and human smugglers "come to stand in for the worst that is human" (Razack, 2007, p. 384).

In this sense, ICs belong to a panoply of measures intended to govern migrants from afar and ensure they do not fall prey to criminal abuse. Yet there are moments when the violence enacted by state policies, their role in maintaining a situation of structural inequality, comes dangerously close to revealing itself. Especially in those ICs that foreground the use of offshore detention, or assert Australia's unsympathetic, militaristic stance vis-à-vis "illegal" entrants, oft-stated objectives of education and empowerment seem to fall by the wayside. If part of the work of nation-states is to keep hidden the violence implied by their very constitution, these awareness campaigns would seem to do the opposite: with brutal candor, they advertise the hardship and pain that follow from attempts to gain membership and its associated privileges. How is it that these displays, so candid in showing migrants' suffering, fail to prompt a revaluation of border protection operations? What is this mode of witnessing that produces empathy but not outrage (Razack, 2007)? It is not simply that ICs represent an official, albeit indirect, acknowledgment of migrants' precarity in the face of the current border regime; even more striking is that the precarity of irregular migration becomes a pretext for migrants' and asylum seekers' continued exclusion and confinement, all in the name of harm reduction (Pallister-Wilkins, 2017).

In her book *Post/Humanitarian Border Politics Between Mexico and the US,* Squire (2015) engages in a critique of documentary artwork that invokes viewers' pity and compassion, appealing to a "universalist ethics of care" in an attempt to overcome racial difference (p. 50). She writes, "Although rendering visible the violent implications of migratory and bordering practices…is important, emphasizing loss, trauma or tragedy is not necessarily the most effective way to challenge or transform such processes" (Squire, 2015, p. 60). For Squire, an over-emphasis on migrants' trauma can have the effect of forestalling critical reflection on

the unequal relations of violence and privilege that structure this dynamic. Instead of posing difficult questions about the role of bordering practices in maintaining racial and material divides, we become absorbed in our own bad feeling about this suffering. Moreover, the impulse to always view migration through the lens of abjection suggests an inability or unwillingness to enter into a more complex, durable engagement with non-white experience. As a framework for understanding loss, tragedy "individualises events and places responsibility with the victims" (Pallister-Wilkins, 2017, p. 23). Saidiya Hartman, confronting a similar dilemma, prompts us to consider "whether the identification forged at the site of suffering confirms black humanity at the peril of reinforcing racist assumptions of limited sentience" (as cited in Razak, p. 377). Her comment sheds light on the reductive tendency of Western media to fixate on moments of crisis and death, which end up obscuring more quotidian forms of violence. In much the same way, government ICs exemplify the dehumanizing effect of extreme, racialized suffering, that numbs us to its deeper implications. Whether the exploitative evil embodied by people smugglers or the naïve innocence of irregular migrants, ICs confine non-white people to clearly delimited roles in a narrative that prioritizes white subjectivity.

Conclusion

As practices of border control and the policing of citizenship intensify throughout the West, so too do the risks associated with unauthorized mobility (Gammeltoft-Hansen & Tan, 2017; Popescu, 2011). This situation, along with media and politicians' reporting on it, has created the perception of a "crisis" in migration—a discourse that highlights the vulnerability both of migrants themselves, and that of Western nation-states as their infrastructure for coping with newcomers is tested and, arguably, pushed to its limits. For "middlepower" countries such as Australia, whose identity is in part founded on a reputation for

humanitarianism and multicultural tolerance, the high incidence of death at the border demands a response. Awareness campaigns, I have argued, are one way in which governments attempt to project an image of humanitarian goodwill, while developing new techniques of sovereign control and racial exclusion. Australia's ICs, many of which have been created at vast public expense, are justified on the grounds that "knowledge is power"—the notion that by informing potential migrants of the high stakes of irregular migration, they will be better positioned to evaluate the expediency of such a journey, for themselves as well as their families. Considered in this light, the spectacle of asylum-seeker deaths, whether in the media or in materials produced for migrants, represents a way of "telling the truth" about migration and countering the falsehoods spread by people smugglers. However, this vision of empowerment through education jars uncomfortably with the actual strategies employed by ICs, and their almost exclusive focus on the negative aspects of migration. Locating the reasons for black and brown misfortune "out there," at sea or in the duplicitous hands of criminals, they at once minimize the role of state borders and policies in exacerbating migrant precarity and insist on smooth passage and seamless integration as a fantasy. ICs epitomize what Razack (2007) describes as the "politics of rescue" (p. 381): a national mode of witnessing that scours scenes of non-white suffering for evidence of white compassion and benevolence. In their fixation on despair, death, and misfortune, however, ICs are revealing about the enduring, racist stereotypes that structure Australia's relationship to inhabitants of the non-West.

Chapter 2
Time and punishment: Prolonged detention as a form of state violence

At the Central East Correctional Centre (CECC) in Lindsay, Ontario, there is a separate wing for immigration detainees. Known as "Pod 3," it represents just a small portion of the jail's overall 1,184-bed capacity (Gros & Groll, 2015). Two hours northeast of Toronto, the vast complex has all the markings of a high-security prison facility: video surveillance, standard-issue orange jumpsuits, armoured doors, walls of reinforced concrete, and a sixteen-foot fence topped with razor ribbon that extends around the perimeter of the property (Chak, 2014; Gros & Groll, 2015). The "day room" for detainees features a colour TV, and five tables bolted to the ground (Gros & Groll, 2015). The Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA), the federal bureau responsible for border protection and immigration services, rents out space in the provincial jail at a rate of about $250 per day (Cain, 2017).

The concept of detaining foreign nationals has a long history, beginning in Canada as early as the 19th century (Cleveland, 2015). Only in the past forty years, however, has its use become systemic—institutionalized as a primary response to "unauthorized" or "irregular" migration (Cleveland, 2015; Peutz & de Genova, 2010). Intertwined with practices of detection, deportation, and exclusion, detention belongs to a global "regime" of border enforcement, as states vie for new ways to regulate transnational mobility and extend territorial control (Peutz & de Genova, 2010). Its growth throughout the West offers a clear expression of the "securitization" of migration, arising from a political climate of fear and unease in which the presumed criminality of migrants justifies a range of punitive and retaliatory measures (Bigo, 2002). Focusing on cases of prolonged detention in Canada, this chapter examines the punitive effects of time on non-status people who are denied basic assurances about the future. By confining migrants to sites where they are heavily surveilled and hidden from view, detention at once increases their vulnerability and reinforces

associations of criminality. It also violates basic human rights, inflicting psychological harm on migrants that can endure long after release.

Detention is usually understood as a spatial technology of control that curbs unwanted mobility by containing it. Yet the very language of holding, processing, and detaining implies a temporal mode of regulation (de Genova, 2016). In this chapter, I propose an alternative way of looking at the violence inflicted through indefinite migrant detention: not only as a form of physical incarceration, but also as a temporal disturbance that exacerbates the uncertainty and precarity of all undocumented migrants. Of course, detention is experienced differently by different people. Even those held only "briefly"—a few hours, days, or weeks—can find the trajectory of their lives suddenly in disarray. In the first part of this chapter, I argue that time is a tool of sovereign control, which figures prominently in administrative detention but is integral to other strategies of border enforcement as well. In the second part, by drawing on the testimony of migrants in detention, I expand on the idea that time can be a source of state violence. I identify four registers of temporal dissonance to illustrate the ways in which detention isolates migrants and keeps them at a remove. Although the enforced waiting, standardization, and routine that characterize indefinite detention are an acute source of anxiety and suffering, the immateriality of time is such that these scars remain hidden—buried deep within the psyche of detainees and absorbed by the communities of which they are a part.

Part I: Time and state violence

The links between time, punishment and incarceration are well-established: through the mechanism of sentencing, states such as Canada transmit to offenders the importance of respect for the law (Ferguson, 2016). This chapter, however, is concerned with the punitive effects of time as it concerns a different population. Across the globe, migrants are held in

carceral and camp-like settings, in theory so that their visa and asylum claims can be processed, or else to prepare for deportation. Immigration detention encompasses a range of policies and practices aimed at curtailing and regulating the entry of non-citizens onto sovereign territory, as well as intercepting their movement through "transit" states (Silverman & Nethery, 2015). Often, the conditions of migrant detention resemble those of prison; detainees may live alongside convicts, as in Canada, or in converted carceral facilities (Cleveland, 2015; Mountz, Coddington, Lloyd & Catania, 2012). Yet detainees are a distinct group in that they are targeted due to concerns about unauthorized mobility and national security, on the grounds that they lack proper documentation. In contrast to the criminal justice system, immigration detention is extra-judicial: detainees are held for "administrative" reasons, rather than because they have been charged with a crime (Silverman & Nethery, 2015). Furthermore, as non-citizens, they are without the same legal protections afforded to other members of the population.

One way to distort a person's experience of duration is to prolong it indefinitely. A minority of Western states, among them Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom, practice indefinite detention, meaning there is no official time limit on how long migrants may be confined. Migrants themselves are rarely given a fixed timeframe; although cooperating with authorities, filing documents, and preparing applications can help to move the process forward, the wait time on these bureaucratic procedures is highly variable and beyond individual control (Hussan, 2014). In many cases, this uncertainty is hugely detrimental to migrants' wellbeing. Detainees may find themselves anticipating return to a country they have not known for years or even decades; cut off from family members and community support networks; under permanent threat of solitary confinement or lockdown (Gros & Groll, 2015); caught up in protracted international negotiations over their identity (York, 2014); or bound to schedules and regulations that impede meaningful uses of their

time. As this chapter will explore, the passage of time—understood as subjective and experiential, as well as externally measurable—can be a tool of state violence in itself. Especially given the racial and economic contours of the global migration and deportation regime (de Genova, 2010), the claim that detention is an administrative practice disconnected from assumptions of non-white inferiority and the relative un-worth of non-white time needs to be tested. Indeed, close examination of detention's multiple, overlapping temporalities, including suspense, acceleration, tedium, and delay, reveals that the regulation of time can be viewed as a governmental strategy for producing exhaustion and compliance. Drawing on first-hand accounts of migrants and detainees, as well as prison literature that describes the trials of "doing time," this chapter looks at time as a technique of sovereign control, structuring the lives of non-citizens both in and outside of detention.

The framework of temporality allows different questions to come to the fore than spatial analyses of detention, which foreground issues of containment and mobility (Mountz et al., 2012). In particular, cultural geographers such as Alison Mountz (2011), Jennifer Hyndman and Wenona Giles (2011), Suvendrini Perera (2009), and Deirdre Conlon (2011) have made major contributions to the study of migrant detention, looking at how space is used to circumvent international obligations (i.e. the 1951 Refugee Convention), undermine universal rights, and diminish public visibility. These theorists draw on the work of Agamben (1998), among others, to ask whether the reproduction of liminal environments authorizes a "state of exception" where conventional standards of law no longer apply. While their work has helped to shed light on global strategies of migration management and the shifting nature of sovereignty, the impact of time on these arrangements remains understudied. Just as others have mapped detention's multiple and hidden locations, here I attempt to create a catalogue of its overlapping tempos and frequencies.

The notion that detention is temporally incongruous with the rest of existence, an administrative space of waiting and stagnation, invites connections to Agamben's theory of the camp. In *Homo Sacer*, Agamben (1998) describes the camp as a threshold space between order and chaos, defining the limits of juridical rule through its transgression. Deemed outsiders to the nation, inhabitants of the camp are subject to the worst excesses of national security. Agamben writes, "In the camp, the state of exception, which was essentially a temporary suspension of the rule of law on the basis of a factual state of danger, is now given a permanent spatial arrangement, which as such nevertheless remains outside the normal order" (Agamben, 1998, p. 96). In other words, the camp renders concrete and permanent what was previously thought to be only temporary: the extraordinary circumstances that prompted a suspension of the juridical order become an everyday state of affairs. Agamben thus defines the camp as a *temporally*, as well as territorially distinct zone. The law's indefinite suspension creates a situation where, as Hannah Arendt famously observed, "everything is possible" (as cited in Agamben, 1998, p. 97).

There are a number of parallels between practices of migrant detention and Agamben's theorization of the camp, not least of which is the idea of a space that exists outside normal parameters of the law. Scholars and advocates refer to detention as a legal "black hole," a highly discretionary regime that unfairly punishes criminalized migrants (de Genova, 2016; Gros & Groll, 2015). The image evokes both the unintelligibility of administrative processes and the impossibility of escape: a black hole is a vacuum that expands by ingesting matter around it, a void in space where time dilates and slows nearly to a stop.

In drawing attention to the temporality of detention, my aim is to show its connections to racialized techniques of surveillance and control more generally, which structure migrants' time in a variety of settings. As Hanchard (1999) observes, "Time, when

linked to relations of dominance and subordination, is another social construct that marks inequality between various social groups" (p. 253). Building on Hanchard's insight into the power relations embedded in time, I argue that temporal dissonance is an ordinary feature of migrant experience. In a sense, the manipulations of time that occur in and through detention help to shed light on the violence implicit in more small-scale forms of temporal interference that mark migrants as "other" to the nation.

Detention is not confined to the sites where it happens. Rather, it reverberates through the lives of those it affects, disrupting larger life projects and shaping migrants' orientations to both present and future. In some cases, it occurs multiple times in the span of a person's lifetime, or hovers over the day-to-day of existence. These considerations point to "detainability" as a condition that is ongoing and negotiated, as non-citizens find new ways to cope with the enforced uncertainty and precarity resulting from their undocumented status (de Genova, 2016). They also point to another problem of detection: the violence enacted through state practices of detention is often extreme, but it is not always overt. Describing the pain and loss left in the wake of a community member's deportation, Burman (2010) writes, "Absence is made presence when those left behind develop a well-founded suspicion of the state that transforms their sense of possible futures" (p. 102). With detention, too, there is always the possibility of one's friends or family being taken away, of relationships being broken through the stress of non-citizenship, of shying away from essential public services because using them is "not work the risk" (Redden, 2017). Detention marks people in lasting, often invisible ways. Among these invisible traces are the temporal disturbances detention creates, both for those who have undergone it, and for others who simply know about it.

Part II: Nationalism, community and time

In 2017, the Nobel Prize in physiology and medicine was awarded to a group of American scientists. Jeffrey Hall, Michael Rosbash, and Michael Young have spent their careers studying the biological mechanisms that regulate our sense of time—what's commonly referred to as the body's "internal clock" (Davis & Sample, 2017). Based on research into the lifecycle of fruit flies, their discoveries reveal that certain biological rhythms corresponding to different phases of the day are encoded into our genes. Proteins that degrade over the course of the day tell us when to wake and when to rest, synchronizing our bodily processes with the Earth's rotations (Davis & Sample, 2017).

The idea that people are biologically predisposed to keep time not only with the environment, but also with each other, is in many ways an appealing one. Incidentally, the notion of communal time, or "simultaneity" across space, is also foundational to theories of nationalism. In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson (1983/2006) argues that changing conceptions of time helped to make the nation thinkable in the first place. He writes, "The idea of a sociological mechanism moving calendrically through homogenous, empty time is a precise analogue of the idea of the nation, which is also conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history" (Anderson, 1983/2006, p. 26). For Anderson, technological innovations such as the clock and calendar are indispensable to the modern nation, insofar as they enable us to imagine connections with distant others. "An American will never meet, or even know, more than a handful of his 240,000,000-odd fellow Americans," Anderson (1983/2006) explains, "But he has complete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity" (p.26). Even if not everyone is doing precisely the same thing at the same time, the essential thing for nationalism to emerge is that time should move at the same pace, regardless of who or where you are—hour by hour, day by day, and year by year.

In very different ways, both of these theories are concerned with the mutuality of time, its capacity to draw us into relationships. Whether the circadian rhythms of the body or the abstract regularity of the clock, time creates bonds by linking us to occurrences outside of ourselves. But if time connects us, it can also create moments of division, disconnection, and rupture. The same study referenced above goes on to describe the deleterious effects of temporal disruption on the human body: "Chronic misalignment between our lifestyle and the rhythm dictated by our inner timekeeper is associated with increased risk for various diseases" (Nobel Media, 2017). Interferences such as jet lag and shift work can lead to a "mismatch" between an individual's internal clock and external environment, to the detriment of one's wellbeing (Davis & Sample, 2017).

In the four sections that follow, I take seriously the idea that chronic, temporal "misalignment" is a source of isolation and suffering. In studying the impact of temporal disruption on migrants in detention, however, my idea is not to posit a normative temporality from which detainees are expelled. On the contrary, as Mezzadra and Nielson (2013) point out, "Exploring the heterogeneous temporalities of migration provides a means of showing how border crossings and struggles elude this analogical model of nationalism." The notion of a "solid community" grounded in "homogenous, empty time" seems wildly inadequate to describe the heterogeneity of migratory experiences, which can include elements of speed, slowness, temporariness, stasis, and transit. Nonetheless, certain experiences, I argue, can exacerbate one's sense of being temporally "out of sorts," so that time itself becomes a barrier to one's ability to feel settled. For detainees in particular, the frustrations of physical confinement are coupled with an often painful awareness of time passing. The next passage introduces the concept of "interference" to describe the relationship between time and sovereign control (Ramsay, 2017). While there is an emerging body of literature that considers the ways in which waiting is imposed on and understood by refugees (Brun, 2015;

Griffiths, 2014; Hyndman & Giles, 2011; Khosravi, 2014; Mountz, 2011; Turnbull, 2016), I offer interference as an alternative framework for understanding how detention is related to other techniques of bordering that also impose on people's time. In contrast to waiting, which carries associations of inactivity and passivity, the concept of interference connotes feedback, a response or subtle change in frequency that is not purely oppositional. As I will demonstrate, detention is also productive of new orientations toward self and future, as migrants develop ways of contesting or coping with their circumstances.

i) Interference

An interference happens when something undesired comes into play, creating a disturbance. Interferences can be fleeting, a sudden interruption that's soon forgotten, but they can also linger and shift over time. Sometimes an interference goes on long enough that it becomes almost indiscernible, a soft droning swallowed by the atmosphere. Although not exclusively a temporal phenomenon, interferences generate disorder, and this bears consequences for one's experience of time. This section presents an analysis of detention as interference, by charting the disruptions and irregularities it produces in the lives of those who encounter it.

Interference is one way of thinking about sovereign control over time, and the strategies of endurance, resilience, and adaptation demanded of those who bear the consequences of migration's growing securitization. Time is a crucial element in the management of borders (Bhandar, 2008; Nyers, 2010), from the high-speed processing of "trusted" airline passengers to geopolitical arrangements designed to pre-emptively contain certain populations or postpone their arrival (Mezzadra & Nielson, 2013; Weber, 2007). Strategies of deceleration, delay, and enforced waiting are particularly evident in the way governments manage asylum seekers; millions of refugees without permanent legal status are held up in camps and cities in the Global South, a situation that encodes highly gendered

presumptions about immobility, passivity, and femininity (Hyndman & Giles, 2011). As these examples suggest, detention is not unique in producing subjects who feel out of sync with the rhythms of everyday life or disadvantaged through the loss of valued time. Detention offers a blatant expression of the temporal interference that results from bordering practices more generally, which construe some forms of existence as already "wasted" (Razack, 2017) and a waste of time.

The stress-inducing effects of interference are readily apparent in the testimony of refugee claimants, who inhabit a precarious time-space between the past and an uncertain future. In Canada, the backlog on processing asylum claims has been growing steadily. According to an internal government analysis, obtained by The Canadian Press under the Access to Information Act, the wait time on hearings before the Immigration and Refugee Board could rise to 11 years by 2021 (Levitz, 2017). "During this period," Burman (2010) writes, "one can move around the city freely, working and socializing but without a sense of ownership or entitlement" (p. 107). Her comment points to the relationship between temporal autonomy and geographical belonging: subject to the contingencies of the refugee determination process, claimants are hindered from forming attachments or otherwise settling into their communities. A recent Federal Court case, *I.P.P. vs Minister of Citizenship and Immigration* (2018), details the harms suffered by a group of twenty-four refugee applicants over the course of four years, as they awaited a decision by the IRB. In their written submission to the judge, the applicants list episodes of hospitalization due to anxiety and panic attacks; loss of job opportunities due to their precarious status and gaps in receiving valid work permits; difficulty in pursuing new romantic relationships; and strain on family relationships, including the gradual dissolution of I.P.P.'s marriage. Psychologically, the chronic instability of determination delays has been linked to demoralization, depression, and suicidal behaviour (Silverman & Massa, 2012).

The Eritrean journalist Abraham Zere (2017) writes in *Al Jazeera* about the painstaking process of seeking asylum in the U.S. In "a perpetual state of anxiety" as he navigates American immigration bureaucracy, Zere's uneasiness is exacerbated by frequent delays, interruptions, and advisories on travel (Zere, 2017). It is not long before his initial optimism at beginning a "new chapter" of life in the States begins to wane, and he is faced with the "comprehensive dehumanization process at the heart of it all" (Zere, 2017). For two years and four months, he waits for US Citizenship and Immigration Services to call him in for an interview. During this time, he is classified as a "pending asylee," meaning that he is unable to apply for a permanent job or officially pursue studies (Zere, 2017). Even after being upgraded to asylee status, Zere continues to encounter difficulties. On multiple occasions, he is forced to cancel plans for travel due to demanding visa entry applications and slow processing times on obtaining the necessary documents. But he adapts to these circumstances; on his way to Norway for a business meeting, he makes sure to arrive at the airport hours ahead of the scheduled departure time. The immigration officer hesitates while leafing through Zere's travel document: "Which country's passport is this?" "A passport for the stateless," Zere responds (Zere, 2017). The officer makes a few calls, just to confirm. Within thirty minutes, Zere is cleared and sent on his way. It has been five years since he was last able to leave the country.

As Zere's account suggests, interference does not always result in blockage or containment, but can include forms of authorization and acceptance—a disruption as seemingly benign as a few extra moment's hesitation: "Which country's passport is this?" "I just want to make sure I'm not missing anything" (Zere, 2017). The agent's solicitude marks Zere as someone who requires special time and attention, a person whose very presence interferes with the normal order of things and for whom exceptions will have to be made. The episode is indicative of what Balibar (2002) has referred to as "the ubiquity of borders"

experienced by certain groups, whose socio-economic standing, race, or precarious legal status make mobility arduous, if not impossible (p. 82). For Zere (2017), everything from opening a bank account and getting a job to meeting colleagues abroad requires extensive foresight and planning. He is constantly accommodating bureaucratic appointments and timeframes, while his own sense of self suffers. The cumulative effect of these interferences is to make Zere anxious and apprehensive, acutely aware of his difference. "No matter how hard I try," he writes, "I am forever an outsider who speaks with a heavy accent" (Zere, 2017).

Here again, the border appears less as a spatial divide, demarcating inside from outside, than as a temporal phenomenon. Years after his entry into the US, Zere is still struggling to leave it behind: it *sticks* to him, not only in the sense of his uncertain legal status, but also as a perceptual and emotional residue of previous border crossing experiences (Boyce, 2017). Paradoxically, the very process designed to resolve Zere's displacement—to include him in the nation—ends up confirming his sense of otherness. In her study of refugees in Australia, Ramsay (2017) draws a similar conclusion about the process of resettlement. By focusing on the experience of displaced people *after* they have acquired Australian citizenship, she wants to upend the idea that arrival brings rest—a resolution to the "problem" of statelessness. For Ramsay (2017), "Sovereignty is not only determined through legal classifications of citizenship or enforced at the physical borders of national territories but is also realized through implicit forces of racialization" (p. 517). Legal determinations such as "citizen" or "pending asylee" can only go so far in restoring migrants to a condition of stability, where their rights are recognized and respected. Drawing on examples from the child welfare system, Ramsay (2017) shows how assumptions of racial alterity are inbuilt into government bureaucracies. Long after migrants have been "accepted"

into their host nation and granted formal membership, they continue to be designated as outsiders, the targets of integration and assimilation (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013).

At the same time, the article itself is a testament to Zere's ability to learn from his circumstances and use them productively, even to his own advantage. Coping with uncertainty means recalibrating his behaviour and expectations to account for the probability of interference. As Ramsay (2017) insists, "Conditions of precarity are also arenas of subject making…Despite great uncertainty, refugees actively work to reappropriate the conditions of their existence to work toward particular kinds of futures" (p. 519).

ii) Delay

The experience of delay is relational: for the party that is made to wait, it means recognizing that one's goals, priorities and timeframe have been subordinated to someone else's. It is a confrontation with authority that hinges on uncertainty. As Bourdieu (2000) writes, "Absolute power is the power to make oneself unpredictable and deny other people any reasonable anticipation, to place them in total uncertainty. … The all-powerful is he who does not wait but who makes others wait" (p. 83). Delay also implies an attachment to the future: to wait for something is to desire a certain outcome, without fully knowing if or when it will transpire. In this context, anticipation becomes a source of oppression in its own right: in keeping you hopeful, it heightens the angst and uncertainty of the delay. Sometimes delay produces indifference, a feeling that one does not need to wait after all; or it can give rise to a tactical acceptance of waiting, such that the delay doesn't weigh quite so heavily.

Delay is integral to migrant detention, both in terms of how it is experienced and the procedural logic underlying it. The very notion of detaining non-citizens, pending deportation or a change in status, is predicated on the idea of a sovereign right to make wait. Whether they are intercepted at the country's border or already residing within it, detainees are forced to put their ordinary lives on hold so that their immigration claims can be processed. As

Silverman and Massa (2012) put it, detention engenders "symbolic spaces of suspension and liminality, where detainees are asked to 'wait out' their status regularizations" while the bureaucracy of the state does its work (p. 679). This wait can go on for days, months, or even years depending on the nature of the perceived immigration "irregularity" and a variety of other variables: the geographic region in which an individual is apprehended, the pre-existing backlog on cases, funding levels from the federal government, and so on (Hussan, 2014; Levitz, 2017). The radical indeterminacy of this waiting crystallizes the uneven power dynamic between non-citizens, the state, and its representatives; detention renders concrete the subordination of migrants' time to the internal operations of the state.

For those who have experienced detention first-hand, there is little doubt as to the punitive effects of delay and the psychological toll it exacts. In a report on the imprisonment of migrants with mental health issues, Hanna Gros and Paloma Groll (2015) draw on testimony from detainees to document the adverse impact of incarcerating migrants alongside criminals. Among those profiled is a man in his 30s with bipolar disorder, referred to as "Clement." Like many detainees, Clement describes a sense of powerlessness and despair, which he attributes in part to not knowing when he will get out: "Every day I'm here, dressed in orange, and I don't know when it's going to end…Right now I'm trying to refrain from sinking into that black hole" (quoted in Gros & Groll, 2015, p. 74). Clement moved to Canada from the Caribbean when he was just eight years old, but had his permanent residency revoked after being convicted of a crime. "This is the most time I've ever done," he said of his eight months in detention, the majority of which were spent at CECC (as quoted in Gros & Groll, 2015, p. 74).

Clement found his monthly detention reviews to be a particular source of stress. Sitting in front of a camera in his jumpsuit, and watching the hearing unfold on a TV screen, he says, "They don't know that inside I'm going absolutely crazy wondering if I'm going to

get out or what's going on" (quoted in Gros & Groll, 2015, p. 74). In Canada, the decision to detain a person is subject to review at regular intervals by the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB), an independent administrative tribunal that deals with both detainees and asylum claimants. The first hearing happens 48 hours after apprehension by a CBSA officer, then again in the next seven days; following this, the case is reviewed every 30 days by the IRB (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2015). Although this policy is intended to mitigate against needlessly lengthy detentions, since there are regular opportunities to reconsider and update each case, it has raised serious concerns among migrant advocacy groups. The IRB has been criticized for placing disproportionate weight on previous decisions to detain, effectively shifting the evidentiary burden onto detainees to establish their innocence (Gros & Groll, 2015). According to data collected by the End Immigration Detention Network in 2013, the chances of release fall to nearly 1% after the 8th consecutive hearing, or six months into detention (Hussan, 2014).

As Clement's comment suggests, the routine of reappearing for review every month––sometimes only to have detention prolonged another 30 days—is not only highly dispiriting but also potentially traumatizing. In his discussion with Gros and Groll (2015), Clement noted that these hearings often last only a few minutes. Yet the emotional intensity of the experience is considerable, exciting hopes of release and frustrations with a system that often appears indifferent to detainees' personal circumstances. Kimora Adetunji, who was detained after arriving to Canada with her family in 1992 at the age of eight, is now herself married to an undocumented man in detention (Nasser, 2017a). For over nine months, her husband has been held in a maximum-security jail in Scarbourgh, Ontario; according to Adetunji, agents in unmarked cars "ambushed" them on the street and proceeded to arrest him at gunpoint (Nasser, 2017b). Adetunji has been campaigning actively for her husband's release, but has grown increasingly pessimistic about the effectiveness of the detention review system. "Every

30 days it's the same answer," she said, in an interview with CBC News, "It's almost as if it's a circus, that we're going there just so they can say they offered him the opportunity to have a detention review" (quoted in Nasser, 2017a). Especially for long-term detainees and their families, the cumulative delays imposed by the IRB are deeply upsetting, provoking reactions of resentment, despair, and cynicism. Speaking to press is an important means through which people caught up in this circuitous process can reassert agency, shedding light on the system's failings and creating political pressure for change.

On the other hand, the repetitious nature of detention reviews is such that they can also become as source of indifference. Asked whether he noticed a change in detainees' mood around the time of their reviews, a staff person at the Vanier Centre for Women responded, "Some of them don't even know when their reviews are. It's a non-event" (quoted in Gros & Groll, 2015, p. 41). This forgetfulness can be attributed to the fact that, often, very little happens at detention reviews. Especially if there have been no major developments in a person's case, they tend to last under a half hour and are rarely attended by the detainee's lawyer (Gros & Groll, 2015). One detainee said he was informed five times that he was going to be released before the release actually came through, and so he learned not to take such news too seriously (Gros & Groll, 2015). In this context, the disinterest exhibited by some detainees in their reviews is not necessarily an indication that they have given up on release, or no longer see it as a viable outcome. Rather, it suggests a detachment from administrative routines that are difficult to understand, and which place little weight on migrants' voices and experiences. What seems to be indifference might be better understood as a kind of "imaginative disengagement from procedure" (Sutton & Vigneswaran, 2011, p. 630) that allows detainees to preserve their emotional reserves and insulate themselves from disappointment in the event of a negative determination.

In the examples offered above, delay has an obviously corrosive impact on the wellbeing of detainees and places undue strain on their relationships. In certain cases, delay can also cultivate acquiescence, since some people may be more willing to consider deportation than face indefinite imprisonment. One person's counsel said he's known clients "to sign documents to go places they don't want to go, or abandon applications that have some merit, because they can't deal with the grind of being in detention" (quoted in Gros & Groll, 2015). Although delay is inevitable insofar as it is endemic to bureaucracy, it is important to keep in mind this element of coercion, which capitalizes on the vulnerability of non-citizen status. Where it concerns migrants and other marginalized groups, a large proportion of whom are non-white, delay is not simply a neutral facet of administrative procedure, but a governmental tool imbued with racist undertones. As a period of enforced suspension or stagnation, it represents a kind of retaliation for the "unsavoury agency" exhibited by "queue-jumpers" (Nyers, 2010, p. 1070)—in detention, those who have tried to "skip ahead of the line" by bypassing official immigration channels are made to wait their turn.

In his essay *Afro-Modernity*, Hanchard (1999) discusses delaying tactics and the regimentation of time as techniques of racial subordination. From the beginnings of the slave trade to post-emancipation America, black people's time was tightly regimented and controlled by dominant white society. Just as slaves were denied autonomy over their own bodies, so too was the total colonization of their time instrumental to their dehumanization. "Free time" for the slave was not simply a luxury but an aberration, since every moment of his or her existence was meant to be in the service of a master. As one southern slaveholder put it, "My negroes have no time whatever…They are always liable to my call without questioning for a moment the propriety of it" (quoted in Hanchard, 1999, p. 255). These pitiless words are an expression of the relationship between time and dominance. To take

away someone's time is a form of social control, generating feelings of powerlessness and vulnerability—the sense that "one is not fully in command of one's own life" (Khosravi, 2014). Recognizing the insurgent possibilities inherent in free time, imagination, and play, the slaveholder is calculating in his attempts to increase his slaves' uncertainty. In keeping them always at the ready, he not only affirms his own legal and material advantage, but also weakens their capacity to resist.

Waiting and delay are usually associated with stasis, the slow and uneventful passage of time. In fact, waiting is not homogenous but involves moments of acceleration, impatience, and urgency. Without drawing a direct comparison between slavery and migrant detention, it is possible to see from the example above how delay, and the anxiety it generates, relies also on speed and the unexpected. The ever-present possibility of imminent change—a sudden call to service or unexplained rebuke—destabilizes the moments in-between, periods of "calm" that might otherwise be restful or restorative. In a similar way, detainees "constantly anticipate imminent removal, transfer, or release, even if they end up doing so for months or years" (Griffiths, 2014, p. 2002). While in detention, migrants' daily existence is largely out of their control: their rooms can be searched at any time; they may be transferred without prior notice from staff, and unbeknownst to legal counsel; often, detainees have no sense of how their case is progressing, and whether or not they are likely to be deported (Gros & Groll, 2015; Silverman & Molnar, 2016). Those held in prison have to contend with additional sources of insecurity. As Muhammed Sillah, a former detainee at CECC recalls, Lindsay "was all about watching your back, all the time. There were always threats around, and there was always intimidation" (Cain, 2014). Given the volatility of the prison environment, and the lack of transparency in communicating with detainees, it is not surprising that most detainees are apprehensive about their situation. In making it difficult to

settle into more a relaxed form of waiting, the constant play between dread, anticipation, and delay that characterizes life in detention wears migrants down and promotes exhaustion.

Among detainees, waiting is a highly individualized experience, one that affects people differently and contributes to feelings of isolation. At the same time, however, waiting can be understood as a sociological phenomenon that relates to assumptions of racial difference. In the decades after emancipation, the temporal bondage experienced by African and African-descended people as slaves transformed into more diffuse forms of temporal constraint. Hanchard (1999) writes,

> To be black in the United States meant that one had to wait for nearly everything. Legalized segregation, the maintenance of separate and largely unequal institutions, meant that blacks, as a consequence of prejudicial treatment, received health care, education, police protection, transportation, and a host of other services only *after* those same services were provided for whites. Above all, legalized apartheid in the United States represented an imposed disjunctive time structure within which U.S. African Americans were made to live. (p. 263)

Importantly, the lag on public services available to black communities served not only to symbolically reinforce their status as second-class citizens; it also helped to maintain a condition of racial disadvantage. Hanchard (1999) offers the example of black schoolchildren growing up in the 1950s and '60s, who received all their textbooks second-hand, with information as much as fifteen years out of date. In other contexts, the temporal disjuncture experienced by marginalized groups can even prove fatal: consider the substandard and out-of-date equipment in hospitals servicing black neighbourhoods, or the astonishing slowness with which the Canadian government delivers on its promise of safe, clean drinking water for Indigenous communities. In relation to Israel's occupation of the West Bank, Joronen (2017) argues that delay is a settler colonial tool of government; through its slow administrative

procedures, Israel continuously defers the construction of roads, wells, and other crucial infrastructure in Palestinian communities.

In all of these cases, disregard for time collides with a more fundamental disregard for life: racialized populations are "forgotten" and "left behind" in ways that appear inadvertent, even as they reinforce white nationalist projects. Routines of waiting designate "those who have civic rights but lack social value" (Ramsay, 2017, p. 524)—those whose time, in short, is worth less. In the context of asylum seekers in the United Kingdom, Griffiths (2014) points out that "delays in communicating official decisions to applicants are not uncommon…One woman I interviewed, for example, found out she had been granted Humanitarian Protection (a status that lasts five years) six months after the decision was made" (p. 1995). Her comment brings to mind the experience of another detainee, "Noosha," cited in Gros and Groll's (2015) report. An asylum seeker fleeing a repressive regime in the Middle East, Noosha remained for two months at the Vanier Institute for Women in Milton, Ontario on immigration hold due to a clerical error: her release papers were never sent to the CBSA (Gros & Groll, 2015). She did not have any mandated detention reviews during this time, because she had never been properly registered in the CBSA's system. Finally, the error was caught, and she was released ten days later (Gros & Groll, 2015). As one of the conditions of her release, Noosha reports twice a week to a CBSA office in Missasauga, a trip that takes two hours each way.

In an accelerated, capitalist world that favours speed and efficiency, it is impossible to disentangle the indefinite suspension of migrants' time from assumptions of alterity and limited productivity. For most people, "to wait is to waste time, and thus [waiting] should be avoided" (Bendixsen, 2016). Noosha's case illustrates the extent to which migrants' time is undervalued and treated as fundamentally expendable. Although the result of a "clerical error" rather than any malicious intent, her story is consistent with the broader experience of

migrants and asylum seekers, whose reliance on bureaucratic timeframes symbolically reinforces their legal and racial disadvantage. That these deferrals, whether six months, two months, or even ten days, can inflict long-lasting forms of psychological and financial damage is of little concern to public administrators charged with carrying out a carefully prescribed task.

iii) Deprivation

In her analysis of border enforcement strategies in the United States, Coutin (2010) cites an anonymous Salvadoran man who describes detention as "dead time." As a detainee, he explains, you are confronted with "time that you're not guilty of. You're just locked up" (quoted in Coutin, 2010, p. 204). While in detention, it is not uncommon for migrants to express a kind of envy for those in the criminal justice system, who know their release date and are able to shape their expectations accordingly. Beyond the certainty of release, however, there is another sense in which time works differently in detention than in jail. Whereas inmates convicted of a criminal offense are charged with a particular wrongdoing that merits punishment, detainees struggle to understand the reasons behind their incarceration. As Cornelisse (2010) puts it, undocumented migrants are imprisoned "not on account of what they have done, but on account of what they are" (p. 102). In this sense, detention represents a breakdown in causality, the belief that "actions have consequences." That migrants are offered no solid explanation for their imprisonment compromises their ability to rationalize it as a potentially worthwhile or meaningful use of time. The concept of "dead time" brings to mind the paradox of time divorced from meaning, time that doesn't propel life forward but rather keeps it at a stand-still.

The chronology of a person's life is normally organized around holidays, anniversaries, important developments and accomplishments—events that punctuate time and lend it significance. Without these milestones, and the human sociability they entail, time

becomes amorphous, a shapeless expanse of days, minutes, and seconds that are largely indistinguishable from one another. In describing detention as a technology of temporal "deprivation," I want to highlight two aspects of the experience: the lack of activities and programming within the facility, and the loss of one's ability to participate in happenings outside. Together, these two forms of deprivation create an environment that, in its daily routines, is both tedious and decontextualized from the rest of existence.

Migrants in Canada echo the sentiment that detention is "deadening" or somehow antithetical to life, an experience of temporal as well as physical apartness. For example, a *Toronto Star* investigation into detention in Canada published in 2017 profiles a West African man by the name of Ebrahim Toure. Having spent the past four years in maximum security at the CECC in Lindsay, Ontario, Toure is currently Canada's longest-serving detainee. He says of life in detention, "Every day is the same thing. I don't know what kind of time I'm doing" (quoted in Kennedy, 2017). Toure's comment speaks both to the gruelling boredom of detention, and to the temporal estrangement it produces. If the passage of time is normally linked to movement and change—a sense of ongoing and imperceptible transformation— then detention frustrates this relationship by placing people's lives and long-term plans indefinitely "on hold."

For most people, the decision to migrate is based, at least in part, on a desire to better one's circumstances. Even if it is the outcome of a long and disjointed journey involving many stops, or part of a series of back-and-forth movements, as for the seasonal worker, it implies a commitment to the future and an investment in both short- and long-term projects. In this scheme, indefinite detention is almost never something planned for. Although many undocumented migrants experience "detainability" as a "deeply existential predicament that is defined by the grim prospect of being apprehended and coercively removed from the spaces and temporalities of everyday life" (de Genova, 2016, p. 6), detention itself happens suddenly

and without warning. As de Genova (2016) writes, "Detention always entails the enforcement of a dire and usually abrupt separation of an individual non-citizen from all the material and practical coordinates of her day-to-day circumstances, the actual life and livelihood that she has been engaged in sustaining and cultivating" (p.6). The force of this upheaval is particularly evident in the case of individuals already established in the communities where they are arrested, and enmeshed in the complex circuitry of work, education, and relationships.

De Genova's (2016) point speaks to the violence of sudden capture, a physical separation that also strips individuals of their usual habits, circumstances, and expectations. But how does the awareness of an alternative, of what *could have been* or what is still going on in one's absence, affect migrants' perception of the time spent in detention? A telling example comes from Amin Mjasiri, a migrant originally from Kenya-Tanzania who, in 2013, led a mass hunger strike to protest indefinite detention (prisonersolidarity, 2015). In a statement released to members of the End Immigration Detention Network, Mjasiri described the experience of being detained at CECC as an irretrievable loss of time: "They say this is not a punishment, then what am I doing in a maximum security for twenty-eight months. Twenty-eight months of my life, you could not give that back to me. Even if you were going to deport me right now. You could not give that back to me" (quoted in prisonersolidarity, 2015). For Mjasiri, the cruel thing about detention is not simply the uncertainty of the outcome, but the unshakeable awareness of time that can never be retrieved. His sentiments are shared by Ebrahim Toure, who reflects, "I never thought I would be here this long. If I get out I'll be happy, but I can't get these five years back" (quoted in Kennedy, 2017). Alert to the possibilities and opportunities they have missed out on, both men confront the injustice of detention as a form of temporal deprivation, an interruption that drains their lives of months and even years.

Twenty-six days into his hunger-strike, Mjasiri reached members of the End

Immigration Detention Network by phone:

> I missed three of my son's birthdays, I missed three anniversaries with my wife. I
>
> cannot see myself here being detained indefinitely and thinking about them. That will
>
> drive me crazy. So I have to keep it out of sight and out of mind. How inhumane is
>
> that? I am a father and I am a husband. Should I even be allowed to feel like this?
>
> (quoted in prisonersolidarity, 2013).

Mjasiri emphasizes the distress he feels at being separated from his family, and points to the

effect of this separation on his sense of personal identity. For him, time in detention is

measured not only in months, but also in recurring, communal events: three birthdays, three

anniversaries. He is, in a sense, temporally adrift, torn between his own contained existence,

and the rhythms of the outside world, to which he is still tethered through the intimacy of

familial relationships. With his future in crisis, Mjasiri worries that his sense of self is also

unravelling: he is a "father" and a "husband"—identities bound up in reciprocity, kinship,

and exchange—but, at least for the duration of his detention, he is forced to suppress the

painful awareness of his former life.

This temporal rupture between inside and outside, the regimented domain of the jail

and the flow of daily life, is something that prisoners also have to endure. Focusing on

prisoners with suicidal tendencies, Diana Medlicott (1999) describes the suffering that results

from a "fractured" time-sense. She notes, "Family birthdays, football matches, religious feast

days, leaving parties for work colleagues – all the chronology of birth, life and death flows on

outside the prison, and the prisoner remains bitterly aware of it while forcibly restrained from

participation in it" (Medlicott, 1999, p. 266). According to Medlicott (1999), coping with this

disjuncture requires considerable ingenuity and self-awareness, the capacity to adjust to and

accept prison time without being overtaken by it. The challenge faced by detainees is much

the same: as Mjasiri suggests, surviving in detention may demand a partial and temporary renunciation of the life one has left behind. However, this provisional, self-preserving gesture is also likely to be upsetting, and serves in some way to prepare detainees for the possibility of their own deportation. Mjasiri remained in detention for a year and a half after making the call quoted above and was detained for forty-five months in total (prisonersolidarity, 2015). On March 23rd, 2015, he received travel documents for Kenya—a country he had not visited in over two decades—and was deported four days later (prisonersolidarity, 2015).

Immigration detention is a highly regulated carceral environment, with set times for waking, sleeping, eating, and going outside (Silverman & Molnar, 2016). The many rules and regulations surrounding detention make it difficult for migrants to connect with friends, relatives, and legal counsel. For instance, visitors are only allowed at prescribed times, and, in some facilities (such as the Toronto Immigration Holding Centre), they are separated from detainees by a glass partition (Cleveland, 2015). Telephone use is also restricted, especially in correctional facilities where detainees are not able to receive incoming calls, even from counsel (Silverman & Molnar, 2016). Getting to detention centres is often difficult for friends, family members, and lawyers due to their remote locations; although Canada has three IHCs in proximity to major, migrant-destination cities (Laval, one hour outside of Montreal, Vancouver, and Toronto), jails are far more spread out, and often inaccessible through public transportation (Silverman & Molnar, 2016). In this regard, space and time are mutually reinforcing: the distance required to travel to detention is such that many people have trouble incorporating the trip into their schedules, while detainees sometimes express reluctance at imposing the inconvenience on others.

The links between migrant detention and deprivation are readily apparent in the physical construction of prisons and detention centres. In the graphic novel *Undocumented*, activist Tings Chak (2014) interweaves architectural drawings, theory, and first-hand accounts

by migrants to expose the inhumanity of the detention environment. Trained as an architect, Chak (2014) explains that "the modern cell is based on the idea of the modern individual, the minimum social unit to which everything is scaled…The minimum habitable space for the incarcerated individual is measured 2 square metres of floor area and 3.5 cubic metres of air space" (p. 102-3). Some detainees spend as much as seventeen hours a day locked in their cells, with only brief periods of outdoor access (Gros & Groll, 2015). Segregation, also known as solitary confinement, is widely used by prison staff to punish alleged misconduct or "disruptive" behaviour. As one detainee at Vanier explained, "If women get frustrated and scream in their cells, and if they will not stop screaming or if they have delusions, they will put the woman into segregation" (quoted in Gros & Groll, 2015). Kashif Ali, who spent seven years in detention awaiting deportation to Ghana, was placed in segregation on multiple occasions, including one stretch that lasted six consecutive months (Kennedy, 2017). Ali described the harrowing details of his detention in an interview with *The Star:* "In segregation, I ended up throwing feces at the staff," he said (quoted in Kennedy, 2017). On another occasion, he tried to suffocate himself while in solitary by stuffing toilet paper in his nose and throat (Kennedy, 2017).

Infrastructure at the Lindsay CECC, unofficially known as the "Lindsay superjail," is particularly deplorable. According to the detainees interviewed by Gros and Groll (2015), the cells in Pod 3 are equipped with a bed, sink, toilet, steel table "and that's it" (p. 29). There is inadequate heating in the winter—like "being in a fridge," Muhammed Sillah recalls (quoted in Cain, 2014)—and a persistent mold problem in the showers. In March 2017, inmates at Lindsay went on hunger strike to protest poor air quality, long wait times for medical attention, and insufficient means to perform personal hygiene routines, among other things (MacEachern, 2017). Although it is important not to collapse migrants' subjectivity with the conditions of their existence—to assume, in other words, that the barren conditions of

detention offer a clear indication of detainees' emotional and psychological state—the paltry construction and maintenance of prisons and IHCs suggests a willful disregard for human comfort and dignity.

Just as space can be used punitively to heighten people's sense of precarity, so too is scheduling a tool that breeds standardization and monotony. In many ways, the temporal attributes of detention mirror their physical container: daily life is highly tedious and repetitive, characterized by a series of institutional routines with minimal programming or activities to lend interest to detainees' time. Beyond the lack of contact with the outside world, detainees explain that there is simply "nothing to do" in detention (quoted in Gros & Groll, 2017). While most facilities offer some activities such as cards, board games, television, and a limited selection of books, there is no Internet, and detainees' personal effects are confiscated upon arrival (Cleveland, 2015). Confined to their rooms, with brief periods of outdoor access, people struggle to find stimulation. One woman, held at an IHC along with her newborn baby, was extremely concerned about the developmental impact of the environment on her son; but she acknowledged that it also affected her own wellbeing. Daily life in detention is "so boring and so stressful" she explained, "because the more you have nothing to do, the more you think" (cited in Gros & Groll, 2015). For migrants housed in correctional facilities, activities are even more scarce. At Lindsay, for example, detainees receive meals inside their cells. They are allowed to move around their range three times a day, from 9am to 11am; 1pm to 4pm; and after dinner from 6pm to 8pm (Gros & Groll, 2015). A former detainee at Vanier recalled, "There is nothing there…Prisoners can go outside twice a week for fresh air, for like 5 minutes…that's it. We didn't see the sun, we didn't see the sky" (quoted in Gros & Groll, 2015).

Although boredom is usually considered a relatively minor inconvenience, its implications can be serious. Especially in institutional settings, extreme boredom tends to

reinforce feelings of shame, anxiety, and powerlessness. As Lars Svendsen (2005) writes in his

book *The Philosophy of Boredom*, "Boredom always contains an awareness of being trapped,

either in a particular situation or in the world as a whole" (p. 56). In detention, these two

forms of entrapment intersect: detainees' physical confinement in the present inevitably

shapes their sense of possible futures and exposes them to the vulnerability of undocumented

status. In this sense, boredom is both an immediate reaction to the monotony of routine, and

a more existential condition in which detainees confront "the meaninglessness of their

everyday time…along with the feeling of not being able to escape a stigmatized status" (Brun,

2015, p. 30). In the context of prisons and solitary confinement, boredom has been linked to

substance abuse, risk-taking, paranoia, depression, and severe mental illness (Wener, 2012).

Prolonged boredom can also be coercive: in the UK, detainees are offered work such as

picking up litter and cleaning toilets—tasks that are essential to the day-to-day operations of

the detention centre—for a wage of £1 per hour (Taylor, 2017). The Home Office presents

this poorly paid, menial labour as an opportunity for detainees to "relieve boredom" and

fulfill their "recreational and intellectual" needs (Taylor, 2017). By depriving people of

vocational training, consistent education, and other forms of paid labour, the Home Office

creates a situation where detainees have few options other than to work in support of the

very system that is incarcerating them.

There is some writing to suggest that boredom is related to creativity, generating a

restless desire "to do something new" (Svendsen, 2005, p. 42). Migrants in detention are

resourceful in finding ways to counteract boredom. At CECC, where there is no gym, some

of the men fashion weights out of juice cans (Gros & Groll, 2015). In *Detained and Deported*,

Margaret Regan (2015) recalls a Mexican woman, María, who made paper swans to pass the

time—only to later have her work confiscated by a guard who deemed it "contraband". On a

larger scale, the monotony of routine is also broken when detainees come together in

organized acts of protest. The mass hunger strike organized by Mjasiri in 2013, in which 191 migrants participated, represents not only a form of political resistance but also a rejection of mandatory mealtimes, one of the foundations of bureaucratic scheduling. As these examples suggest, boredom is a potentially productive state of agitation, a form of deprivation that can be temporarily overcome as migrants devise creative uses of the resources available to them.

Overwhelmingly, however, detainees speak negatively about boredom, as something that contributes to anxiety and stress. As Reza, an Algerian man detained in the UK, reflects, "That wasn't any progress in there, that was just passing your life…Four years, going [no]where" (quoted in Griffiths, 2014, p. 1997). For Reza under-stimulation is associated with purposelessness, stagnation, and the emptiness of time. The highly regimented environment of detention functions alongside spatial techniques of control (such as solitary confinement) to isolate migrants and fracture their sense of social purpose. Importantly, the pervasive lack of programming in detention is not only a source of psychological stress, but also has implications for people's legal status. As one person's counsel noted, "Immigration detainees do not have access to educational, vocational, or social programs, which, in combination to being cut off from family and friends, erodes their establishment to Canada" (quoted in Gros & Groll, 2015, p. 32). By reducing the possibilities for "self-improvement" and learning—initiatives associated with productivity, ambition, and upward mobility—the enforced idleness of life in detention helps state administrators to see migrants as "deportable." In effect, the institutionalization of migrants bolsters the view that they are a "drain" on public resources rather than people consistently denied opportunities for social advancement.

iv) Retention

In different ways, interference, delay, and deprivation all describe a breakdown in linear chronology, such that the smooth passage of time can no longer be relied on. The repetitive, bureaucratic scheduling that punctuates life in detention; the lack of programming

and educational opportunities available to detainees; the uncertainty of release; the unpredictability of the guards and inmates—all of these heighten the stress of indefinite detention, reinforcing the impression that it is a temporally distinct zone disconnected from life "on the outside." In this section, I use the concept of "retention" to describe a further sense in which detention violates the chronological order of past, present, and future. A form of temporal disturbance, retention describes the ongoing presence of the past, a distortion of linear time that occurs when the past resurfaces and threatens to make the present unlivable. I will draw out two aspects of retention in particular: the potential for re-truamatization among migrants and refugees inside detention, many of whom have already undergone violent experiences in their countries of origin or transit; and the enduring effects of detention on those who are released into the community, which tend to negatively impact their prospects at integration.

To retain something is to hold onto it, intentionally or because it cannot be gotten rid of completely. In reference to memory, retention evokes the afterlife of an experience that stays with you as an impression or recollection that can be revisited. This phenomenon can be normal and healthy, the way soil retains water or iron retains heat: even painful experiences can be transformed into a source of learning and growth. But retention also carries connotations of a dangerous accumulation or overload. In medicine, it describes the failure to eliminate excess substances from the body, such as fluid and waste. Whether it pertains to memory or physiology, then, retention is always related to the question of capacity, the maximum holding power the body can sustain before it starts to degrade, suffer, or get worn out. For migrants in detention, memory can be a place of refuge from the prison environment, but it can also be triggering: people sometimes find themselves dwelling unhealthily on the past or focusing on their problems because there is little else to think about. On the other hand, former detainees who are released into the community are also

affected by their incarceration in a variety of ways: many detainees have difficulty re-establishing themselves as a result of their experience and the psychological toll it exacts.

In relation to child development, the term "toxic stress" is used by psychologists and neurobiologists to denote the lifelong repercussions of prolonged exposure to extreme stress. Toxic stress is triggered by experiences of adversity, when social support systems and relationships of care are lacking (Shonkoff & Garner, 2017). Exposure to stress over a long period can also make individuals more susceptible to anxiety (and a host of related health problems) in the future. As stated in a report by the American Academy of Pediatrics, significant stress at a young age can result in "a hyperresponsive or chronically activated physiologic stress response, along with increased potential for fear and anxiety. It is in this way that a child's environment and early experiences get under the skin" (Shonkoff & Garner,). Toxic stress is an example of how trauma lives on in the body, shaping and at times impeding one's ability to function. While this chapter is focused on the detention of adults, it is important to note that detention affects children as well—not only those who are detained, but those who are separated from their parents, as was the case recently for some 2,300 children in the US, victims of President Trump's "zero tolerance" policy (Shear, Goodnough & Haberman, 2018).

For undocumented and "irregular" migrants, the journey from displacement to resettlement is often discontinuous and fraught with difficulty. In a study of 122 immigration detainees held at the Toronto and Laval IHCs, Cleveland, Kronick, Gros and Rousseau (2018) determined that "most [incoming asylum seekers] have suffered multiple, serious traumatic events" previously in their lives, either in their countries of origin or in transit (p. 5). While in detention, migrants and asylum seekers are susceptible to "retraumatization": situations, environments, and interactions that are disempowering, or which replicate the dynamics of earlier traumatic events, and may prompt them to re-experience painful

memories. As the authors explain, "When people who have experienced trauma are subjected to high stress, such as detention, their symptoms are more likely to persist and may become chronic" (Cleveland, Kronick, Gros and Rousseau, 2018, p. 1006). The routine use of handcuffing, solitary confinement, lockdowns, and surveillance in Canadian detention centres is potentially triggering for detainees, insofar as these measures are usually understood to signal powerlessness and "social degradation" (Cleveland et al., 2018). Even short-term detention can aggravate symptoms of anxiety, depression, and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. These conditions often go untreated in detention, where access to psychiatrists and counselling services is severely restricted (Gros & Groll, 2015). In a sense, detention works in tandem with earlier experiences of violence to prolong suffering and impede recovery.

Upon release, former detainees continue to struggle with the material and psychological consequences of detention and displacement. Without programs to aid with re-entry for long-term detainees, and sometimes still without official status, health coverage, or a work permit, many former detainees remain constrained by the circumstances surrounding their admission into the country. For some, the trials of integration are aggravated by a deep sense of disillusionment with the society to which they had hoped to belong. "I remember the shame," says Kimora Adetunji, reflecting on her family's stay in detention when she was just eight years old. "Afterwards, we weren't allowed to talk about it," she recalls, "there was so much stigma" (Nasser, 2017a). Only as an adult, when her own husband was apprehended by CBSA officers and placed in detention, did Adetunji realize that Canada's system of indefinite detention was still in place. It came as something of a shock: "It doesn't fit with who we are as Canadians," claims Adetunji, now herself a Canadian citizen. Twenty-five years after arriving in Canada, however, she's fighting to keep her family together. Pictured at a rally held outside the Toronto Federal Court in May 2017, she holds her son in one arm, and a sign with the slogan "End Immigration Detention" printed across it in the other.

Adetunji's story illustrates the unexpected ways in which detention can re-emerge in the lives of those who thought they had left it behind. Sometimes it lingers as a silence or a feeling; in other cases, it continues to structure day-to-day existence in the form of regular reporting requirements to the CBSA. In different ways, former detainees are marked by their incarceration. It is difficult to generalize about these aftereffects: not everyone who is detained experiences long-lasting harms. When detention is prolonged, however, the consequences tend to be more severe (Cleveland et al., 2018; Silverman & Molnar, 2016)—influenced by a range of factors including the nature, duration and location of detention; the availability of family or community supports; the individual's financial situation and prospects of employment; legal status at the time of release; age; prior experience, and so on. For some migrants, prolonged detention gives rise to complications that make it difficult to participate in broader society, or that reinforce a sense of otherness and non-belonging.

When Kashif Ali was released from detention in CECC last year at the age of fifty-one, he confronted his newfound freedom with a combination of relief and disbelief. Asked by a reporter what he planned on doing that night, he replied, "I'm just going to go home and relax. I hope I'll feel like I'm not in the jail no more. I know it'll take a bit, but finally I'm out" (quoted in Kennedy, 2017). After seven years in detention, Ali had grown used to a maximum-security environment. His daughter eventually stopped visiting him because, she explained, "I thought he was getting too institutionalized…I just felt like seeing him in jail stopped being healthy" (quoted in Kennedy, 2017). Between 2010 and 2017, Ali spent time in four Ontario maximum-security jails and underwent over eighty detention reviews before a Justice of the Superior Court, Ian Nordheimer, eventually ordered his release (Platt, 2018). In his decision, Nordheimer notes that Ali has spent almost twice as much time in detention pending deportation "than he served as punishment for all his criminal convictions added together" (quoted in Platt, 2018). In June 2018, Ali filed a lawsuit against the governments of

Canada and Ontario alleging numerous violations of his Charter rights and seeking a total of $57.5 million in damages (Platt, 2018). Ali maintains that indefinite detention had a destructive impact on his physical and mental health, causing depression, anxiety, and auditory hallucinations (Platt, 2018).

It is commonly understood and well documented that prisoners who have suffered long-term incarceration experience tremendous difficulties readjusting to life on the outside. The phenomenon is so widespread that a term has been coined to describe it: in scholarship, it is referred to as "prisonization," meaning the process whereby offenders absorb prison culture and socialization, adopting its informal codes to the extent that transitioning back to ordinary society becomes difficult (Haney, 2002). In his study of post-prison adjustment and the psychological strains of incarceration, Chris Haney (2002) notes, "Inmates are shaped and transformed by the institutional environment in which they live…The various psychological mechanisms that must be employed to adjust (and in some harsh and dangerous correctional environments, to survive) become increasingly 'natural,' second nature, and, to a degree, internalized" (p.80). Institutional pressures can affect ex-prisoners in a variety of ways, sometimes almost indiscernibly. For those who are vulnerable or who lack social support and especially for people incarcerated long-term, however, the habits of prison life are not easily shed; these behaviours can impede re-integration, with psychological effects ranging from social withdrawal, isolation, and distrust to a diminished sense of self-worth (Haney, 2002). In Canada and the United States, various organizations offer transitional services to prepare prisoners for release and support their return to the community.

For detainees, too, detention is not easily left behind. As Turnbull (2016) notes, "Many former detainees remain 'stuck'" (p.71), constrained by difficult socioeconomic conditions or subject to a variety of restrictions associated with immigration bail and temporary admission. Compounding the social and economic strains of resettlement, there is

an abundance of evidence to suggest that former detainees suffer psychologically as a result of their confinement (Cleveland et al., 2017; Silverman & Massa, 2012). Silverman and Nethery (2015) confirm that "asylum seekers who spend extended periods of time in immigration detention before being released have much lower integration outcomes than those who were not detained for long" (p. 8-9). The impact of detention on migrants' ability to integrate and feel settled in their communities constitutes a key and often overlooked aspect of its violence. Excavating these lasting forms of violence—emotional, financial, professional, psychological—is not easy: while some detainees and their families do speak up about the impact of detention upon release, many lack the social support necessary to do so, while those whose establishment in Canada is still uncertain (permanent residents and refugee claimants) have little incentive to attract the attention of public officials. Typically, it is only the most extreme instances of harm that come to light, in media investigations and court cases such as Ali's.

For those migrants who, like Ali, are incarcerated for an extended period of time, detention can generate an awareness of inner change, mutation, or self-transformation. "My life has changed," says Toure, reflecting on the depressive and suicidal tendencies he has developed during his four years in detention (quoted in Kennedy, 2017). A recent investigation into Brook House Immigration Removal Centre in the UK, which houses both former prisoners awaiting deportation and failed asylum seekers, documents the routine violence and abuse inflicted on detainees by fellow migrants and guards. Alif Jan, an asylum seeker from Pakistan, spent just eight days there, but was marked by what he saw. "Guys were fighting with each other," he recalled, "screaming, shouting and swearing" (quoted in Holt, 2017). According to Jan, migrants who have never been in prison get "eaten alive" at Brook House: "If you are a nice person, very cool-minded, you will become aggressive – because you are facing aggressive things most of the time" (quoted in Holt, 2017). Of course,

not everyone who has been detained develops the aggressive tendencies described by Jan. Nevertheless, his comment suggests the extent to which the institutional pressures of detention can transform people in ways that may be detrimental to their long-term wellbeing and ability to form attachments.

Another way in which migrants retain the experience of detention is as an enduring, often visceral sense of fear and apprehension. Canning and Bhatia (2017), whose research is based in the UK, Sweden, and Denmark, relate the comment of one asylum seeker who responded with intense anxiety when the subject of detention came up: "The thought of going back into detention gives me a panic attack, I cannot breathe." Another asylum seeker expressed frustration at not being able to leave the traumatic memory of detention behind, explaining, "When I think about detention, I just want to forget" (quoted in Canning & Bhatia, 2017). Reactions of this kind are common among survivors of trauma, who continue to experience sudden and distressing recollections for some time after the event itself. Retention, understood as a form of traumatic remembrance, extends the violence of detention by repeatedly intruding on the present, an involuntary flashback that increases feelings of dread and nervousness.

For Harjit, a South-Asian man detained in Canada for a year, the stress of detention translated into a more pervasive sense of anxiety. Interviewed two months after release, he said:

> Before, I was fearful after what happened in my country, but there, it was when I saw a cop because I was worried they would pick me up again and torture me, or when I got here, that they would send me back. But now, even when nothing is happening, I can feel fear, it is always with me now. I have heart palpitations, tension, fear all the time… I know I am safe here, no cops here who will torture me. But on the other

hand, since being in detention my problems are always on my mind. (quoted in Cleveland et al., 2017).

A legally established refugee at the time of his interview, Harjit was no longer at risk of being detained. His unrelenting fear of misfortune is an example of the affective residue left by detention, which produces subtle alterations in the way he relates to his surroundings. Fear may also be a response to "implicit forces of racialization" that mediate one's sense of personal security and belonging (Ramsay, 2017, p. 517). The consequences of this fear for Harjit's mental health and establishment in Canada are uncertain, but his statements suggest a level of stress that will affect his sense of belonging well into the future.

As a technology of state control, detention serves not only to restrict access to national territory; it also regulates inclusion (Mezzadra & Nielsen, 2013). Those who go on to live in Canada after being detained tend to encounter further barriers in their efforts to integrate: the financial and psychological consequences of detention are such that many people remain constrained by a traumatic and difficult past. After release, even after regularization, detention can remain embedded in psyche of migrants and asylum seekers, operating as a reminder of their alterity. At the same time, many former detainees use their experiences as a basis upon which to make claims. Considered in this light, retention is double-edged: on the one hand, it describes the afterlife of an experience that is disempowering and degrading. In most people, it evokes memories of abuse, anxiety, and neglect, contributing to "a loss of self as a competent, autonomous adult" (Cleveland et al, 2017, p. 6). On the other hand, consciously retaining and speaking out against these injustices enables some migrants to regain power and agency. Retention describes the complex ways in which detention lives on, an experience that is actively negotiated and transformed by migrants themselves.

Conclusion

In August 2016, Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale pledged $138 million to improve Canada's immigration detention system. Along with major infrastructure projects to replace the federal holding centres in Quebec and British Columbia, the government intends to expand community-based alternatives to detention, "to ensure that detention is truly a last resort" (Government of Canada, Minister of Public Safety, 2016). For stakeholders and advocacy groups eager to reduce the number of migrants in correctional facilities across the country, the investment marks a positive step toward the creation of a more humane system to deal with undocumented people. The construction of "safe, higher quality, federally-operated facilities - specifically designed for immigration purposes" means that fewer migrants will be detained in provincial prisons where access and oversight are restricted, and where the health and safety of detainees is largely outside of CBSA control (Goodale, 2016).

The plan outlined by Goodale addresses a number of key concerns raised by stakeholders and advocacy groups, many of which are reiterated in this chapter. The vulnerability of migrants in prison; the lack of suitable programming for detainees; inadequate educational opportunities; shabby, deteriorating infrastructure; insufficient mental health care, support services, and legal advice—the new detention framework promises at least to mitigate, if not resolve, some of these failings. Significantly, it indicates a willingness on the part of the current government to reform aspects of the immigration system that do not comply with international or domestic standards, and to assume greater accountability for the welfare of migrants in CBSA custody. At the same time, the announcement signals the Canadian government's continued commitment to detention as a way of regulating mobility. With an emphasis on renovating and expanding existing facilities, it entails the preservation— rather than rejection or reappraisal—of the laws and policies that underlie indefinite detention. Initiatives to "improve" immigration detention (by bringing it up to international

standards or considering migrants' mental health requirements) also lend greater legitimacy to a system of control that is increasingly widespread and normalized.

As Peutz and de Genova (2010) point out, there is growing acknowledgement that the internment and deportation of non-citizens "poses a fundamental challenge to the liberal self-image of Western democratic regimes"; yet nation-states such as Canada have been resourceful in finding ways to surmount this apparent inconsistency. In public debate, the indefinite detention of migrants (under conditions that are often substandard and degrading) tends to be portrayed either as an anomaly in otherwise inclusive, liberal societies, or else as a justified and reasonable response to the security breach represented by "illegal aliens"— individuals whose actions demonstrate a willful disregard for the laws of the receiving state. Particularly in light of the contemporary migration "crisis," there is a great deal of reluctance on the part of Western receiving states to ease or reverse deterrent policies, for fear that doing so would encourage an unprecedented and unmanageable number of new arrivals. Advocates, scholars, and migrants themselves, on the other hand, have been active in protesting amped-up border control measures that unduly punish migrants for seeking opportunity, protection, and a more secure future. But organizing around migration-related issues, even if it promotes greater sensitivity and awareness, can also feed a sense of political urgency; in fuelling the widespread perception that things are "out of control," protest and advocacy can inadvertently reinforce the need for ever more restrictive and extraordinary tools of migration management (Cornelisse, 2010).

How are bordering devices—technologies of migration management aimed at distinguishing members from non-members, those who have the legal assurances of citizenship and those whose membership can at any moment be stripped away—lived, felt, contested, and understood? Foregrounding the subjective experience of migrants, this chapter explores the temporal dissonances produced through migrant detention. In

approaching detention through an analysis of time, it aims to shed light on the complex mechanisms deployed by Western states to uphold and exploit the vulnerability of undocumented status. Indefinite detention in Canada is not an anomaly, but a highly organized and effective system of mobility control—effective in the sense that it "produces and maintains migrant 'illegality' as not merely an anomalous juridical status but also a practical, materially consequential, and deeply interiorized mode of being" (Puetz & de Genova, 2010, p. 14). The mere prospect of arrest and "removal" is enough to keep many undocumented and precarious status migrants from performing basic tasks in public, developing deeper ties to the community, or deviating from established circuits and routines. On the other hand, those who do end up in detention find their futures dependent on rigid schedules and protracted bureaucratic procedures over which they have limited control. The techniques of time management discussed here, which structure migrants' lives in and outside of detention, impose significant restrictions on the agency of undocumented and precarious status people; the "lost time" of detention is also an experience of being lost *in* time, as detainees struggle to maintain a sense of attachment to the future.

Chapter 3
Meantime activism: Patience and urgency in the work of anti-detention activists and asylum seekers in Ireland

In this chapter, I consider some of the ways in which asylum seekers and precarious status migrants reckon with and contest the effects of state-regimented time, and how the uncertainty of their present affects how they conceive of their future. Whereas the previous chapter examined manipulations of time that occur in and through migrant detention, here my focus is the relationship between asylum seekers and futurity. For those whose immigration claims are still in process, the present is usually associated with waiting and limbo, while the future holds the promise of something more: an end to the difficulty and instability of living without status. The anticipation of greater opportunity and security is a major motivating factor behind the decision to migrate.

In particular, my focus is on alternative visions of the future articulated in practices that aim to improve asylum seekers' immediate circumstances, either by rendering them less susceptible to state surveillance and policing, or by forging contact with local communities and creating opportunities for more gratifying uses of their time. To what extent, and under what circumstances, is it possible to withdraw from the temporality of waiting, or to turn it into something positive? To redeem time through its enrichment is, in a sense, to pursue alternative modes of being not reliant on normative regimes of citizenship, cultural integration and belonging. Drawing on the experience of asylum seekers awaiting refugee status in Ireland, this chapter explores the power of small, symbolic gestures such as cooking and sharing a meal with strangers to imbue time with meaning, shift public attitudes toward refugees, and challenge rigid ideas of political community. While such gestures, grounded in day-to-day experience, may seem apolitical in nature—a brief reprieve from the unrelenting dreariness of incarceration, a distraction or consolation rather than an act of contestation—I

argue that they can have a cumulative effect in countering the dehumanization of non-citizens and creating pressure for institutional change.

How do practices aimed at making the wait "worthwhile" play into or disrupt existing forms of state control over time? On the one hand, initiatives that promise to assuage the difficulties of waiting and render the passage of time more meaningful, can serve also to gloss over the more insidious aspects of border security. Increasingly, the policing of national borders is entangled with practices of care aimed at providing basic relief for vulnerable populations (McNevin, 2018; Pallister-Wilkins, 2018). Ireland's system of direct provision for asylum seekers, discussed in greater depth later on in this chapter, offers an indication of how apparently benevolent and humanitarian efforts to provide non-citizens with essential services such as housing, education, and medical care can both obscure and prolong the violence of indefinite waiting.

As Canada follows other Western, migrant-receiving states in expanding "alternatives to detention," it remains to be seen whether this endeavor represents the beginning of a more humane approach to migration management, or a way of de-politicizing the violence of protracted indeterminacy and confinement (Bagelman, 2016; McNevin, 2018). It is important to distinguish between programs that allow spatial and temporal strategies of migration management to persist under the cloak of innovation, and those that offer up at least the potential for an alternative social order. In Europe and North America, for instance, the sanctuary movement has had some success in retaking major cities as "borderless" spaces, where individuals can move freely, irrespective of their legal status. Although imperfect in its realization, the movement is a powerful example of activist campaigning that aims to dissolve state classifications of mobility (asylum seeker, refugee, migrant worker, undocumented migrant, etc.) altogether, rather than advocate for the regularization of non-status people through pre-existing categories of right (Nyers, 2013).

Given the extreme precarity of life without status, and the remarkable proliferation of bordering technologies in the daily lives of migrants—the externalization of immigration controls ranges from random police checks and other forms of racial profiling, to sanctions on the employment of "illegal" migrants and limits on their access to education-—it may be that we need a different chronometer for registering the forms of disobedience, resistance, and oppositional politics available to asylum seekers and non-citizen migrants. Conventional forms of activism are often not available to asylum seekers, whose precarious status renders them susceptible to arrest and deportation. Moreover, asylum seekers still anticipating a response to their administrative claims may be reluctant to engage in collective actions or protest tactics which might bring them to the attention of authorities. Hope plays a complex role in the lives of non-status people: it can be a source of strength and resilience, a necessary antidote to the anxiety of protracted waiting and uncertainty; but it can also be depleting, especially when repeated deferrals are involved. As discussed in Chapter Two, the anticipation of imminent release is a source of mounting frustration among detainees whose confinement runs longer than expected (Griffiths, 2014). Similarly, asylum seekers are bound to a sense of "progressive time" as they await a final determination on their applications for refugee status; feelings of anxiety, stress, and disappointment may be rationalized on the basis that the future security they aspire to is close at hand (Bagelman, 2016). As Jamal, an asylum seeker in Glasgow, puts it, life without status is a sequence of "little hopes, little things that keep me busy, keep me from making some really different life" (quoted in Bagelman, 2016, pg. 38). Whether the goal is citizenship acquisition or resettlement, the aspiration toward something "greater" induces migrants to cooperate with bureaucratic procedures and helps to make present injustices more permissible (Bagelman, 2016).

I use the term "meantime activism" to describe collective organizing by asylum seekers and non-status migrants that attempts to use waiting as a resource through which

they can forge ties to the local community and invest time with meaning. The chapter opens with a discussion of Gordon's (2011) work on haunting and abolition, arguing that patience (carrying on) is integral to the process of social transformation, rather than a form of submission or compliance. The second part of the chapter provides a brief overview of "direct provision" in Ireland, before moving into a case study of food-based activism in Dublin. The third part expands on the concept of meantime activism in relation to the case study. In part, framing anti-detention activism as a "politics of patience" is about developing an alternative vocabulary of political action and agency capable of registering the covert forms of resistance and opposition at play in situations of extreme domination and precarity.

Part I: Redeeming time and the urgency of waiting

Fourteen years after the publication of her genre-bending book *Ghostly Matters,* the sociologist Avery Gordon followed up with a brief essay entitled "Some thoughts on haunting and futurity." In it she revisits the concept of "haunting" and meditates on its relationship to social change, revolution, and the slow work of abolition. Haunting, as Gordon (2011) defines it, is one way of thinking about the lifecycle of social violence: the aftereffects of abusive systems of power as wide-ranging as capitalism, colonialism, slavery, militarism, and imprisonment. In ways that may be more or less apparent, these systems leave residues in everyday life that tend to gum up the future, even or especially "when their oppressive nature is continuously denied" (Gordon, 2011, pg. 2). Haunting describes a breakdown in the smooth progression of time, the growing consciousness that "what's been repressed or concealed"— what should, in other words, have been laid to rest long ago—"is very much alive and present, messing or interfering precisely with those always incomplete forms of containment and repression ceaselessly directed towards us" (Gordon, 2011, pg. 2).

While Gordon (2011) is primarily concerned with the violence of slavery and mass incarceration and the work of eradicating these systems, I introduce some of her concepts here to consider their relevance to contemporary techniques of migration management, particularly migrant detention. Among detainees, undocumented migrants, and other non-citizen groups, there have been impressive instances of organized protest, activism, and resistance—take, for instance, the mass hunger strike undertaken in February 2018 by 750 Eritrean and African asylum seekers to protest the conditions of their detention in Israel's Holot desert camp (Lidman, 2018); the class action lawsuit filed by former Manus Island detainees against the Australian government in 2017 (Doherty & Wahlquist, 2017); or the successful public campaign launched by over 1000 non-status Algerians in Montreal in 2006 to demand regularization (Nyers, 2010). The rise of undocumented activism and self-organizing on the part of non-status groups has prompted a rethinking of notions of citizenship, to better account for the concept's fluidity and dynamism (Isin, 2008; McNevin, 2013; Nyers, 2010; Rygiel, 2011). In this vein, Engin Isin's (2008) theory of "acts of citizenship" foregrounds the role of outsiders and aliens (individuals who may or may not have formal status) in performatively constituting themselves as political subjects through their rights claims. For Isin (2008), acts of citizenship involve a creative break from established modes of political expression (the "habitus" of citizenship)—a moment of rupture that destabilizes ideas about who is capable of political action, or whose actions count as political.

Still, it is important to acknowledge that large-scale, subversive acts on the part of non-citizens remain the exception rather than the rule: part of the violence of bordering technologies such as deportation and detention is that they narrow the scope for conventional forms of agency and activism, which involve heightened risk for non-status people due to the public visibility they entail. A potential weakness of Isin's (2009) "acts of

citizenship" framework is that, in highlighting the disruptive quality of the act (its capacity to break with or reorder the political), it downplays the significance of "small happenings…which come to cohere and sustain a radical intent" (Darling, 2014, pg. 84). It is not only through definitive moments of rupture that non-citizens constitute themselves as political agents, capable of motivating social transformation, but also through more surreptitious strategies of endurance that help to sustain the work of abolition (whether of slavery or other forms of detention) over the long term. In contexts of suspended temporality, seeking forward momentum is itself a political act through which populations marked as "disposable" demonstrate "an integrity and fortitude that's impervious to the contingencies of institutionalized dehumanization and domination" (Gordon, 2011, pg. 16).

Given that anti-detention, anti-deportation activism is normally focused on outcomes—a moratorium on deportations, the release of incarcerated individuals, or the abrogation of inhumane practices such as solitary confinement and family separation—how does a shift to the temporality of "the meantime" allow different notions of agency to come to the fore? The appeal of Gordon's (2011) approach, for me, has to do with her attention to quiet, everyday, even individual forms of resistance—the subtle ways in which prisoners and other socially marginalized groups navigate their own routine degradation and reassert autonomy over their lives. In its focus on strategies of coping, survival, and perseverance, her work offers a compelling alternative to conventional accounts of migrant activism, which tend to privilege acts of resistance that are episodic, radical, and transformative. Instead, Gordon (2011) challenges us to think about social transformation as a daily practice, one that can provoke moments of rupture, but that also involves incremental change: expressions of agency and strategies of refusal that are integrated into "the doing of the sentence" (pg. 16). I will return to the idea of "meantime activism"—social transformation rooted in everyday experience—later on. The next part of this chapter introduces a case study of non-citizen

activism in Ireland, briefly contextualizing the project through a discussion of Ireland's accommodation system for asylum seekers. A refugee-led initiative aimed both at abolishing direct provision, and at improving the conditions of daily life for asylum seekers inside the system, Our Table attests to the importance of small-scale, creative acts of resistance in crafting alternative visions of community.

Part II: Non-citizen activism in Ireland

Direct Provision and Dispersal

Ireland's system of Direct Provision and Dispersal (DPD) was introduced in 2000 in response to an influx in asylum seekers entering the state (Loyal & Quilley, 2018). Conceived as an interim measure to provide newly arrived migrants with basic accommodation (including food, heat, and shelter) for up to six months, DPD involves the coercive dispersal of asylum seekers from a reception point in Dublin to regional centres across the country (Loyal & Quilley, 2018). In the eighteen years since its inception, DPD has evolved into a semi-privatized system of indefinite containment much like detention. According to statistics released by the Reception and Integration Agency in July 2018, over 1200 DPD residents (22% of the total) have been living in direct provision for three years or longer, while 243 people (4.4%) have been there for six years or more; the average length of stay is around 24 months. At the end of June 2018, there were a total of 35 reception and accommodation centres spread out across 17 of Ireland's 26 counties (Reception and Integration Agency, 2018).

Inside DPD accommodation centres, the movement of residents is heavily surveilled and controlled. There is a policy of compulsory, daily sign-ins, as well as mandatory registration with the Garda National Immigration Bureau, a unit of Ireland's national police force. Instead of the usual social welfare payments offered to Irish nationals, asylum seekers

receive a diminished personal cash allowance of €21.60 per week (Citizen's Information, 2018). In some centres, canteen-style meals are provided three times a day, strictly during scheduled hours; others provide self-catering facilities or communal hobs where residents can cook for themselves using ingredients provided by management (Tyndall, 2018). Although conditions vary considerably between centres, DPD has been the target of heated criticism by a variety of non-governmental organizations and rights groups as a system of institutionalized poverty that places undue strain on vulnerable people, hinders their integration into mainstream Irish society, and operates as a form of deterrence (Loyal & Quilley, 2018; NASC, 2008). Numerous reports document the adverse, often overcrowded living facilities, poor nutrition, and inadequate healthcare access provided to asylum seekers (Barry, 2014; Irish Refugee Council, 2013; McMahon, 2015; NASC, 2008; Tyndall, 2018). A recurring theme in these reports is the poor quality of the food, which is widely considered by residents to be culturally inappropriate, inedquate, and insufficiently nutritious (Barry, 2014; McMahon, 2015; NASC, 2008). As with migrant detention in Canada, there is evidence to suggest that the system of direct provision exacerbates pre-existing mental health concerns among residents and contributes to high rates of depression, especially for those whose stays are prolonged (McMahon, 2015). Considered in this light, DPD is less a system of humanitarian care than it is a technology of exclusion, designed to facilitate the efficient deportation of asylum seekers already on Irish territory and to discourage the possibility of future arrivals.

In much the same way as migrant detention, the entire system of direct provision seems designed to rob incarcerated individuals of any sense of futurity, and to reduce the occasions for organized and individual resistance (Griffiths, 20114). Asylum seekers are held indefinitely without prior notice as to when they will receive residency, if at all. Residents frequently describe feelings of boredom, monotony, social isolation, anxiety, and loss of motivation resulting from the uncertain length of their confinement, as well as the gruelling

daily conditions of life in DPD. A 2014 investigation into direct provision conducted by *The Irish Times,* entitled *Lives in Limbo,* presents video testimony from a number of asylum seekers inside the system. Speaking on a range of subjects, from education and parenting to mental health and financial stress, the interviewees offer a powerful sense of the human impact of DPD, and the myriad ways in which it interferes with life plans (O'Brien, 2014). Heidar, an Iraqi refugee profiled in the investigation, reflects on the five years he spent in DPD with his family before gaining refugee status: "For so long we were living with so many questions. What would happen to us? Why is this taking so long? How would we manage? The future was unknown. Life was blocked. It caused me and my wife much stress and upset" (quoted in O'Brien, 2014). Indeed, it is common for residents to describe their stay in direct provision as a period of stagnation in which both their personal development and social advancement are on pause. Another asylum seeker, quoted anonymously in McMahon's (2015) report, describes the experience of DPD as a kind of slow death: "As we kill the time, time kills us" (pg. 272).

The sense of aimlessness, of time going to waste, shared by so many residents can be attributed in large part to the lack of educational and vocational opportunities available in DPD. Prior to June 2018, asylum seekers were prohibited from working or carrying out any form of business. A Supreme Court decision issued earlier this year ruled this ban unconstitutional, so that DPD residents now have restricted access to employment after half a year. However, there remain serious concerns as to the feasibility of stable employment for non-citizens: in order to secure "Permission to Work" (a permit which remains valid for six months before it has to be renewed), applicants are required to pay fees between €500 and €1,000 (Citizen's Information, 2018). Moreover, the list of sectors to which non-citizens may apply is limited, and excludes positions in hospitality, healthcare, social work, childcare, marketing, and sales, among others (Pollak, 2018). Children are able to pursue primary and

secondary education for free but cannot access third-level education without paying

exorbitant overseas rates (McMahon, 2015). As Palesa, a young woman quoted in the *Irish*

Times report, reflects, "I've been sitting at home doing nothing, going around and around in

circles and waiting. I don't know how long I'll be waiting to go to college" (O'Brien, 2014).

In general, asylum seekers are denied the opportunity to structure their own time through

work, study, and leisure activities: in some accommodation centres, even tasks such as meal

preparation are outsourced to private catering companies, leaving residents powerless to

manage their own consumption or enjoy communal eating rituals with friends and family

members (Tyndall, 2018).

For those who do eventually receive refugee status, this empty, protracted waiting

time can have serious ramifications over the long-term. The "lost time" of direct provision

produces gaps in people's education and employment history, making it difficult for some to

find work and housing upon release. Jeffrey (2008) notes that the pressures of waiting may be

particularly intense for young people, who end up falling behind on important landmarks of

adulthood, such as graduation, marriage, and financial independence. A report prepared by

the Free Legal Advice Centre (2009) observes, "Being denied the right to work and having

very limited access to educational or training opportunities results in individuals becoming

deskilled and unmotivated" (pg. 127). The implication is that the protracted waiting and

inactivity of life in DPD not only puts refugees at a disadvantage relative to their peers and

societal expectations of success, but also that it shapes subjectivity. For some, the acute stress

and inactivity of DPD can result in diminished confidence, the loss of work-related skills, a

deterioration in physical or mental health, and a more negative outlook on resettlement

(McMahon, 2015).

Is it possible to reconcile the idea of patience as a political tactic and technique of

resistance, with the waiting to which disposable and surplus populations are already subjected

in a variety of contexts? As explored in the previous chapter, border controls not only diminish the public visibility of non-status migrants; they also compromise their felt sense of "durability," their ability to set down roots and enact permanence. By prolonging the uncertainty of the asylum-seeking process, periods of protracted waiting make it difficult, if not impossible, for prospective refugees to formulate long-term plans; accumulate assets; pursue higher education or vocational training; develop social networks; or otherwise reclaim a sense of stability and social purpose.

For those caught up in direct provision, the slowness of the asylum-seeking process works to inhibit integration and keep non-citizens subordinate. In certain contexts, however, waiting can also be a resource that affords opportunities for critical reflection, negotiation, collective action, and cumulative change. As Janeja (2018) notes, "Modalities of waiting are shaped not only by those who make others wait, but also by those who wait" (pg. 8). Underscoring the relationality of waiting is important because it invites consideration of the ways in which non-citizens respond to and push back against the temporal constraints that are imposed upon them, both in detention and elsewhere. The next section introduces Our Table—a food justice project aimed at providing stimulation and relief to DPD residents—as an example of "meantime activism": activism that seeks not to break with the temporality of waiting, but that is rather intended as a way of turning it into something constructive. In part, activism "in the meantime" is about finding ways to surmount the frustrations of waiting and expose the violence of state-regimented time. Particularly in the context of migrant detention, where the institutionalization of time makes it difficult to manage daily affairs or undertake long-term projects, initiatives aimed at enriching the waiting period (rather than interrupting it or cutting it short) can help to nurture a sense of hope and belonging. Our Table demonstrates how patience can serve as a basis for collective action, a form of revolutionary

politics that privileges cumulative, incremental change over acts that are overtly confrontational.

Our Table

The idea for Our Table arose after Ellie Kisyombe, its co-founder, had already been in direct provision for five years. An asylum seeker originally from Malawi, she came to Ireland in 2000 (the same year direct provision was introduced) and was sent to an accommodation centre in the town of Ballyhaunis, Mayo soon thereafter (Hynes, 2018). According to Kisyombe's own account, the first years of her stay in DPD were gruelling: she struggled with boredom and anxiety, the absence of her children who remained in Malawi, and the lack of community with her co-residents, many of whom suffered from mental health conditions (Hynes, 2018; Kisyombe, 2017). Without a clear sense of when she would be released, or how to structure her life in the meantime, she fell into a severe depression. In an interview with the *Irish Independent*, she recalls the extreme monotony that came to define her existence: "Life was waking up, go to the canteen, have breakfast, go back to bed. Wake up again at 12, go get lunch. Wake up again at 5pm and go get dinner" (quoted in Hynes, 2018). Kisyombe's bleak characterization of her daily routine in DPD is a reminder of the relationship between waiting and "stuckedness," a term Hage (2003) uses to describe a particular attitude toward waiting in which one feels is devoid of the tools necessary to change one's predicament (Hage, 2003). Among detained migrants and asylum seekers, this understanding of time as a source of oppression, rather than a resource, indicates a profound sense of disempowerment, an inability to see how one's own actions in the present might effect change or bring about a desired future. Finding ways to enrich the waiting period, whether through collaborative activities or personal enterprise, can thus be an important way of nurturing what Appadurai

(2013) calls "the capacity to aspire": developing the internal and psychological resources necessary to pursue goals (both personal and political) that may seem distant or far-fetched.

During this period, food became one of Kisyombe's only points of contact with fellow residents. But even eating can be a dehumanizing experience for those in DPD; among residents, complaints about the quality, healthfulness, and cultural appropriateness of meals are pervasive (McMahon, 2015; Tyndall, 2018). The impact of food on family life and the transmission of important cultural traditions is a particular source of concern to some parents, who worry about the inter-generational implications of being unable to cook for their children (Barry, 2014; McMahon, 2015). A report published by Nasc, the Irish Immigrant Support Centre, in 2014 describes the negative food situation as "a daily and continual stressor that exacerbates the other multiple stressors faced by asylum seekers living in direct provision" (Barry, pg. 9). The observation is an apt one, illustrating how quotidian, seemingly inconsequential forms of control overlap with and exacerbate the more fundamental anxiety associated with indefinite waiting. In most centres, asylum seekers gather in austere cafeteria halls to eat meals prepared by private catering companies, generally with little regard for the cultural, religious, and dietary needs of residents (Barry, 2014). There have been documented incidences of residents choosing to go hungry or become vegetarian rather than eat the meals provided by staff (Barry, 2014); in 2017, the shop at Mosney centre was discovered to be selling expired food products (Farmilo, 2018). Foremost among the private corporations supplying DPD accommodation centres is the American catering group Aramark, which operates in over twenty countries worldwide and holds 50 percent of the market share of food services in Ireland (Farmilo, 2018).

Gradually, Kisyombe learned to cope with the anxiety and depression she had experienced shortly after arriving to Ireland. Campaigning against the conditions of her incarceration provided an outlet for some of the frustration she felt at being unable to control

the most basic aspects of her existence; she developed a reputation as an outspoken critic of the country's asylum-seeking process and an advocate for her peers. As she was moved from one accommodation centre to the next, Kisyombe sought ways to provide distraction and relief to herself and her peers: "We started groups in the centre doing little things like sewing. Then I was moved, but at every centre I went to I was keen to find things to do that could make us active." (Kisyombe, 2017). With the help of a local convent, she organized a community garden where residents could grow their own vegetables. Upon being relocated to a hostel near Dublin, Kisyombe was approached by the Irish Refugee Council (IRC) to become a volunteer representative for the organization (Maguire, 2018).

The idea of using food as a form activism and solidarity-building came about as a result of her internship with the IRC. After a chance meeting with Michelle Darmody, an Irish business-owner and food columnist, the two women began to organize a series of informal social gatherings at a local cultural centre, where asylum seekers were given access to a kitchen and invited prepare meals with friends and supporters (Kolb, 2018). Eventually, these gatherings were made accessible to the public in the form of a pop-up café, which held its first major two-day event at the Project Arts Centre in Temple Bar in February 2016 (Maguire, 2018). A further two-month temporary café was financed through a crowdfunding initiative on the platform FundIt: the campaign was successful in raising €11,465 from 179 sponsors—exceeding its funding target of €10,000 by 14% (Our Table, 2016). Nearly three years after its inception, Our Table has evolved into a non-profit restaurant and catering company with twelve employees on payroll—some of them former DPD residents who have since been granted refugee status—and twenty-five registered volunteers (Maguire, 2018). Its menu is inspired by the diverse food traditions of people in direct provision (Murphy, 2018). Hummus and hot sauce prepared by the Our Table team are available for purchase at the Good Food Store near Temple Bar (Hynes, 2018).

As its title implies, Our Table uses food (its preparation and sharing) as a vehicle to promote community, civic engagement, and a sense of personal empowerment among DPD residents. Through a combination of social media, public relations, and in-person networking, the organization works to raise awareness about direct provision and to address some of its repercussions on residents: the myriad ways in which the system compromises asylum seekers' physical and mental wellbeing. Beyond simply campaigning to end DPD, the project attempts to shed light on the daily conditions of life in accommodation and to render visible the violence implicated in seemingly mundane or inconsequential forms of control. In particular, there are two main policy goals advanced by the organization: the (unrestricted) right to work, and the right to cook (to enjoy healthy, culturally appropriate food). In different ways, each of these prohibitions contributes to the degradation and endangerment of DPD residents, who are largely unable to pursue life goals, find sources of distraction and stimulation, or make productive use of their time while in confinement.

A response to the cruelty of being denied temporal autonomy over one's daily existence, Our Table presents itself as a way of attenuating the psychological strain of prolonged inactivity, turning the meantime into an active, future-oriented state. Insisting on the importance of work as a source of validation, dignity and self-assurance, Kisyombe explains "As asylum seekers, we are unable to shape the course of our own lives—we're completely in limbo! Unrestricted working rights would allow us to look after ourselves, provide for our own needs and get back our dignity" (quoted in Maguire, 2018). While non-citizens are barred from employment in the food services industry under the current job access scheme (Citizen's Information, 2018), they can participate in the café on a volunteer basis, helping to trial new recipes and prepare dishes for the wider public. The organization also offers opportunities for paid, part-time employment to recently resettled refugees, helping them to acquire training and establish a network of contacts in the hospitality

industry ("who we are," 2016). By offering experience and certification to paid staff members and volunteers, Our Table helps refugees and asylum seekers them to regain a sense of purpose after the "confidence-stripping" experience of DPD ("who we are," 2018). Moreover, presenting asylum seekers in a professional setting (even if they are working without pay) is a way of reshaping public opinion about migration: stereotypical representations of asylum seekers as passive recipients of aid, or else as economic migrants eager to take advantage of social benefits, are thrown into question through their active participation in the local community. In this way, Our Table performs a subtle discursive shift from viewing asylum seekers as "deportees-in-waiting" to seeing them instead as "citizens-in-waiting" (Haas, 2017).

As a form of temporal enrichment—what Gordon (2011) refers to as "redeeming time," making "a space of freedom in the space of death" (pg. 16)—Our Table draws inspiration from the materiality of food and the slow process of preparing a meal from scratch. In stark contrast to direct provision, where eating happens unceremoniously in an institutional setting, the pop-up restaurant provides participants with an opportunity to rediscover the pleasure of cooking familiar recipes for friends and family members: every aspect of the process, from shopping for ingredients through to plating, serving and gathering around the table, is an occasion for reflection and storytelling. For recently arrived asylum seekers who are struggling with displacement and the stress of protracted uncertainty, cooking can be a deeply affective experience that evokes nostalgic remembrances of the past, soothes anxiety, and promotes bonding. Describing some of the early cooking events organized by herself and Darmody, including one where they prepared *matoke* (a Ugandan dish made of spiced mashed bananas, served with beef and beans), Kisyombe recalls the powerful effect the event had on some of the women: "It was the first time they had eaten these things since they left, and it was upsetting and emotional. They hadn't had an

opportunity to chop an onion for months and here they were cooking food from home"
(quoted in McGuinness, 2017). For Kisyombe, food is a form of embodied remembrance
that reconnects migrants with cultural practices, skills, and traditions. Understood as a
conduit for both cultural knowledge and personal memory, the act of preparing food
becomes a therapeutic device for dealing with the trauma of displacement, restoring a sense
of autonomy over daily life.

Beyond its role in empowering current and former DPD residents, there is an
important symbolic dimension to Our Table as well. In inviting Dubliners to eat food
prepared by non-citizen migrants and recently accepted refugees, Our Table reverses the
relations of "guest" and "host" on which practices of sanctuary are typically based (Squire &
Darling, 2013). Just as waiting is a taken-for-granted aspect of the asylum-seeking process, so
too is it a basic requirement of eating out: standing in line, waiting to be served, conforming
to a business's hours of operation; at Our Table, however, it is non-citizens and refugees who
set the pace, while the Irish public is the clientele. Not only are participants given the
opportunity to provide for their "providers" (the responsible citizen/customer), but they are
also encouraged to engage in political discussion with customers and speak out about the
injustices of direct provision. As stated on the website, Our Table aims "to create nurturing
and empathic spaces where people can gain skills…[and] knowledge of the Irish food
industry…We create spaces where information is shared and obtained, and want to open
conversations with political leaders" ("who we are," 2016). For Kisyombe and Darmody, the
communality of food makes it an ideal platform for bridging distinctions between migrants,
asylum seekers, refugees, and Irish citizens—bringing people from diverse backgrounds
together to facilitate meaningful exchange and dialogue, and to counter the depoliticization of
refugees (Squire & Darling, 2013).

For would-be refugees and established residents alike, the café is a space of conversation and dwelling, where opportunities for personal connection multiply. At a time when mainstream media are saturated with images of refugees fleeing desolation; asylum seekers in boats at sea; migrants and children in detention; and other such "unruly" acts of border crossing (Hodge, 2015), this emphasis on first-hand interactions is significant. It offers a rare chance for members of the public to hear directly from asylum seekers about their experiences, and the difficulties they face in direct provision. At the same time, the intimacy of interpersonal exchange as a basis for political dialogue is clearly at odds with the spectacularization of the migration "crisis" in mainstream media and public discourse. Reflecting on the organization's success as a means of fostering greater inclusion, Darmody explains, "It's been really uplifting, amazingly. Just hearing human stories, and talking about memories for people, the same as any group of people would" (quoted in Mullally, 2016). For Darmody, Our Table is a hub where non-citizens, resettled refugees, and long-term, local residents can come together regardless of status. By promoting a greater sense of familiarity and ease among diverse members of the community, Our Table sheds light on the reductive nature of categorizations such as "refugee" and "asylum seeker" —administrative classifications which fail to capture the complexity of human experience, and the embeddedness of non-citizens in communities from which they are formally excluded. In a sense, these face-to-face interactions are a way of soliciting a different kind of response on the part of community members and political stakeholders—one based on patient, attentive listening rather than the politics of crisis and emergency-response.

Part III: "Meantime activism"

In countering systems of oppression, it is crucial to separate the exigency of change, the imperative to do *something* and do it fast, from the need for solutions that are durable,

creative, and unpredictable. "The something-to-be-done," Gordon (2011) explains, "is almost always responding to an emergency…Nonetheless, it must be approached with an urgency that's autonomous and self-directed towards ends and aims not wholly given permission by the system's logics or crises but rather invented elsewhere and otherwise" (p 8). Such is the challenge posed by the ghost: to eliminate the conditions that produced it, but also to respect it, to pay heed to its needs and let the haunting play its course. In part, this means learning the difference between waiting and complacency, recognizing that patience can be an effective strategy for countering the frenetic temporality of catastrophe which so often accompanies policy-making and political discourse on issues of migration.

My interest in Gordon's essay, which ends with a discussion of prisoners and the trials of "doing time," has to do with its emphasis on endurance, duration, and the conflicting temporalities of social change. Central to her analysis, and to this chapter, is the question of how you live in a given social order while also trying to transform it. When a ghost appears and demands attention, what next? On a collective scale, Gordon (2011) offers abolition as an example of a political movement that integrates slowness and waiting into revolutionary politics. Referring to the worldwide movements to abolish slavery and captivity, and, more broadly, to destroy "the capitalist world order known today as globalization or neoliberalism," Gordon (2011) writes, "Abolition recognizes that transformative time doesn't always stop the world…but is a daily part of it, a way of being in the ongoing work of emancipation, a work which inevitably must take place while you're still enslaved, imprisoned, indebted, occupied, walled in, commodified, etc." (pg. 8). On the one hand, abolition demands patience, the recognition that emancipation is not a singular historical achievement but an evolving practice of freedom. (If there's anything to be learned from the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 or the Britain's Slavery Abolition Act, which came into effect in 1834, it's that systems of economic and racial domination have a way of outliving

the legalistic proclamations that announce their end.) On the other, the work of dismantling these systems must begin now, while the full scale of their violence is still coming to light. Gordon's (2011) essay is thus a reminder of the temporal unevenness that accompanies revolutionary processes: transformation does not happen overnight, nor through some smooth, linear progression, but in fits and starts. To incorporate "the meantime" into practices of resistance is to refuse the facile temporality of sudden transformation, a before and after when emancipation has been achieved.

While Kisyombe and Darmody are explicit about the need to dismantle direct provision, their project is distinctive from anti-detention initiatives that adopt a more disruptive, adversarial approach, usually in the interest of eliciting an immediate response from political stakeholders. In detention centres around the globe, for instance, migrants have used hunger strikes and practices of self-harm (the sewing shut of lips, eyes, and ears among detainees in Australia and Britain being a notable example (Bulman, 2018; Saul, 2015)) as a means of garnering media attention and public support. In August 2016, Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale responded to a nineteen-day hunger strike by immigration detainees in Ontario with the announcement that Canada would be investing in alternatives to detention (prisonersolidarity, 2016); detainees at the same prison have since gone on hunger strike again to request a meeting with the Minister about his proposal (Davis, 2018). These bodily protest tactics are an attempt to supplant the slow implementation of bureaucratic change with the sudden disintegration of the body's core biological functions, sending the message that detainees have lost patience with the policymakers and state administrators on whom their wellbeing depends. Strategically speaking, they are intended to build an atmosphere of mounting pressure for key demands to be met, giving a kind of ultimatum to government officials who are forced to make their position—or their indifference—known. How far will the protesters push themselves? How long will politicians or healthcare workers

wait before they are forced to intervene? By putting their health and even their lives at risk, non-status activists make explicit the urgency of their demands, and the pressing need for solutions to end their brutal and inhumane treatment (McNevin, 2013). At same time, in bartering people's futures against a desired outcome, collective actions of this kind implicitly affirm the overwhelming power of the state to determine the course of non-citizens' lives.

Urgency—the sense that time is running out or in short supply—plays an especially prominent role in anti-deportation organizing. Due to the quick turnaround between notice of removal and deportation (in Canada there is an appeal period of 30 days before you must leave the country, while in the Ireland it is defined as 15 working days), non-citizens and their advocates must mobilize quickly to defend their right to stay. As Griffiths (2014) notes, "Deportations almost always entail an accelerated sense of time, with a desperate panicked rush of trying to contact solicitors, MPs and friends and family" (pg. 1999). Amid this frenzy, strategic acts of disruption (including public demonstrations and delegation visits) can be an effective way of introducing friction into the process, slowing down the speed of removal so that other elements of the campaign have a chance to take root (Nyers, 2006). Indeed, one of the primary advantages of direct action delegation visits as a method of protest is that they sow confusion and disorder: by occupying the offices of immigration officials, who are typically operating against a massive backlog of casework, non-status migrants and their allies put substantial pressure on management to agree to a private meeting (Nyers, 2006). In this way, non-citizens bring "their own personal 'states of emergency' directly to the state apparatus" (Nyers, 2006, pg. 58). Interventions of this kind, in generating disruption and commotion, can help to create momentum for bureaucratic overhaul or a review of specific procedures.

In contrast to the anti-detention initiatives described above, which reinforce a sense of emergency or chaos (even if they do so by *delaying* the state apparatus of deportation), the

temporality of Our Table is grounded in an acceptance of slowness and waiting. Of course, these contrasting temporalities are also a reflection of circumstance: asylum seekers under a deportation order cannot always afford the patient assertiveness of detainees or undocumented migrants. Meantime activism is, in sense, a way of repurposing the state's temporal techniques of control and turning them to one's advantage. "This is just a statement of how people who are stuck in the system can actually do things that can be meaningful to this society," Kisyombe explains (quoted in Akl, 2018). On one level, her comment implies a certain modesty with respect to the organization's political aspirations: allowing asylum seekers to work is a "win-win," in the sense that it attenuates the anxiety of indefinite waiting, while offering potential benefits to the receiving state. Indeed, there is a troubling tendency for anti-detention organizing to actually reinforce some of "the terms under which injustice is sustained" (McNevin, 2013). McNevin (2013) describes this as the "ambivalence" at the heart of undocumented activism: for undocumented activists, gaining recognition usually also means reinscribing "the power relations associated with contemporary hierarchies of mobility" (pg. 183). In the context of Our Table, for example, one might ask whether Kisyombe's entrepreneurial spirit, along with her emphasis contributing to society and overcoming oppression, re-entrenches a divide between those who are "deserving" of citizenship and those who are not; those with the strength and resilience to turn injury into virtue, and those who are "fated to a life of abandonment and spectrality" (Gordon, 2011, pg. 15). On another level, Our Table moves beyond this neoliberal rationale (extending citizenship to individuals who demonstrate productivity and self-responsibility) by asserting migrants' belonging as an already-established fact of their informal participation in the community. Refugees are not simply vulnerable people in need of protection, Kisyombe suggests, but empowered individuals and de-facto community members whose confinement inhibits them from participating more fully in civil life.

In her study of sanctuary practices based in Glasgow, Bagelman (2016) poses another challenge to the idea of meantime activism—the notion that social transformation can occur by enriching the waiting period or turning it into a more positive, productive experience. In the UK, there has been a proliferation of grassroots activities aimed at easing the difficulties associated with protracted waiting and affording protection to those without the legal advantages of citizenship. In Sheffield, for example, the Terminus Initiative, led by a group of local churches, has taken the lead in providing stimulation and support to non-status people, including refused asylum seekers and those still awaiting status determinations (Squire & Bagelman, 2012). Among Terminus's core activities is a weekly Conversation Club where migrant women meet with more established residents to practice their English language skills, and a community café run principally by migrants and asylum seekers for local residents (Squire & Bagelman, 2012). Glasgow, for its part, has established an internship program linking asylum seekers with avenues for volunteer work and career development (Bagelman, 2016).

In principle, these sanctuary practices offer a reprieve from "the bureaucratic and marginalizing experience of waiting" that characterizes asylum and immigration processes (Bagelman, 2016, pg. 35). They allow migrants to develop a range of professional skills and personal contacts, asserting their presence in ways that would otherwise be risky or inaccessible. The problem with such initaitives, for Bagelman, is that they "ease" the anxiety of waiting without actually delivering on the promise of inclusion. Instead of opposing the politics of suspension, Bagelman (2016) writes, "They function as a form of governentalizing process, inducing asylum seekers to commit to the rules of the game, while simultaneously trapping them in an endless cycle of waiting and deferral" (pg. 39). For Bagelman (2016), finding ways to busy migrants as they wait is less a tool of empowerment than it is a way of inducing patience—subduing people who might otherwise be motivated to voice frustration

about their experiences. Her analysis is an important intervention into some of the ideas explored in this chapter: by lending hope to asylum seekers and keeping them occupied, activities aimed at enriching the waiting period can also serve to appease migrants, so that the work of resistance appears less urgent.

While it is important not to minimize the violence of indefinite waiting, or to imply that the difficulties of living without status can be overcome with a little resourcefulness on the part of non-citizens (Bagelman, 2016), we must not discount the role of small-scale acts of resourcefulness and disobedience in transforming public opinion and generating new ideals of political community. In creating opportunities for professional development, personal connection, conviviality and storytelling, initiatives such as Our Table prompt a reimagining of detention to include humane practices the authorities didn't anticipate. Over time, and in combination with other forms of political and legal advocacy, these activities may have a cumulative effect, contributing to a shift both in our perception of non-citizens, and in our treatment of them. Having an excess of time on one's hands can also create certain advantages, insofar as it allows for more sustained forms of participation and public engagement to take root. "I might not have money, but I'm rich," says Kisyombe, "I've got richness in me. That's something I can use to get out of this situation. I have a company that I am responsible for. I don't get money, but I pay people" (Hynes, 2018). Seeing the meantime—that period in-between past and future, when "a repressed or unresolved social violence is making itself known" and "the present seamlessly becoming 'the future' gets entirely jammed up" (Gordon, 2011, pg. 2)—not simply as a moment of blockage, but rather as a period of gestation, richness, and potential, is central to the politics of Our Table. Indeed, part of what's so refreshing about the project as an example of anti-detention organizing is that it refuses to subordinate residents' daily experience to the goal of abolishing

DPD. Rather, it approaches the task of eliminating direct provision through the slow, incremental process of transforming asylum seekers' daily conditions of existence.

In an interview with RTE, Kisyombe insists on the importance of activities that alleviate the strain of indefinite confinement: "You have to find ways to cope with the system of direct provision, particularly for your mental health, so I started to try and think of ways to help other asylum seekers…Not being able to cook or taste your own food is terrible. We are living a life of poverty in direct provision" (quoted in Murphy, 2018). Asserting the right to work and to convivial, healthy eating as on par with—indeed, as an integral component of—putting an end to the system altogether is indicative of the organization's more patient, sustained approach to the work of abolition. At stake for Kisyombe is not simply the elimination of direct provision as such, but a more fundamental transformation of "the conditions that produce the haunting in the first place" (Gordon, 2011. pg. 5).

In his essay "Hesitations before socialism," Raymond Williams (1989) uses the phrase "carrying on regardless" to describe the patience, commitment, and psychological perseverance required to pursue radical or idealistic agendas, particularly when the odds appear to be stacked against you. To carry on regardless implies an element of willful blindness: not naivety, exactly, but rather a certain obstinacy, courage, and optimism in the face of slow, incremental change and the likelihood of imperfect outcomes. Temporally, it suggests at once the urgency of change—a sense that work towards a better future must start right away, before it's too late— and an element of surrender to "the wait," patience based in the recognition that transformation can't happen all at once, and that certain ends have yet to be imagined (Gordon, 2011). While Williams' (1989) has in mind something quite specific—the persistence and perseverance of socialist thinkers, who carry on advancing ideals of an equitable alternative to capitalism even when their failure or insufficiency appears inescapable—his insight could just as well be used to describe the stubborn determination

with which non-citizen migrants inside detention protest their incarceration, or the radical politics practised by undocumented migrants in their efforts to claim equal rights. The notion of "carrying on" evokes powerfully the situation of Kisyombe, whose creativity, entrepreneurialism, and ingenuity stand in stark contrast to the reality of her ongoing confinement. Here we see how "the meantime," despite its usual connotations of liminality and temporal insignificance, can also be a period of profound movement, personal discovery and self-crafting.

Conclusion

Since establishing Our Table, Kisyombe has become something of a spokesperson for DPD residents: she has been published in The Irish Times and The Times (one of Britain's highest-selling newspapers), interviewed on RTÉ Radio (Ireland's principal public-service broadcaster) and was a featured speaker at the 2017 conference Women's Voices in Ireland, organized by University College Cork. Through her involvement with Our Table and the non-profit sector, she has developed a large network of business contacts and an impressive social media following (Kolb, 2018). While her immigration status remains in question, Kisyombe's extensive involvement in the community not only throws into relief the injustice of her continued deportability (and that of others involved in her project), but also destabilizes clear-cut distinctions between citizen and asylum seeker (Squire & Bagelman, 2012, pg. 157). For migrants eager to stake out a claim and assert political belonging, undertaking long-term collaborative projects can thus be means of short-circuiting citizenship as the primary basis for civil participation.

Reflecting on the French migrant camp at Calais, commonly referred to as "the jungle," Rygiel (2011) points out that, in addition to operating as technologies of exclusion, control and containment, zones of detention are also places where migrants *live*. In other

words, these camp-like, carceral settings—part of an emerging global network of spaces of abjection—also give rise to unanticipated opportunities for sociality and agency. Rygiel (2011) writes, "For spaces of detention are sites of contestation that can be used by migrants … as resources to navigate border controls, reimagine political community and subjectivities and through which migrants engage in practices of citizenship" (pg. 1) For Rygiel (2011) the meaning of the camp is continually being renegotiated through the political struggles and social relations that emerge within it. In this sense, the camp at Calais was not only created for migrants, but also *by* them: it was both a "space of exceptionality," in Agamben's sense, and a "political living space" where migrants erected makeshift shelters, forged ties with the outside community, and otherwise learned to navigate and cope with the many restrictions imposed on them (Rygiel, 2011, pg. 15).

Just as spaces of detention can become sites of struggle over what it means to belong, to be included, to "act" like an alien or a citizen, so too can state-imposed temporalities of waiting and delay be used as a resource to promote new forms of solidarity and political community. In the context of Ireland's restrictive refugee determination system, waiting is usually associated with uncertainty, liminality, and disempowerment: without the assurance that they will gain citizenship, see their education through, or find employment, many DPD residents grow depressed and lose hope. They fall prey to a system that, through its degrading treatment of migrants (the denial of healthy food, higher education, access to employment, space for learning and play), undermines their incorporation into society: "Living they nonetheless appear as if and are treated as if they were dead" (Gordon, 2011, pg. 10). Activities that convert this "dead time" into something productive and personally meaningful are not only surprising—an expression perseverance in conditions of extreme domination; they also nurture inspiration and hope among others who (either through direct participation in the project, or by learning about it second-hand) begin to see that another kind of

existence might be possible: an existence riven free from "the putatively inevitable repetition of the degradations and depredations that injure us" (Gordon, 2011, pg. 4).

 This chapter introduces the phrase "meantime activism" to describe collective organizing by non-status migrants that attempts to make use of "the wait"—to convert the protracted uncertainty and liminality resulting from immigration and border controls into a productive, politicized state. While activist initiatives of this kind are limited in their capacity to fully break with the progressive, linear temporality of citizenship acquisition, they nonetheless help to minimize the corrosive effects of state-controlled time by expanding opportunities for interpersonal connection, dialogue, and solidarity-building. In so doing, they pose a potential challenge to immigration controls that impose on people's time and, in some cases, relegate whole categories of people to a condition of indefinite temporariness (de Genova, 2010; Mezzadra & Neilsen, 2013; Ramsay, 2017). Such initiatives, I argue, are more than simply a way of getting by, buying time, or easing the strain of the wait; they can also be viewed as an example of "abolitionist radical thought in practice—a working out of an alternative to the social death sentence in the doing of the sentence" (Gordon, 2011, pg. 16). Through small-scale community organizing and initiatives that enrich the day-to-day of existence, undocumented migrants and asylum seekers become active participants in the arduous process of waiting. Apart from increasing public awareness of the inhumanity of border controls, including detention and deportation, these actions shed light on some of the ways in which time can be creatively re-appropriated to claim permanence in the face of disposability (Appadurai, 2013).

Summation

This thesis has considered the uses and effects of temporal distortion—waiting, acceleration, deferral, disruption and delay—in migration management, shedding light on the violence of bordering practices that infringe on people's ability to regulate and make sense of their own time. Apart from keeping migrants and asylum seekers at a physical remove, in legally ambiguous zones where their rights and access to due process are severely curtailed, border controls also generate temporal "ambiguity" by making it difficult to see how actions and events in the present will play out over the long term. In extending the "limbo" period associated with displacement, strategies of migration management not only heighten the vulnerability of irregular migrants—rendering them more susceptible to mental illness, anxiety, exhaustion, exploitation, and financial strain—but also, I have argued, compromise their prospects of successful integration once they have "arrived" at their destinations. The subordination of non-citizen status is maintained by temporal rupture and distortion in ways that sow uncertainty in the lives of undocumented and irregular migrants, and create a sense of disconnect with the rhythms of social life. While some navigate the process of resettlement with relative ease, others are marked by an enduring sense of precarity, instability, and apartness that undermines their sense of personal security and belonging, and negatively influences their social mobility.

In Chapter One, I explored the use of information campaigns (ICs) as a tool of migration management. In keeping with the logic of deterrence, ICs aim to reduce the number of "spontaneous" arrivals by highlighting the dangers of unauthorized mobility. Attributing migrants' vulnerability to the profiteering and abuse of nefarious criminal networks, such as human traffickers and smugglers, they send the message that irregular migration is a needless risk—one that can be avoided by providing people in source regions

with a more accurate picture of the journey ahead. This emphasis on education rather than interdiction distinguishes ICs from other bordering technologies (carrier sanctions, visa requirements, offshore camps and the like) that impede the onward movement of undesired migrants. While ICs offer a bleak vision of the migration process, they can be said to affirm the power of individual choice, appealing to potential migrants' capacity for rational and informed decision-making.

I argued that ICs are indicative of a growing convergence between discourses of humanitarianism and practices of containment. On the one hand, ICs represent a potentially more humane alternative to the violence of front-end enforcement; they offer insight into the laws, regulations, and policies that govern international migration, equipping people with helpful resources to avoid suffering and exploitation. On the other, they perpetuate damaging stereotypes as to the naivety and ignorance of non-white peoples, whose high rates of migration are taken as evidence of a failure to appreciate the associated risks. Refracting complex issues of migration and displacement through individualized stories of human suffering, they at once naturalize the idea that mobility involves strife and obscure the role of border controls in increasing migrants' precarity.

While this chapter does not directly address the theme of temporal borders, it illustrates some of the ways in which time can be used to mask the violence of bordering practices. For governments in the West, reaching out to potential migrants ahead of time is a way of exhibiting concern for their future wellbeing—a gesture of humanitarian goodwill ostensibly motivated by benevolence as well as self-interest. The speed of digital media is such that states can rapidly communicate policy changes and keep potential migrants apprized of their rights. At the same time, there is an element of paternalistic condescension in the notion that ICs can easily predict migrants' thought processes and influence their behaviour. The underlying assumption is that information is a source of empowerment,

disconnected from wider relations of privilege and inequality that structure migratory flows. Considered in this light, providing populations overseas with "fair warning" as to the risks of illicit movement is also a way of deflecting moral responsibility for the suffering that ensues when migrants fail to heed this warning.

As an approach to migration management, deterrence is predicated upon the idea that migrants and asylum seekers—especially those whose arrival is unanticipated—pose a security risk to Western states. "Illegal immigrants," as they are sometimes referred to, are criminalized on the basis that their clandestine movement violates territorial sovereignty and threatens the cohesiveness of national identity (Ibrahim, 2008). In a further sense, spontaneous arrivals also represent a *temporal* affront to the nation, conceived as "a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history" (Anderson, 1983, p. 26). As Mountz (2010) writes, "Spontaneous arrivals pit the human agency of the refugee claimant who employs determination and expends resources to migrate, against the preference of nation-states to select their own immigrants and refugees from a pool abroad" (pg. 5). The thousands of kilometers of ocean separating Canada from top migrant source regions in Africa and the Middle East put it at a major advantage relative to countries in Europe, for instance, which have devised complex strategies of border "externalization" in order to limit movement into and between EU member states. Through technologies of acceleration and deferral (such as the EU "hotspot" system, established for the purpose of receiving, registering, sorting, and redirecting asylum seekers arriving at high-traffic points along the Mediterranean), Western states ensure that the timing and speed of new arrivals is in step with perceived social and economic needs (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013). In Canada, on the other hand, the vast majority of migrants and asylum seekers arrive "by invitation," having already been screened for criminal, security, or health risks, and evaluated in terms of their potential to integrate (Mountz, 2010). While the Trudeau government has been vocal in its

support of asylum seekers (the pledge to resettle 25,000 Syrians was a major component of the Liberal campaign platform in 2015) (Liberal Party of Canada, 2018), it exhibits a strong preference for Convention status refugees (those who are preselected for resettlement in their countries of origin, based on the UNHCR refugee determination process) over irregular migrants and spontaneous arrivals, such as those entering via the United States.

In Chapter Two, I examined migrant detention as a technology of temporal control that exacerbates the trauma of displacement and undermines integration. In a sense, systems of detention and containment represent a prolongation of the spatial ambiguity associated with refugee camps and frontier zones *inside* sovereign territory. Warehoused in sites where their activities can be closely monitored, would-be migrants and refugees are unable to develop ties to the wider community or begin the arduous process of resettlement. Many are troubled by a sense of temporal disconnect with the outside world: the knowledge that while they remain "stuck," significant personal or historical events are unfolding in their absence. Particularly in Canada, where there is no legislative limit on the length of detention, the passage of time is linked to feelings of depression, disempowerment, and isolation. Whereas in the criminal justice system, prisoners count down the days they serve as part of a sentence, for long-term detainees, time goes in the opposite direction: detainees count "up" the days until release, with no certain end in sight.

Drawing on a combination of detainee testimony and prison literature that describes the trials of "doing time," I argued that time can be a tool of state control in its own right—a governmental strategy for producing exhaustion and compliance. Uncertain as to if or when they will be released; anxious at the prospect of sudden deportation; stifled by the strict regimentation of time, including set hours for eating, waking and sleeping; separated from friends and family members—detainees experience the temporal constraints of detention in a variety of ways. Even those who never undergo detention in their lifetimes may be adversely

affected by it: not only friends and family members coping with the loss of a loved one (the emotional and financial strain of their removal as well as the logistical complications of regular visitations); but also those undocumented and precarious status migrants whose everyday life is "vexed with precautions…overshadowed by a diffuse but persistent terror—the fear of detection, arrest, detention, and deportation" (de Genova, 2016, pg. 7).

As discussed in Chapter Two, foregrounding the temporal effects of border controls on migrants' everyday existence and longer term life expectations is important because it reveals them to be far more diffuse systems of control than spatial analyses would suggest. It is not only the lived experience of detention, but also its ever-present possibility that inhibits non-status migrants from rooting themselves in the communities of which they are a part. The stress of detention is such that many migrants develop mental health complications over the course of their confinement; those who are eventually released into the community may suffer from lasting symptoms of anxiety and stress (especially in cases of prolonged detention) or find that their initial impressions of Canada as a multicultural and inclusive society have been irreparably damaged. This is one way in which state control over time reproduces migrant "deportability," as both an ontological and a juridical condition: in promoting inactivity, uncertainty, and a sense of detachment from the ordinary rhythms of social life, strategies of temporal control help state administrators and members of the public alike to see non-citizens as fundamentally "removable."

In some cases, however, the temporal disturbances detention creates can be generative of new attitudes and orientations toward the future. Indeed, it is not uncommon for former detainees to speak out about their experiences and engage in forms of political advocacy, either on their own behalf or to protect others from undergoing the same injustice. In Chapter Three, I offered a counterpoint to the idea that enforced periods of waiting undermine migrants' ability to feel settled and invest themselves in future projects. Based on

Avery Gordon's (2011) insight into "prison time" and the slow, painstaking work of abolition, I argued that state-imposed temporalities of waiting and delay are also arenas of subject-making through which incarcerated individuals push back against their own degradation and dehumanization.

I introduced the concept of "meantime activism" in order to capture the generative potential of liminal time, as a source of contestation and patient re-imagination that allows new power formations to emerge. Whereas waiting is usually associated with stagnancy, passivity, and anxious anticipation, the example of Our Table demonstrates how it can also be a period of subtle transformation, as migrants and asylum seekers develop modes of personal or political expression that the authorities didn't anticipate. Under certain conditions, the protracted waiting period involved in the asylum-seeking process affords migrants the opportunity to undertake creative projects and assert their presence in ways that defy statist distinctions between "citizens" and "non-citizens" (Squire & Bagelman, 2015). These small-scale acts of resistance and resilience can have an incremental effect in shifting public perceptions of non-citizens and reconfiguring established ideas of political community.

Thinking about time itself as barrier to resettlement involves an expanded conception of bordering practices, to account for the violence of procedures that disrupt or defer belonging. Even when they are no longer in effect, technologies of migration management such as detention, visa restrictions, and other forms of state intervention can remain embedded in the psyche of migrants, along with their material conditions of existence. Time "out of joint" is time that cannot be relied upon to flow seamlessly from the present or to produce knowable outcomes. As this thesis has demonstrated, border controls that deny irregular migrants and asylum seekers autonomy over their own time are not simply benign, administrative procedures; rather, they strengthen a global regime of mobility control through

which it becomes possible to see irregular and precarious status migrants as undesirables,

indefinitely foreign to the nation.

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