Everyday Experiences of Statelessness in the UK

Eleanor Miriam Cotterill

Submitted to Swansea University in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Swansea University

Swansea University
Prifysgol Abertawe

E·S·R·C
ECONOMIC
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COUNCIL

October 2021

Abstract

This thesis explores the everyday experiences of stateless people residing in the UK. Through a slow, creative, participatory methodology, this study grounds and expands understandings of everyday statelessness using scrapbooking techniques. By conceptualising statelessness as a lived experience, this thesis expands understandings of the status beyond an abstract legal conundrum or category of non-citizenship. This conceptualisation does not discount statelessness as a legal phenomenon, but acknowledges statelessness as a complex political, social, and cultural status rooted in lived experience. A focus on everyday topics (services, home and leisure), exposes how statelessness becomes present taking multiple forms, emerging through and impacting mundane spaces and encounters. Revealing the ambiguities and contradictions in and through the everyday lives of stateless persons. However, the multiple banal forms of statelessness can make the condition seem intangible and elusive. Creative approaches to research are a means to bring to the fore the overlooked and challenge the settled. Through creative, ethnographic research with stateless individuals in Cardiff and London, this thesis explores how creative, participatory research methodologies can be ethically utilised with vulnerable populations. Using feminist methodological approaches, this study develops and employs scrapbooking as a form of elicitation with stateless persons. The approach is critically examined: asking what alternative insights into statelessness does a slow, participatory, creative approach elicit? It demonstrates how the highly visual practice of scrapbooking assists stateless participants to reveal previously hidden everyday experiences, emphasising in layouts their principal concerns and raising awareness of their everyday lives in the UK. Through revealing everyday experiences of statelessness in the UK, this thesis challenges the narrative that the status is exceptional, demonstrating that statelessness is ever-present and ongoing throughout the everyday in the UK.

Declarations and Statement

Declarations

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed... ████████████████████████████████ ....

Date......08/10/2021...

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

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I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

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The University's ethical procedures have been followed and, where appropriate, that ethical approval has been granted.

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Acknowledgements

This thesis would simply not have been possible without the help, support, and encouragement of some incredibly kind and special people.

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisors for their untiring support throughout the PhD journey. A big thank you to Angharad Closs Stephens for encouraging me to keep trying to apply for PhD funding and urging me not to compromise on this project. Thank you to Amanda Rogers for your always honest and constructive feedback. Thank you both for your thoughtful insights. I would not have pushed myself and explored some of the themes included in this thesis if it were not for your valuable suggestions. I know at times it was difficult to keep me on track, I know I must have been frustrating, but thank you both for your understanding and patience. Also, thank you to Chris Muellerleile for joining the team halfway through the project. Your external insights were really helpful when I was very far down the rabbit hole of this project.

Thank you to the ESRC Wales Doctoral Training Centre for funding this PhD project. The open funding call made this project possible. Thank you for providing opportunities to attend international conferences and summer schools which have undoubtedly enriched this project.

This thesis is for P, S, Q, A, W, K, N and M. You know who you are and this thesis would not have been possible without your input. This project is for you. Thank you so much for your time and your trust in myself and the project. Thank you so much for sharing your stories. I hope this work has done justice to your powerful experiences, helping to raise the profile of statelessness and provide the vital evidence for wider, long-term change in the UK.

Thank you to the individuals and organisations who supported this project from the outset. Thank you to Chris Nash and Nina Murray from the European Network on Statelessness. Thank you for taking the time to discuss gaps in statelessness research at the beginning, I hope this project has now filled those gaps! Thank you to Laura Van Waas and Amal de Chikera from the Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion.

Thank you for always being supportive and providing many opportunities for interdisciplinary scholars of statelessness, international activists, NGO's, politicians, artists and UN representative to connect and share their knowledge. Being apart of these diverse international networks has undoubtedly benefitted this project, and I hope, in turn, this project can assist others. A special thank you to Cynthia Orchard. You have been incredibly supportive of this project from its inception, always providing valuable advice, helping to design a realistic study, connecting me with participants and advertising workshops. This project would not have happened if it was not for your kind help and advice – so thank you. Finally, thank you to Sister Ruth, Sam Parker and other volunteers and Space4U, Cardiff. Thank you for welcoming me into Space4U and trusting myself and the project. Thank you for encouraging members of the Space4U community to participate and allowing me to conduct the project during the hours of the drop-in. Thank you also for supporting me when the research did not go to plan, when I was accused of being a Home Office spy. Your overt support really helped myself and the project.

Thank you to the Swansea Geography community. I have spent the majority of the last ten years working and studying with you all and I have had the most amazing time. Thank you all for your help and support at research colloquiums, shut up and write sessions, in the Wallace corridor and the pub. I could not have completed a PhD in any other department. Special thanks to Lucy Jackman for establishing a Swansea study base in Bristol and Franz Bernhardt for always being a listening ear. Thank you so much for being a great sounding board and peer pressuring me into writing.

Thank you to the members of the Global PhDs on Statelessness network. Our interdisciplinary discussions have been so helpful to conceptualise statelessness for this project. It has been great to have a supportive space to examine the many issues specific to global statelessness.

Thank you to my lovely family. Thank you to my Mum and Dad, Sheila and Chris, for encouraging me to continue my studies and research. Thank you for your steadfast advice and support from my first PhD application to submission. Thank you both for your last minute proof reading! Thank you to my fantastic sister Alicia and her partner

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List of Abbreviations

1951 Convention - 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees

1954 Convention – 1954 United Nations Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons

1961 Convention - 1961 United Nations Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness

ARC – Application Registration Card

BRP – Biometric Residence Permit

ENS – European Network on Statelessness

EU – European Union

GP – General Practitioner

ISI – Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion

PTSD – Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

SDP – Statelessness Determination Procedure

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

1. Introduction

1.1 Moments from the Field

Moment 1: *"We are here and nobody cares, and we're not even on the system, we're not, we're not registered. We're just here and very much – and I know that someone from the Home Office will disagree – um we can't be deported, yet we can't have a life here because we entered illegally … You live on the margins, everyone is around you can see you, none can officially help you … They can help you up to a point … but beyond that point you become (3) an unwelcome addition. And then you have just to push through the days."* (P, 2019)

Moment 2:
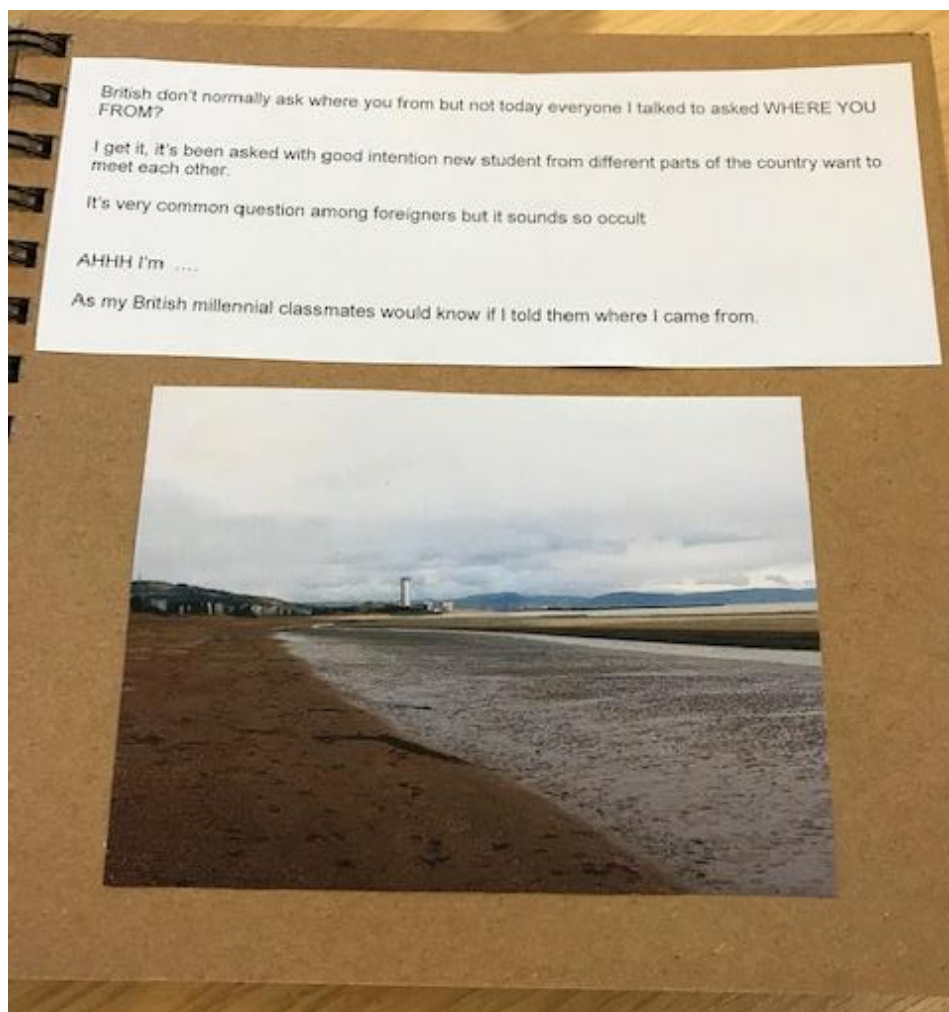
Figure 1: P's Scrapbook (Source: Author, 2019)

Moment 3: *"My crisis has passed, but I can try and make it easier for people in my shoes in the future ... This will hopefully shed light on so many misconceptions and educate people on why people come here, their struggles and feelings"* (P, 2019)

These three moments from the field are taken from three different instances with one participant. These moments illustrate the central concern of this thesis - that conceptualising statelessness as an everyday geographical experience can advance our knowledge and understanding of this concept beyond an abstract legal problem. These moments also highlight the key themes of this thesis: the consequences of the everyday carceral conditions imposed on the lives of stateless persons in the UK: the long-lasting effects of statelessness in everyday encounters; and the everyday necessity of enduring the conditions imposed by statelessness. Finally, these moments also exhibit the scrapbooking methodology developed and utilised throughout this research project. This demonstrates how a creative approach can elicit alternative narratives, new knowledge and nuanced understandings of statelessness.

I was privileged to work with P for just under a year, from May 2019 to March 2020. During this time, we regularly met at the local refugee and asylum seeker drop-in centre in Cardiff. Once a week or fortnight, we would grab a coffee, sit in the communal space, discuss and scrapbook everyday life. This happened to be an extremely eventful year for P. After 12 years attempting to legally regularise his immigration status in the UK, at the beginning of the project P was officially recognised as stateless by the UK government and granted leave to remain as a result. This official recognition by the UK state enabled P to access basic services which many of us take for granted. Finally, he was able to open a bank account, apply for a provisional driving license and a place at university. These three moments from the field are taken from different encounters at fluctuating points on his journey from an unrecognised stateless person to official legal status in the UK.

The first moment is taken from an encounter shortly after P gained leave to remain as a stateless person in the UK. During this moment he reflects on his 12-year journey for legal recognition. He reflects on the frustration at how, despite being

physically present, being stateless makes one legally invisible and unknowable, but also simultaneously undeportable, creating a situation of protracted liminality. He reflects how this prolonged, restricted condition impacted the everyday, how he felt excluded, forced to live "on the margins" of UK society and given no other option but to endure the stateless condition imposed on him by international and national law and practices.

The second moment is taken from P's scrapbook he produced during our meetings (figure 1). This page was compiled after he started university. Even though he was officially recognised by the UK state as a stateless person, enabling him to access many basic rights and services, this extract highlights his uneasiness around his official status. This page reveals the long-lasting effects of the stateless status in everyday encounters: how despite a legal solution being reached, statelessness has an enduring bordering power in the everyday.

The final moment is taken from our last meeting. This moment emphasises the two principal purposes of this thesis: to amplify stateless voices and to raise awareness of the stateless condition in the UK and the everyday crises endured by stateless persons.

The thesis that follows addresses these aims by telling two stories. Firstly, it divulges how statelessness is experienced by stateless persons everyday, answering the critical question "what does *being* stateless mean day-to-day in the UK?". This involves asking how, where and when does statelessness become present in the everyday, how does the legal category impact daily life, how is it coped with or *not* coped with, how is it endured? Through conceptualising statelessness as an everyday lived experience, rather than an immigration category or legal conundrum, the thesis presents alternative insights and a new vocabulary for analysing this status. In turn, these insights offer the potential for practical, innovative solutions. Secondly, the thesis reveals how creative, participatory research methodologies can be ethically utilised when working with vulnerable populations. Using feminist geographical methodological approaches, it develops and employs scrapbooking as a form of elicitation with stateless persons. It examines if and how scrapbooking with

vulnerable populations contributes new knowledge and understandings of statelessness, by asking what alternative insights into the stateless everyday does a slow, participatory, creative approach elicit? Finally, this thesis will demonstrate how the highly visual practice of scrapbooking assists in making those legally invisible – the stateless – highly visible. Therefore, this research enables stateless persons to make their previously hidden everyday experiences visible, emphasising in layouts their principal concerns and raising awareness of their everyday lives in the UK.

1.2 Research Context

Citizenship is an assumed element of identity. However, when one lacks citizenship, one is denied formal identity, left in a legal no-man's land, excluded from society (Staples, 2007). A Stateless person is defined in Article 1 of the 1954 UN Convention relating to Statelessness as "a person who is not considered a national by any state under the operation of its law" (UNHCR, 2014, 9), creating the ultimate "other" to citizenship (Sigona, 2016). Being without a formal contract with a state, a stateless person can be barred from education, employment, healthcare, owning property, marrying legally, registering the birth of a child, and detained for prolonged periods (Green et al, 2009). The stateless are deprived from public spaces that allow them to appear, speak and act (Gündoğdu, 2015). Consequences include destitution, homelessness, depression and exploitation (Veikou, 2017, Asylum Aid, 2016). No government takes responsibility for their protection; a "Homo Sacer" not to be sacrificed, but if killed, nobody would be condemned (Agamben, 1998, 71).

This circumstance is not new. In 1949 the United Nations identified Statelessness as a phenomenon as old as the concept of nationality (Sigona, 2016). In the 1400's, Spain expelled the Jewish population and in the 1500's, France expelled the Huguenots (Weiner, 1992). Writing in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, Arendt (herself a stateless person) described how millions of people were rendered non-human through denationalisation procedures and forced migratory movement. She summarises their position:

"Once they left their homeland they remained homeless, once they had left their state they became stateless; once they had been deprived of their human rights they were rightless, scum of the earth" (Arendt, 2017, 349).

Human rights ceased to exist for them because "it turned out that the moment human beings lacked their own government and had to fall back upon their minimum rights, no authority was left to protect them and no institution was willing to guarantee them" (Belton, 2015, 908). Human rights are assumed to be universal and inalienable. Draper states "one cannot stop being human, no matter how barbarously one is treated" (2016, 1). Arendt's analysis aims to demonstrate that such rights are alienable in practice. Rights are ascribed to citizens rather than human beings, as human rights were predicated on the assumption of their protection through the nation-sate system. Therefore, those outside the system are excluded. Stateless people lose the "right to have rights" (Arendt, 2017, 388). Arendt continues "the calamity of the rightless is not that they are deprived of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, or of equality before the law and freedom of opinion … but that they no longer belong to any community whatsoever. Their plight is not that they are not equal before the law, but that no law exists for them; not that they are oppressed but that nobody wants even to oppress them" (2017, 386-387). Staples (2012) maintains that statelessness serves as evidence of the limits of international norms and institutions.

It is argued that statelessness is ever present in the modern world due to the increase in violent geopolitical events, including both of the Gulf wars, the civil war in Syria and genocide of the Rohingya in Myanmar (Stokes-Dupass, 2017). Most recent estimates suggest that 15 million people around the world are currently stateless, however this figure is often revised upwards as new stateless populations are identified (Sigona, 2016, ISI, 2021). The UN estimates a stateless child is born every 10 minutes due to inconsistent citizenship laws (Osborn et al, 2015). Every state and continent is affected by this man-made problem (Asylum Aid et al, 2011, UNHCR, 2010).

1.2.1 Statelessness in International Law
In early debates, Refugees and Stateless persons were discussed hand in hand. Originally, the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons (1954 Convention) was designed as a protocol to the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees (1951 Convention) (Edwards et al, 2016). However, the problem of

refugees was seen as more "acute" and the need for a convention more urgently required, in contrast the elimination of statelessness was seen as a long-term issue. This separation is key in understanding statelessness: statelessness has continually been seen as a lesser problem, attracting little or no attention from the international community over the last 70 years.

Statelessness and the right to nationality are formally recognised in international law through the 1954 Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons and the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness (1961 Convention) (Sigona, 2016). These specific Conventions are situated within a broader framework of international legal instruments stressing the importance of the right to nationality. These complementary instruments include Article 15 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1949) and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of the Child (1990). Therefore, both interests in and obligations towards the problem of Statelessness extend far beyond the borders of the two dedicated Conventions (Edwards et al, 2016).

The 1954 Convention defines Statelessness and specifies the rights and duties of stateless people (Edwards et al, 2016). The primary aim of this convention is "to assure stateless persons the widest possible exercise of rights and freedoms" (UNHCR, 2020, 18), through addressing specific vulnerabilities and granting "a core set of civil, economic, social and cultural rights" (UNHCR, 2020, 18). These rights entitlements are almost identical to those provided to refugees. However, there are key differences. Stateless persons are not protected from refoulement to a threat to life or freedom, nor are they protected from punishment for illegal entry or stay (Staples, 2012, Edwards et al, 2016). Presumably, these rights were omitted as stateless populations are not necessarily outside their country of habitual residence, seen as requiring the legal remedy of nationality rather than protection. Additionally, Article 7 of the 1954 Convention states that "contracting states shall accord to stateless persons the same treatment as is accorded to aliens generally" subsequently limiting rights (Edwards et al, 2016, 292). Although, when a stateless person is also a refugee, they will enjoy protection from refoulement under the terms of the 1951 Refugee Convention. The requirements for naturalisation are also vague

in the 1954 Convention. Article 32 only states that "contracting states shall as far as possible facilitate the assimilation and naturalisation of stateless persons" (Staples, 2012, 110). "As far as possible" generates great ambiguity for this requirement.

The 1961 Convention was drafted to prevent new cases of statelessness and eradicate statelessness over time (Edwards et al, 2016, UNHCR, 2020). Before the Convention, states had been completely free to establish their own rules for the acquisition and loss of citizenship in accordance with their own interests and ideology. The 1961 Convention restricts these freedoms, requiring states to ensure acquisition of citizenship at birth (Articles 1-4), prevent the loss, deprivation or renunciation of citizenship in later life (Articles 5-9) and regularise citizenship following state succession (Article 10). Specifically, Article 9 prohibits the deprivation of citizenship on racial, ethnic, religious or political grounds. These obligations only come into effect where statelessness would otherwise result (Edwards et al, 2016). Furthermore, following the 1961 Convention and other General Assembly resolutions, the UNHCR was assigned responsibility for the protection of stateless persons (Edwards et al, 2016, Sigona, 2016), ten years after its formation to protect refugees.

Unlike the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees, to which both stateless conventions are closely related, both conventions on statelessness have attracted far fewer signatures and ratifications, despite a recent UNHCR campaign. Currently, 93 countries are party to the 1954 Convention, but fewer than 25 countries have established Statelessness Determination Procedures (SDP) (UNHCR, 2020). The 1961 Convention took 12 years to secure the six ratifications needed to come into force and to date has only 74 state signatories (Edwards et al, 2016, UNHCR, 2020). Yet, the last ten years has witnessed a renewed focus on global statelessness.

"The issue of Statelessness has been left to fester in the shadows for far too long. It is time to take the necessary steps to rid the world of a bureaucratic malaise that is, in reality, not so difficult to resolve. It is simply a question of political will and legislative energy"

Antonio Guterres, UN General Secretary (Asylum Aid et al, 2011, 12).

Over the last 10 years, the UNHCR has quintupled its budget for resolving statelessness (UNHCR, 2010). In 2014, triggered by the 60th anniversary of the 1954 Convention, the UNHCR launched the "IBelong" campaign to end statelessness in ten years - by 2024 (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016, Stokes-Dupass, 2017). To support the campaign, the UNHCR produced the "Handbook on the protection of Stateless persons" (2014) to assist governments, policy makers, administrative adjudicators, the judiciary, NGO's, legal practitioners, UNHCR staff and other actors in interpreting and applying the conventions. However, this Handbook is not legally binding and there are loopholes which allow the avoidance of obligations and prohibitions (ENS, 2017, Bianchini, 2017). In November 2017, the UNHCR produced an update on the progress of the campaign, highlighting the case of the Makonde (UNHCR, 2017). In October 2016, the Makonde, a previously stateless minority in Kenya, were officially recognised as the 43rd tribe of Kenya and granted Kenyan citizenship (UNHCR, 2017). To facilitate the process, the Kenyan government waived onerous requirements, such as evidence of continuous residency in Kenya since 1963, as well as the application fee of 2,000 Kenyan Shillings (UNHCR, 2017). However, the report also highlighted remaining cases of statelessness around the world, including the case of the Karana in Madagascar, the Roma in Macedonia and the Pemba in Kenya.

1.2.2 The State of Statelessness in the UK

The UK is party to both the 1954 and 1961 conventions on statelessness. The UK is also party to most other relevant human rights treaties, such as the Rights of the Child. Significantly, the UK was one of the first states to ratify and implement the 1961 Convention on the Prevention of Statelessness (Asylum Aid et al, 2011). As a result, British citizenship law has safeguards in place to prevent statelessness in the case of most children born in the UK or to British citizens abroad (ENS, 2018). Therefore, the majority of stateless persons present in the UK originate abroad, having travelled to the UK to claim asylum from persecution suffered as a result of their statelessness. In April 2013, the UK government introduced a procedure through which eligible people can be granted leave to remain in the UK because of their statelessness, under part 14 of the Immigration rules (Asylum Aid, 2016). The SDP provides a legal status for successful applicants; a renewable right to reside in

the UK for five years and an application for permanent residence and/or British citizenship is possible after this time (ENS, 2018, Bianchini, 2017, UNHCR, 2021). Recognised stateless persons also receive rights to work, healthcare, access to public funds and access primary, secondary and higher education. (UNHCR, 2020). A travel document can be requested but is not issued automatically. The Home Office published guidance to accompany the introduction of this procedure to explain the policy and process. These guidelines were last revised in 2019 (UNHCR, 2020). The introduction of this process is progressive, as there are only 23 other states with similar determination systems, 13 of which are in the European Union (Rouweler, 2020, UNHCR 2020).

The UK's Statelessness Determination Procedure (SDP) is managed by a dedicated unit within the Home Office. Compared to other states, there is some good practice relating to accessibility, procedural protections and status. The SDP is free and there is no time limit to complete. The relevant authority also has an obligation in law to consider the application.

However, the European Network on Statelessness (ENS) and UNHCR have identified some significant shortcomings in both procedure and practice. The UK is not party to the European Convention on Nationality, does not consider statelessness as a protection issue, does not place a time limit on detention, and the definition of a stateless person in UK law contains exclusion criteria that go beyond the 1954 convention (ENS, 2018). This permits state parties to withhold protection on specific grounds, such as refusing leave to remain to a stateless person admissible to a country of former habitual residence or if the applicant has committed any criminal activities (ENS, 2018). Additionally, paragraph 402 excludes Palestinians who are currently protected and assisted by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the near East (ENS, 2017). There are also additional procedural obstacles, such as a high standard of proof, a lack of legal aid, limited appeal rights and the potential of indefinite detention during the procedure (ENS, 2018). Furthermore, the application form is lengthy, only available in English, unclear and repetitive in parts (ENS, 2018). Applications must be made in writing in English and cannot be made orally to a public official. Whilst an application under the SDP is

being determined, the applicant is not permitted to work or receive any financial support.

The UNHCR recommends that for the SDP the burden of proof should be shared between the applicant and the decision maker and "a low standard of proof … should be applied in determining if a person is stateless" (UNHCR, 2020, 8). This approach would bring the SDP in line with asylum seeker applications. However, the UK SDP states that the burden of proof "rests with the applicant" (UNHCR, 2020, 8). Curiously, to apply, one is asked to provide official identification certificates and documentation (Home Office, 2017). Government decision makers are obliged to carry out research and enquires, but there is evidence to suggest this is not carried out consistently (ENS, 2018, UNHCR, 2020). In a recent review of the UK SDP, the UNHCR also found a lack of clarity amongst decision-makers about what is needed to fulfil the "reasonably available evidence" requirement (UNHCR, 2020). They discovered "some decision-makers had high expectations of what documentary evidence applicants should possess and/or should reasonably be able to obtain and submit" (UNHCR, 2020, 8) which was not communicated to applicants. Furthermore, not all applicants are interviewed: interviews are only conducted when decision makers cannot make a decision based on the written information provided (Bianchini, 2017). This ambiguity and discretion is not unusual, as decision makers within the Home Office do not receive specific formal training on statelessness. Poor decision making has been reported in many cases. The UK has granted only 5.2% of stateless applications since 2013 (Asylum Aid, 2016). This process is not fast. Only 30% of cases reviewed by the UNHCR were completed within the recommended six month time frame, and 60% took more than a year to resolve (UNHCR, 2020, 11).

In contrast to asylum applications, legal aid is not available in the UK for advising, representing or assisting someone who wishes to make an application for leave to remain as a stateless person. Asylum Aid (part of the Helen Bamber Foundation) and the Liverpool Law Clinic are the only two organisations in the UK who provide free legal advice on statelessness. However, the clinic has not recently had the capacity to take on referrals. Without the availability of legal aid, other solicitors are reluctant to take on such cases. The lack of appropriate legal advice and

representation leads to problems in the assessment of SDP applications (UNHCR, 2020). In their 2020 review, the UNHCR reported that some legal representatives offered inappropriate advice, indicating that specific statelessness training is needed within the profession (UNHCR, 2020). Additionally, unlike the asylum application procedure, there is no automatic right to appeal only an administrative review. These reviews are not conducted by an independent body and can only examine the decision making process, not the facts of the case.

In her article, Katia Bianchini (2017) identifies that the 1954 Convention does not protect an applicant from detention or removal while a case is pending. Stateless persons do not generally possess documentation, as a consequence they are at high risk of repeated and prolonged detention (UNHCR, 2020). UK law and policy guidance state that detention should be a last resort, but is permitted on various grounds, including when removal is imminent. However, the law does not state whether a country of removal must be identified prior to detention (ENS, 2018). By law, detention may only be for a reasonable period. However, UK law provides no time limit on immigration detention and prolonged detention has previously been found to be lawful. Legal Aid is available to challenge detention, but evidence suggests barriers to access this assistance exist in practice. Authorities do not refer people in detention to the SDP, even though a detainee can make an application from detention (ENS, 2018). This can result in the increased vulnerability of the stateless, as a person released from detention is not routinely issued with residency documents unless they have been applied for and been granted within detention. This can lead to destitution outside detention (Thorpe, 2012), potentially leading to stateless persons being re-detained (ENS, 2018). This confusion occurs in the immigration procedure, as the procedure is not designed to accommodate those outside the international state system. Detention Action identified that £75 million a year could be saved if the UK Border Agency stopped detaining non-returnable people, which could facilitate the closure of half the detention estate (Thorpe, 2012).

The full extent of statelessness in the UK is unknown. In its data collection, the UK Government only counts those people it recognises as stateless under its own SDP (ENS, 2018). Censuses in the UK do not include a "stateless" category but do

include a question on "passport held". The Ministry of Justice and prison services also do not publish any data on stateless people detained under immigration powers in UK prisons (ENS, 2018).

1.2.3 Exclusion of Everyday Statelessness

Compared to other similar areas of research, statelessness has been neglected (Edwards et al, 2016). The 1954 and 1961 Conventions are out-dated and under-approved. Triggered by important anniversaries of the UN conventions on stateless persons, there has been a recent "rediscovery" of statelessness amongst academia, international government organisations and NGOs (Sigona, 2016). However, as will be discussed in chapter two, the vast majority of this work has conceptualised statelessness as a theoretical and legal conundrum, requiring an abstract, legal solution. Through concentrating on theoretical and legal debates, this approach has excluded everyday, mundane, ordinary experiences of statelessness. The exclusion of how statelessness actually unfolds in everyday life is detrimental to the construction of tailored solutions to assist stateless persons in their day-to-day lives.

The everyday is a core feature of feminist and geographic scholarship. The everyday is associated with the mundane, ordinary, routine, repetitive and unremarkable aspects of life which are omnipresent and inescapable but frequently taken-for-granted and overlooked (Pinder, 2009). In the opening of his 2015 article, Les Back states the case of the importance of studying everyday life, "everyday life matters: it makes us take the mundane seriously and ask what is at stake in our daily encounters with neighbours or the people we brush past at the bus stop" (Back, 2015: 821). He argues that everyday life is exactly where complexities unfold, therefore offering "the opportunity to link the smallest story to the largest social transformation" (Back, 2015, 834). This observation follows Sztompka who contends that a focus on the everyday reveals "what really occurs in human society … between structures and actions" (2008, 24). For this project, the everyday facilitates an exploration of where and how statelessness becomes present in ordinary spaces (the home, high-street and community centre), through routine activities and encounters (cooking, shopping and reading). Furthermore, the everyday brings to the fore the

micro-scalar impacts of statelessness, including how statelessness is embodied (Hitchen, 2019). Therefore, a focus on the geographical everyday can facilitate deep and vivid accounts of situated, lived experience of statelessness.

A focus on the everyday lives of refugees and asylum seekers has proven to provide valuable insights into previously hidden, grass-roots experiences (Askins, 2016, Huzinga et al, 2018, Cassidy, 2019, Yuval-Davis et al, 2019), "exposing the everyday lived realities of much larger structural processes" (Mayblin et al, 2020, 121). Through the everyday, these studies have revealed contradictions between international commitments to protection and the harmful practices of governments (Mayblin et al, 2020) and inconsistencies within states between exclusionary government narratives and the everyday practice of civil society (Askins, 2016). As previously discussed, statelessness has not previously been explored through a focus on the everyday, excluding the complexities of the status which only become apparent in this domain. Following studies focusing on the everyday lives of refugees and asylum seekers, this thesis aims to fill this gap, conceptualising statelessness as a lived experience and analysing the concept through the everyday asking the principal question: what does being "stateless" mean day-to-day?

1.3 Creative Methods

How can we capture omnipresent but elusive everyday experiences of vulnerable stateless persons? Les Back appeals to us to identify methods that will "write about everyday life [in ways] that are open recognisable and legible to those who live it" (2015, 834). Creative orientations to research form a response to this call, and are a means of opening knowledge production to the more-than-rational, producing knowledge in new and different ways. Hawkins contends that such an emphasis demands the means "to engage, research and re-present the sensory experiences, emotions, affective atmospheres and flows of life" (2015, 248). Embodied, creative approaches offer the means "to grasp the messy, unfinished and contingent" (Hawkins, 2015, 248) and to bring to the fore the overlooked and challenge the settled. Feminist scholars have long contended that slow scholarship (Mountz et al, 2015) and more creative approaches enable deeper relationships to develop between researchers and "vulnerable" people (Eggleton et al, 2017, 987). It

is thought that these methods, work on at least three levels. Firstly, they facilitate access to memories or subconscious emotions which may evoke the participant's experience. Secondly, these methods simplify issues: being able to symbolically represent their thoughts may assist someone in clarifying and simplifying their intended meaning. Finally, these methods can help participants "speak their mind" (Eggleton et al, 2017, 987).

The collection of scraps and assembly into a collage has a long history in the social sciences: it has been used to experiment with data to create alternative insights, as a form of elicitation with vulnerable populations and to communicate research findings. Collage has been used in previous projects (Vacchelli, 2018b) to capture the elusive and ambiguous every-day. It is an accessible, user-friendly approach "which the basic skills of cutting and sticking that are acquired in early life can be used" (Butler-Kisber, 2017, 102). The seemingly banal process of choosing, cutting, arranging and sticking is argued to reach beyond rational cognition to capture the everyday and reveal that it is "not the familiar and banal realm that it seems to be" but is "where the marvellous exists" (Highmore, 2002, 47). Highmore (2002) contends collage holds the potential to shock; each scrap can be considered a charged fragment which, when brought into contact with other elements, produces a sort of explosive detonation.

Scrapbooking extends the process of collage to create a deeply social text (Good, 2012). Tamas (2014, 87) suggests this work involves "sorting and choosing photographs to memorialise; selecting suitable papers, inks, stamps, sprays, ribbons, sparkles, embellishments, and decorative ephemera; altering materials by glazing, painting, embossing, sewing, punching, tearing, cutting and/or "distressing them" . . . carefully assembling these materials in elaborate compositions, with or without reference to templates; adding expository captions and "journaling" in decorative text boxes; and securing all of the above with archival-quality fixatives". Alongside daily ephemera, participants can also cut and paste repurposed images from dominant print media to tell their own story, forming a "personal media assemblage" (Good, 2012, 559). "Scraps of meaning, things and experiences remain specific, discontinuous and particular, placed in impressionist compositions that reveal the

everyday" (Tamas, 2014, 90). Tamas (2014, 90) argues that "the apprehension of the everyday and celebration of its hidden wonders" is a refined tradition in scrapbooking, memorialising the brief and easily forgotten. Scrapbooking therefore offers a means for vulnerable populations to capture and document their elusive everyday which is "recognisable and legible" to them (Back, 2015, 834). The theory behind this slow, creative approach to research with vulnerable persons will be expanded in Chapter Three.

1.4 Research Questions

Through a slow, creative, participatory methodology, this thesis aims to ground and expand understandings of everyday statelessness in the UK, by using scrapbooking techniques. Three objectives emerge from this overarching goal: first, that this thesis examines the topic of statelessness in direct conversation with stateless communities in the UK. Second, that it uses scrapbooking to explore the everyday experiences of statelessness in the UK. And third, that it critically examines scrapbooking as a research method, by completing a personal scrapbook documenting the research process itself.

This agenda can be summarised in the following research questions, which frame the thesis overall:

1. What does *being* "stateless" mean day-to-day in the UK?
2. How does scrapbooking elicit new knowledge and understandings of statelessness?

1.5 Terminology

This thesis recognises the problems of "categorical fetishism" rife in international migration and citizenship studies (Crawley et al, 2017). The process of legal and conceptual categorisation is not neutral or consistent; changing across time and space. Categories are a political construction, reflecting "subjective perceptions of how people fit into different spaces in the social order and of the terms on which society should engage with them in varying contexts and at different points in time" (Moncrieffe, 2007, 1). These "categories have consequences … entitl[ing] some to protection rights and resources whilst simultaneously disentitling others" (Crawley et

al, 2017, 12). The many legal categories used in this study demonstrate that these "categories fail to capture adequately the complex relationship between political, social and economic drivers … or their shifting significance for individuals over time and space" (Crawley et al, 2017, 1). The primary purpose of a legal category is not to accurately describe lived experiences but to establish a hierarchy of deservingness and rights.

Recognising the many social and political issues of definitions and categories, for consistency, this thesis has chosen to critically employ the definition of a stateless person stated in international law. Article 1 of the 1954 UN Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons defines a statelessness as "a person who is not considered a national by any State under operation of its law" (UNHCR, 2015, 9). This definition demonstrates that statelessness is not simply a case of being "undocumented", as the term "undocumented" is used to categorise a person "who lacks any documentary proof of their legal status in a country" (ENS, 2021, 4). Therefore, an undocumented person may be considered a citizen of a state, but not have the documents to evidence their legal status in their possession. To make this distinction, in contrast to the asylum procedure, the UK SDP contacts relevant embassies for evidence of citizenship.

The international definition of a stateless person may appear fixed, neutral, and objective, but it is constantly challenged across the world by lawyers, advocates and academics (Crawley et al, 2017). These challenges result in divergences from the original definition, reflecting political, social and cultural factors in that state at that time. This can be seen in the altered definition of a stateless person in UK law. As previously discussed, the UK definition of a stateless person is limiting and exclusionary. Currently in the UK, a person can only be considered stateless if they have been granted leave to remain through the UK SDP. Furthermore, one can only be granted statelessness leave to remain if they meet the definition stated in UK law, which contains specific exclusion clauses excluding Palestinians and those admissible to a country of former habitual residence (without holding a citizenship). Due to these limitations, this thesis chose to utilise the definition stated in the 1954 convention.

British citizenship law contains safeguards to prevent statelessness in the case of most children born in the UK or to British citizens abroad (ENS, 2018). The majority of stateless persons in the UK originate abroad, travelling to the UK seeking asylum from persecution suffered as a result of their lack of citizenship. Therefore, it is possible for a person to fulfil the international definition of statelessness and seek asylum in the UK with the aim to gain leave to remain as a refugee. As this thesis utilises the definition of statelessness stated in international law, participants in this study fell under several categories of the UK immigration system; asylum seeker, refugee, undocumented and stateless under the SDP. This thesis demonstrates that these terms are not opposing binaries, as one can fall under several of these established categories at the same time, exposing the complexities and inadequacies of these labels to describe lived experiences.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter two, *The State of Statelessness,* outlines the current knowledge on statelessness. This chapter situates statelessness within established and current conceptualisations of the state and citizenship. This chapter also exposes current gaps in statelessness studies. At the time of writing, the majority of literature conceptualises statelessness as a legal category of non-membership: a purely legal problem requiring an intricate legal solution at the national and international scale. Building on scholarship of everyday geographies, this chapter lays the foundation for offering a new conceptualisation of statelessness as a lived experience. An exploration of literatures on the everyday reveal how a focus at the grass-roots level, on mundane encounters in ordinary places, uncovers previously hidden practices and understandings.

Chapter three, *Methodology: Scrapbooking Statelessness,* provides the theoretical background and reasoning for using scrapbooking as the primary methodology for exploring the everyday experiences of stateless persons. The chapter begins by outlining the difficulties faced by researchers attempting to represent vulnerable populations, positioning the problems of representing statelessness in wider, well-established feminist academic debates. Following an exploration of creative geographical methods, to ethically overcome issues of

representation, this chapter proposes a slow, creative-participatory approach. Specifically, Hawkins's (2015) exploration of an artist's book to represent place raises the possibility of a similar, more accessible, creative methodology of scrapbooking. The collection of scraps and assembly into a collage has a long history in the social sciences, used to experiment with data to create alternative insights and a form of elicitation with vulnerable populations that displays research findings. Building on this well-established theory and practice, this chapter details how scrapbooking could be used as an ethical, effective methodology with vulnerable populations over a long data collection period, situating the approach in the "Slow Scholarship Movement" (Mountz et al, 2015). In the final section, this chapter outlines the practicalities of the scrapbooking methodology, including the study design, participant recruitment strategies, practical material preparations, data analysis strategies and ethical practices.

Chapter four, *Crafting Statelessness: Experience in the Field,* critically reflects on the scrapbooking process. This chapter explores how working through the creative, "messy" scrapbooking process produces alternative narratives with vulnerable populations compared with traditional qualitative methods (Hyndman, 2001). Building on the theory outlined in the previous chapter, this chapter begins by outlining how scrapbooking encounters with stateless persons worked in practice. Initially, I arranged group workshops for participants, but this format proved inappropriate. Participants were more comfortable meeting, chatting and completing their scrapbooks individually. This chapter details how the creative, embodied, participatory methodology enabled an alternative, non-intrusive, highly flexible research encounter, allowing participants the time and space to contemplate what they wanted to share. Following Price and Hawkins (2018), I conceptualise these encounters as "care-full" encounters. Care was witnessed in the composition of each scrapbook and experienced by both researcher and participants in the development of research relationships. This chapter also explores how the scrapbooking methodology blurs the spatial and temporal boundaries of each research encounter, offering further alternative insights compared with traditional qualitative methods. Finally, this chapter reflects on my own positionality. This exploration was triggered

by an instance of mistaken identity during the data collection process, when I was told of a rumour that I worked for the UK Home Office. This section dissects and examines each aspect of my positionality to explore how this misunderstanding could have occurred and the consequential impact on the project.

Following Joe Painter's work on the "Prosaic geographies of stateness" (2006), this thesis recognises the multitude of ways the state infiltrates and weaves through everyday life in mundane spaces, practices and encounters. Furthermore, following Sarah-Marie Hall, this thesis focuses on the "geographies *in* everyday life", concentrating on encounters, relationships and spatial practices "that configure and are configured by the everyday" (2019a, 31). The following three chapters bring together empirical findings from my ethnographic fieldwork. In the same way as the state permeates the everyday, each chapter demonstrates how statelessness emerges and is contested in mundane public and private spaces, demonstrating further that the personal and political do not exist in separate spheres.

Chapter five, *Statelessness as Everyday Incarceration,* uncovers how everyday direct and indirect interactions with the UK state produce carceral geographies for stateless persons. This chapter demonstrates how encounters between the UK state and the stateless fulfil Moran et al's (2018) "carceral conditions" of intention, spatiality, and detriment. This chapter will outline "the carceral" before exploring the conditions of incarceration apparent in the everyday lives of stateless persons in the UK. These conditions being intention, demonstrated in the policy context of the hostile environment and inaccessible, complex legal procedures and spatiality, shown in the spatial confinement of borders and detention centres. This chapter will also explore how these layers of everyday, national and international incarceration create a situation of temporal carcerality resulting in feelings of "stuckness" amongst stateless persons in the UK (Hage, 2009, 97). This situation leaves those suffering feeling trapped in the present, unable to perceive any possible future. Finally, this chapter will explore the detriment inflicted on the physical and mental health of stateless persons in the UK as a result of the carceral everyday. Through conceptualising statelessness as a lived experience and exploring their everyday, this

chapter exposes the everyday limitations produced by the UK policy context and the consequences of this enforced liminality.

Chapter six, *The role of documentation in Home (un)making,* reveals how documents offered to stateless persons in the UK simultaneously influence home making and home unmaking. Following a critical geography of home, home is conceptualised as a simultaneously material and imaginative space, shaped by everyday practices, lived experiences, social relations, memories and emotions. The home is situated and therefore influenced by external political, economic, social and cultural factors, making a multi-scalar, highly fluid and contested concept. Therefore, home does not simply exist, but is continually made through everyday practices and encounters with people, places and materials (Blunt and Dowling, 2004). Following Baxter and Brickell (2014), this chapter argues that home can easily be "unmade". Instances of home unmaking need not be catastrophic, but can be mundane, allowing for instances of home making and unmaking to occur simultaneously.

Within the narrative that legal status is required to access universal human rights, official state identity documents form the critical physical evidence required to prove stable legal status and access the "right to have rights" for stateless persons (Arendt, 2017, 388, Birkvad, 2019). Within mundane encounters, identity documents are "mediators" essential to negotiate everyday life (Allard et al, 2016, 405, Hull, 2012, 253). Documents are required for employment, to open a bank account, rent property, register with a GP and purchase alcohol. Within these mundane encounters, the presence or absence of state issued identity documents are the catalyst for action, enabling one to move forward or restricting opportunities. Within this narrative, identity documents offer stability, comfort and security, the affective qualities stateless persons associated with home making. However, documents not only relate to whether people are seen or unseen by the state, but also how and for what purpose. Brinham identifies that "documents do not merely prevent and reproduce statelessness; they also produce and reproduce it in multiple ways" (2019, 168). Using Brinham's (2019) classification of documents as emancipatory, repressive and destructive, this chapter explores the complex processes of home making and unmaking initiated by identity documents issued to stateless individuals in the UK.

The final empirical chapter, chapter seven *Enduring Statelessness,* explores the everyday strategies employed by stateless persons to endure and resist the restrictive policy context in the UK. This chapter utilises Elizabeth Povinelli's conceptualisation of endurance; "the ability to suffer and yet persist" (2011, 32). Her work encourages researchers to look beyond the spectacular and consider alternative possibilities which emerge in the everyday. This chapter aims to accomplish this through exploring how stateless persons "make [their] lives liveable" (Dawney, 2020, 45) through leisure activities. Following Dawney's (2020) work exploring everyday endurance in the ruins of decommissioned nuclear sites, this chapter highlights the everyday, meaningful, personal leisure activities of stateless persons as strategies of endurance. Contrary to Agamben's narrative characterising the stateless as "bare life", an exploration of leisure practices of stateless persons also reveals their agency in everyday lives and how this power is exerted. Following Askins's research (2015), this chapter reveals a "quiet politics" emerging through friendships developed through leisure encounters. This final empirical chapter is vital to capture and fully comprehend the everyday experiences of stateless persons in the UK: constructing an "all-too-human-geography" defined by Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar as "a scene of exhaustion and endurance, diminishment and fortitude, decay and aliveness" (2019, 158).

The final chapter, *Conclusion,* pulls together key arguments made throughout the thesis. I outline the key theoretical and methodological contributions of the thesis to statelessness studies, political geography and creative approaches to research. I also detail the wider implications of the thesis through policy and practice recommendations for local and national stakeholders. The limitations of the study are acknowledged and reflected upon. Finally, I conclude the thesis with my reflections for directions of future research.

2. The State of Statelessness

2.1 Introduction

Following Chapter One's explanation of the international and national legal state of statelessness, this chapter will outline the current theoretical knowledge on statelessness.

This chapter will firstly situate statelessness within established and current conceptualisations of the state and citizenship, then outline the causes and consequences of the status for affected communities worldwide, including those made popular by Hannah Arendt and Giorgio Agamben. During this explanation, this chapter exposes current gaps in statelessness studies, as the majority of literature conceptualises statelessness as a legal category of non-membership: a purely legal problem requiring an intricate legal solution at the national and international scale. The final section of this chapter will outline scholarship of everyday geographies, laying the foundation for offering a new conceptualisation of statelessness as a lived experience. An exploration of literatures on the everyday reveal how a focus at the grass-roots level, on mundane encounters in ordinary places, uncovers previously hidden practices and understandings, offering alternative insights into statelessness.

2.2 The State and Citizenship

The term "State" originally emerged at the end of the sixteenth century in Western Europe, referring to a specific type of union where a community of people lived as subject to the sovereign authority of a recognised monarch or ruling group (Skinner, 2009). The definition of a State is not dependent upon the nature of the regime but defined by those characteristics which can be used by a regime to achieve its ends (Gill, 2003). These key characteristics of the state are stated in Max Weber's definition of the modern state and include "a centralised and bureaucratically organised administrative and legal order run by an administrative staff, binding authority over what occurs within its area of jurisdiction, a territorial basis and a monopoly on the use of force" (Gill, 2003, 2). It is argued that these characteristics are individually shared by many other organisations, but no other organisation shares all of them. Particularly distinctive is the combination of sovereignty and territory (Gill, 2003).

Within classical definitions of the state, territory is regarded as a central component. The modern State is territorially based and bounded, exercising authority within clearly defined and internationally acknowledged borders (Gill, 2003). Following the events of the 11th September 2001, there has been a global trend of further cementing these borders for nationalist purposes.

However, before the events of 9/11 and the nationalist call to reinforce territorial borders, John Agnew's article "The Territorial Trap" (1994) challenged the classical state assumption of territory. He argues that restricting the State to a territorial entity territorialises power at the national-state scale and thus denies it to other spatial configurations involving place-making and spatial interaction (Agnew, 2010). The image of a "fixed" territoriality to political organisation can no longer be taken for granted (Agnew, 2002). Fiona McConnell (2010) furthers this critique through analysing the territorial trap through the perspective on non-state polities, including dependencies, micro-states, internationalised and leased territories, stateless nations and de facto states. These "geopolitical anomalies" are not sovereign nation states with bounded territory, but they appear to act in state-like ways and strive to exist in the state system (McConnell, 2010). The very existence of these entities appear to contradict and undermine the common assumption of needing territory. Further critical analysis of the everyday functioning of these polities challenge the territorial trap, as many prosaic practices of stateness are enacted on the ground (Painter, 2006). McConnell (2010) demonstrates that the Tibetan Government in Exile (operating on leased land which remains under Indian jurisdiction) offers a functioning example of Agnew's assertion that "political authority is not restricted to states. . . and such authority is thereby not necessarily exclusively territorial" (2010, 765). However, McConnell (2010) states that these anomalies are still conceptually and practically restricted by the geographical assumptions of bounded sovereign statehood. Without legal recognition as a sovereign territorial state such anomalies cannot enter formal diplomatic relations or gain membership in most intergovernmental organisations and are therefore limited in their access to loans, capital investments and international aid. As such they are "quarantined as pariahs, excluded from the mainstream channels of international

diplomacy, existing in conditions beyond the pale of normal international intercourse" (McConnell, 2010, 763). Therefore, sovereignty over bounded territory is still the ideal which non-state polities strive towards (McConnell, 2010).

Ideology is an additional key feature of the State which is omitted in the previously mentioned definitions. The belief that states are legitimate, universal institutions with a right to wield power over individuals is, generally, unchallenged. Furthermore, the history of particular states is constructed to give the perception of "naturalness" and historical permanency that is political fiction (Agnew, 2002). The Marxist scholar, Antonio Gramsci, contends that the politics within states results in a ruling class that is able to dominate through constructing an ideological consensus around its "right" to rule and a perceived value for the whole population of decisions that greatly benefit a small elite, thus minimising the need for coercive power (Mitchell, 2009). Therefore, the modern state has been conceptualised an a "homogenous bureaucratic monolith which reaches out in an unproblematic manner to shape the lives of individuals living and working within their boundaries" (Jones, 2012, 805).

Citizenship is a highly contested concept in the social sciences. Citizenship has been defined as the legal "rights and duties relating to an individual's membership in a political community [the state]" (Mitchell, 2009, 84). It incorporates legal status, rights, political participation and a sense of belonging (Bloemraad et al, 2008). The concept involves a tension between inclusion and exclusion as it is "a fundamental condition that legally connects individuals to a number of rights, to the state and in essence to the rest of the world" (Veikou, 2017, 558). Macklin argues that "citizenship is the highest and most secure legal status one can hold in a state" (2014, 4). Through her examination of stateless individuals, Hannah Arendt makes clear that only the state has the power and institutional apparatus to guarantee the right to have rights (Bloemraad et al, 2008). Joppke (1998) additionally claims that citizenship is not just a legal concept, but it is also a cultural concept, as citizenship refers to identities and practices in which citizens constitute and reconstitute themselves as a nation. Therefore, citizenship is a slippery, multifaceted concept, "a legal category, a claim, an identity, a tool in nation building and an ideal" (Staeheli, 2010, 393). However,

what is critical for this thesis, is that citizenship forms the legal bond between the state and the citizen. This bond acts as an exchange as the citizen contributes politically and financially to the construction of the state and the state awards rights and protections for this input. This bond can be established through birth in a particular state (jus soli) or ethnic descent (jus sanguis) (Bloemraad et al, 2008, Brubaker, 1990, Castles, 2000, Castles et al, 2014, Koopmans et al, 2000). This decision is made by the "homogenous monolith" (Jones, 2012, 805) for ideological, political reasons. However, inevitably for some to be included in the state, others are excluded and are stateless, even if they are born on the defined territory of that state (belton, 2015).

Building on the first chapter, the following section will outline the causes and consequences of the status for affected communities worldwide, including those made popular by Hannah Arendt and Giorgio Agamben. During this explanation, this chapter also exposes current gaps in statelessness studies, as the majority of literature conceptualises statelessness as a legal category of non-membership: a purely legal problem requiring an intricate legal solution at the national and international scale.

2.3 Statelessness

As stated in the previous chapter, a Stateless person is defined in Article 1 of the 1954 UN Convention relating to Statelessness as "a person who is not considered as a national by any state under the operation of its law" (UNHCR, 2014, 9). Globally, 15 million people are estimated to be stateless, however this figure is often revised upwards as new stateless populations are identified (Sigona, 2016, ISI, 2021). Every state and continent is affected (Asylum Aid et al, 2011).

In the opening of her book, Siegelberg argues that "statelessness is a concept that encompasses some of the most destabilising developments of modern politics" (2020, 2). Statelessness creates the ultimate "other" to citizenship revealing the contradictions of the nation-state system identified by Hannah Arendt (Sigona, 2016). Writing in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, Arendt (herself a stateless person) described how millions of people were rendered nonhuman through denationalisation procedures and forced migratory movement. Such people

were homeless, unprotected beings that no state was willing to adopt (Belton, 2015). The international human rights regime was "premised on the idea that each human being is born with inalienable rights, human rights are taken to be a moral entitlement that are derived from inherent human attributes, such as reason, autonomy and dignity" (Gundogdu, 2015, 3). However, in practice, human rights cease to exist for the stateless because "it turned out that the moment human beings lacked their own government and had to fall back upon their minimum rights, no authority was left to protect them and no institution was willing to guarantee them" (Belton, 2015, 908). Stateless people had lost the "right to have rights" (Arendt, 2017, 388). "They might be offered food and shelter as victims deserving compassion. Or worse, their alienness might be taken as a sign of barbarity that must be banished from the human community altogether" (Gundogu, 2015, 3).

This circumstance is not new. In 1949 the United Nations identified Statelessness as a phenomenon as old as the concept of nationality (Staples, 2007, Sigona, 2016). In the 1400's, Spain expelled the Jewish population and in the 1500's, France expelled the Huguenots (Weiner, 1992). Staples argues that "the territorial reshuffling and the political and social crises following the First World War were precipitating factors in the creation of [modern] statelessness" (2007, 6). She contends that the re-drawing of territorial borders has an effect on the borders of membership, which can be witnessed through states attempts to (re)define their membership in the early 20th century (Staple, 2007), setting a precedent for the operation of modern states.

2.3.1 Causes of Statelessness

Statelessness is a completely man-made problem (UNHCR, 2010). Many stateless people are stateless in their country of birth. They have never left the place where they were born but are excluded from citizenship and therefore denied the right to belong (Veikou, 2017). This can be seen in Belton's (2015) article exploring statelessness in the Caribbean. She argues that "the stateless' sense of identity is ambiguous at best or non-existent at worst" (Belton, 2015, 907-8) and are therefore "unable to answer or are prevented from answering "where do I belong?" (908). Belton argues that this confusion is a direct result of the citizenship denial and

were homeless, unprotected beings that no state was willing to adopt (Belton, 2015). The international human rights regime was "premised on the idea that each human being is born with inalienable rights, human rights are taken to be a moral entitlement that are derived from inherent human attributes, such as reason, autonomy and dignity" (Gundogdu, 2015, 3). However, in practice, human rights cease to exist for the stateless because "it turned out that the moment human beings lacked their own government and had to fall back upon their minimum rights, no authority was left to protect them and no institution was willing to guarantee them" (Belton, 2015, 908). Stateless people had lost the "right to have rights" (Arendt, 2017, 388). "They might be offered food and shelter as victims deserving compassion. Or worse, their alienness might be taken as a sign of barbarity that must be banished from the human community altogether" (Gundogu, 2015, 3).

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deprivation practices conducted in the states of their birth, resulting in a form of forced displacement which immobilises them in place. Belton (2015) contends that although the majority of stateless populations remain in the country of their birth, they experience similar adversities as those who have been forcibly displaced, especially with regards to identity formation and life opportunities. The stateless are forced into liminality, invisibility and detached from their national home.

Statelessness can result from various circumstances, both individual and collective (Sigona, 2016). These circumstances include wars, administrative mistakes, protracted refugee situations and state succession (Goris et al, 2009, Staples, 2012). Around the world, women are at greater risk of statelessness due to gender discrimination in Nationality laws (Edwards et al, 2016). There are 25 countries around the globe which deny women the right to pass on their nationality to their children on an equal basis with men (UNHCR et al, 2019). These discriminatory laws have the potential to make children stateless for life and perpetuate the problem further, potentially creating multi-generational statelessness (Asylum Aid et al, 20110. This is due to the patriarchal view of nationality and the principle of unity of nationality within the family (Thorpe, 2012, Edward et al, 2016).

More recently in Western states, there has been an increase in denationalisation of citizens under the guise of national security (Edward et al, 2016). The stripping of their citizenship transforms the home-grown terrorist into a foreigner (Macklin, 2014). It is thought that citizenship revocation equates to a "political death" equal to the death penalty, you become dead to the state (Macklin, 2014, 7). This can be seen in the recent treatment of British citizens who left the UK to join ISIS. When Teresa May was Home Secretary, she set a precedent for stripping jihadi fighters of their British citizenship when they were abroad to prevent them returning to the UK to appeal the decision (Macklin, 2014). Therefore, Macklin (2014) contends that denationalisation is not only a political death but potentially a step towards actual death, as the state will no longer protect you. In 2016 only 14 people were stripped of their British citizenship, but this jumped to 104 in 2017 (Dearden, 2019). The most prominent ongoing case in the UK is that of Shamima Begum. Shamima left the UK as a 15 year old to join ISIS in Syria. In February 2019, the Home

Secretary at the time, Sajid Javid, announced he had stripped her British citizenship and all the rights endowed in this status which she had held since birth (Yeo, 2021). The decision was taken on the grounds that it was "conducive to the public good and Ms Begum held Bangladeshi nationality through her parents and therefore would not be left stateless" (Yeo, 2021). This has been disputed by the Bangladeshi authorities. However, before Shamima Begum could appeal the decision to strip her citizenship, her legal counsel appealed to the Supreme Court to let her travel to the UK for a fair trial. This request was denied by the Supreme Court in February 2021, and therefore the case is still ongoing (Yeo, 2021).

However, the majority of stateless persons are members of minority groups. This is due to discriminatory citizenship policies designed to specifically exclude a particular religious or ethnic community (Edwards et al, 2016). These discriminatory laws are usually put in place by a state attempting to construct an actual or perceived homogeneous national identity (Edwards et al, 2016). The effects of these discriminatory laws can be seen in Myanmar where 800,000 Rohingya people are stateless in the northern part of Rakhine State (Mandal et al, 2014). Also in the Dominican Republic, tens of thousands of Dominicans of Haitian descent were rendered stateless in Sept. 2013 following a decision of the constitutional court to treat them as non-nationals (Mandal et al, 2014).

However, it must be noted that as statelessness is entirely manmade, it is also a condition that changes over time, "dynamically created and recreated by sovereignties in their own interests, defining the vulnerable in ways that affirm the invulnerable, and in the process revealing changing domestic values and changing power relations across international boundaries" (Kerber, 2007, 9). Therefore, a global phenomenon, but not a homogenous one (Sigona, 2016) with causes "that lie both outside the state and within it" (Blitz et al, 2009, 94). Often, stateless populations become so marginalised that even when legislation changes to grant access to citizenship and they become theoretically eligible, they encounter obstacles such as the high cost of actually obtaining citizenship and documentation or of travelling to the place where they can obtain it (Asylum Aid et al, 2011).

2.3.2 Consequences of Statelessness

Citizenship is a presumed element of identity. However, when one lacks citizenship, one is denied formal identity, left in a legal no-man's land, excluded from society (Staples, 2007). A stateless person can be barred from education, employment, healthcare, owning property, marrying legally, registering a birth and detained for prolonged periods (Goris et al, 2009, Green et al, 2009, UNHCR, 2010). In Myanmar, only 4.8% of stateless girls and 16.8% of stateless boys complete primary education, compared to 50.9% and 46.2% of other boys and girls (UNHCR, 2010, 11). They are deprived from public spaces that allow them to appear, speak and act (Gündoğdu, 2015). Consequences include destitution, homelessness, depression and exploitation (Veikou, 2017, Asylum Aid, 2016). Staples states that "the stateless person is a creation of the international, yet must remain invisible to international law and politics, or endure a tense relationship with the state whose presence s/he troubles" (2007, 21). The condition is self-perpetuating. The effect of marginalising whole groups of people across generations may severely affect the balanced integration in society and may represent a source of conflict, as has been witnessed in Rakine State, Myanmar (Kyaw, 2017).

It seems inevitable that statelessness is defined by "lack". Stateless people are assumed to be without citizenship, materials, rights, humanity, home, state, protection, wealth, means, friends, family, food, or property to name a few. This can be seen to originate in Hannah Arendt's conceptualisation of statelessness, which was based on her own experience of being a refugee after the Second World War (Kattago, 2016). At this time, statelessness was viewed as "an exceptional aspect of a unique moment in history, and something that can be fixed" (Bloom et al, 2017, 4). However, Arendt refused to see statelessness as an exception (Gündoğdu, 2015). Draper argues that Arendt's analysis aims to demonstrate that the new rights awarded through the new international regime "are alienable … in practice – ascribed to citizens rather than human beings, since human rights were predicated on the assumption of their protection through the nation-state system" (2016, 2). Therefore, Arendt identifies "statelessness as emerging under the sweeping logic of sovereignty … it is the state that creates the stateless" (Veikou, 2017, 564). However,

it must be noted that Arendt uses "Stateless" not only to refer to those who had formally lost their nationality, but also those who could no longer benefit from their citizenship rights, refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants and even naturalised citizens who faced the threat of denaturalisation in times of emergency (Gundogdu, 2015). This definition is significantly different from the official definition adopted by the United Nations.

This view is shared by Giorgio Agamben through his notion of the "state of exception" (1998), where "the state suspends the legal order" due to current crises (Veikou, 2017, 565). This creates a "legal form of that which cannot take on legal form: a legal category describing the absence of law" (Veikou, 2017, 565). Agamben argues that this power is the ultimate foundation of sovereignty (McNevin, 2013). Following this logic, the stateless personify Agamben's "state of exception" (1998). The law is removed from them, and they are reduced to "bare life" (Agamben, 1998). No government takes responsibility for their protection; a "Homo Sacer" not to be sacrificed, but if killed, nobody would be condemned (Agamben, 1998, 71). McNevin states that it is a "life lived in a zone of indistinction between life endowed with legal protections – a politically qualifies life – and life defined only in terms of its biological existence, devoid of political protections that would render its killing sanctionable" (2013, 187). Staples states "stateless persons, in addition to being undeportable, lack a government willing and able to advocate on their behalf … [they are] therefore at the mercy of state authorities, which only afford a minimal standard of treatment to aliens generally" (2012, 98). Therefore, "statelessness serves as evidence of the limits of international norms and institutions" (Staples, 2012, 116).

So far this chapter has explored the state, citizenship and statelessness from a macropolitical and theoretical perspective. The state has been conceptualised as an all-powerful, abstract monolith, with the power to include and exclude at free will (Mountz, 2003, Jones, 2012). The following section will examine the alternative potential of exploring the state and statelessness through the everyday and micropolitical.

2.4 The Everyday

Previous sections of this chapter have primarily explored the state, citizenship, and statelessness from a top-down, macropolitical perspective. Historically across the social sciences it was often assumed that significant political action solely takes place in these macropolitical spheres "through the manoeuvrings of national, state and city level institutions that have the capacity to build infrastructures and manage operations" (Bissell, 2016, 399). However, more recently, social scientists across academic disciplines have explored and acknowledge that a focus on the everyday and micropolitical can offer key insights on wider social, political, cultural and economic processes and practices. Recognising the value of the everyday, many geographers have placed everyday experiences at the heart of their research (Clayton, 2017). In the context of emergency events, Anderson (2017) identifies that macropolitical approaches "fail to notice, pass over or quickly forget … momentary, exceptional acts" (593), underplaying the transformations that specific practices in particular spaces actually create "giving rise to a different sort of unevenness" (Bissell, 2016: 395). Therefore, Jellis and Gerlach state that "a turn to the micropolitical and the minor is a deliberate spotlighting of the occluded, the repressed, and the subaltern" (2017: 564). Bissell (2016) justifies this turn by arguing that "success at the macropolitical level is at best partial without a complementary micropolitical flourishing" (400). Therefore, a macropolitcal analysis is "necessary, but not sufficient" (Anderson, 2017: 593).

This section will explore existing scholarship on the everyday and micropolitical, defining the everyday and exploring how the concept has been used in previous research on the State and with refugees and asylum seekers. This section will demonstrate how situating statelessness within the everyday, conceptualising the status as a lived experience can benefit and advance existing knowledge.

2.4.1 Definition of the Everyday

The everyday is a core feature of feminist and geographic scholarship. In geography, finding significance in everyday life became a popular focus for enquiry after the "cultural turn" in the discipline (Pinder, 2009, Clayton, 2017). The everyday has been described as the most obvious but simultaneously most mystifying of

concepts (Felski, 2000). The everyday is associated with the mundane, ordinary, routine, repetitive and unremarkable aspects of life which are omnipresent and inescapable but frequently taken-for-granted and overlooked (Pinder, 2009). The term is commonly thought to encompass a range of repetitive, commonplace practices, such as walking, shopping, playing, cooking, incorporating materials and social relationships, through which people experience and encounter the world in banal spaces, such as the home, workplace, high-street, community centre, comprising a range of relationships and interconnections (Pinder, 2009, Conlon, 2011, Hall, 2019a, Hitchen, 2019). Therefore, the everyday is everywhere at every-time; "repeated, habitual and ongoing" (Hitchen, 2019, 66). The everyday is conceptualised as being everywhere and nowhere, familiar but ambiguous, escaping attempts to precisely isolate and define (Blanchot, 1987). However, Hitchen (2019) identifies that it is the banality of the everyday which makes the concept elusive. These crucial, defining characteristics of the everyday as ambiguous and elusive have instigated much academic debate on the precise composition of the concept (Clayton, 2017), making "studying the everyday … seem an overwhelming task since it refers to a vast terrain, characterised by difference and diversity" (Hall, 2019b, 770). However, Hitchen argues that "creating a coherent understanding of everyday life is not only impossible, importantly, it also not desirable" as "it is precisely these contradictions that expose the hidden potentialities of the everyday" (2019, 63). Exposing the inconsistencies in the everyday reveals the extraordinary within the ordinary, the strange within the mundane (Featherstone, 1992, Highmore, 2002). For feminist scholars, banal repetitive activities in ordinary spaces reveal hidden power structures which reinforce social hierarchies. Furthermore, a focus on the everyday also uncovers previously undetected practices of resistance and resilience, revealing multiple contradictory, messy experiences. Therefore, "the everyday offers itself up as a problem, a contradiction, a paradox: both ordinary and extraordinary, self-evident and opaque, known and unknown, obvious and enigmatic" (Highmore, 2002, 12).

Why explore the ambiguous, elusive and messy everyday? In the opening of his 2015 article, Les Back states the case of the importance of studying everyday life,

"everyday life matters: it makes us take the mundane seriously and ask what is at stake in our daily encounters with neighbours or the people we brush past at the bus stop" (Back, 2015: 821). He states that the sociological vocation is to be "a collector of the discarded and the enchantment of the mundane" (Back, 2015: 822). He argues that everyday life is exactly where complexities unfold, therefore offering "the opportunity to link the smallest story to the largest social transformation" (Back, 2015, 834). This observation follows Sztompka who contends that a focus on the everyday reveals "what really occurs in human society … between structures and actions" (2008, 24). For Pain and Smith (2008: 2), the everyday represents "the feelings, experiences, practices and actions of people outside the realm of formal politics", often referring to a "microscale" that is below, rather than alongside or part of global concerns (2008, 6). Therefore, a focus on the everyday enables an exploration at progressively more local, grass-root, personal scales (Hitchen, 2019). For this project, the everyday facilitates an exploration of where and how statelessness becomes present in ordinary spaces (the home, high-street and community centre), through routine activities and encounters (cooking, shopping and reading). Furthermore, following geographical research on everyday austerity, the everyday brings to the fore the micro-scalar impacts of statelessness, including how statelessness is embodied (Hitchen, 2019). Therefore, a focus on the geographical everyday can facilitate deep and vivid accounts of situated, lived experience of statelessness. Investigating statelessness through the everyday not only enables one to contemplate how statelessness is manifested within mundane spaces and encounters, but also how spaces and encounters are constituted by statelessness (Hitchen, 2019).

2.4.2 The Everyday State

Previous, classical conceptualisations of the state, discussed earlier in this chapter, positioned the state as an all-powerful "homogenous bureaucratic monolith which reach out in an unproblematic manner to shape the lives of individuals living and working within their boundaries" (Jones, 2012, 805). However, many researchers across the social sciences have disputed this conceptualisation through focusing on the everyday occurrences within the state (Mountz, 2003, Painter, 2006, Jones,

2012). Conceptualising the state through the everyday considers the state as embedded within society, rather than being above and beyond society, operating in a completely separate sphere. Investigating the state through the everyday draws attention to the mundane functions and banal practices of the state and how these practices impact the day-to-day lives of those within its territory. This focus reveals the splintered, contested nature of the state, challenging the narrative of the state as united and homogenous (Gupta, 1995). These disputes and contradictions are not just between the state and civil society but are also shown to be within state institutions (Mountz, 2003). This work disputes the conceptualisation of the state "as stable and enduring organisations that structure everyday life" revealing that states are "in a continual state of emergence" (Jones, 2012, 805). Therefore, to see the state through the everyday reveals "the state [as] not a unitary object but … a set of practices enacted through relationships between people, places, and institutions" (Desbiens et al, 2004, 242). The following section will outline previous research into the everyday state, revealing how the state functions in the everyday, how it is embedded in the mundane and its impact on its citizens and residents within its territory.

Through an investigation into the response to human smuggling in Canada, Alison Mountz explores how the state functions in the everyday (2003). She conceptualises the state as "an everyday social construction" rather than "an abstract, hegemonic, repressive autonomous body" (2003, 626), emphasing that the state is "peopled" and "in motion" (Peck, 2001, 451). This conceptualisation is demonstrated by focussing on the practices of the agents of the state, employees of CIC. Following feminist geopolitical approaches, she identifies that the state is *embodied,* as "behind each decision are individuals acting within varied institutional and geographical contexts … it is through the feminist strategy of embodiment that the actual power of the state materialises in daily practice" (Mountz, 2003, 625). Therefore, through embodiment, "the state is constituted within and through social relations, not only constitutive of but constituted internally and unevenly through difference" (Mountz, 2003, 639). In a previous study, Heyman (1995) concluded that as immigration officers are directly involved in daily nation building practices, once

employed by the state, immigration officers altered their worldviews in line with the ideology and policies of that state. However, Mountz's (2003) critical ethnography of the everyday practices of employees of the state reveals messy, contradictory, inconsistent attitudes and practices within state institutions. She argues that employees of the state are situated in "complex webs of social relations [who] experience the world in distinct ways … and [therefore] relate to different immigrants in different ways" (Mountz, 2003, 624). In particular, those distanced from direct contact with migrants conveyed "cleaner, more simplistic narratives of human smuggling" (Mountz, 2003, 634). Whereas those employees directly involved with migrants expressed "more emotion, passion and complexity enabled by intimacy" (Mountz, 2003, 634). These narratives were often in direct conflict with overall public messaging by the state. These embodied inconsistencies in attitudes and practices are significant within a state institution which is directly involved in constructing and defining the state. This analysis of the state at the everyday directly contradicts the narrative of the state as a unified and homogenous entity (Gupta, 1995). This focus on the state in the everyday challenges assumed binaries between state and civil society, and policy and practice (Mountz, 2003). Therefore, Mountz concludes that "the state does not exist outside of the people who comprise it, their everyday work, and their social embeddedness in local relationships" (2003, 640).

A focus on the everyday also reveals how the state infiltrates and weaves through the day-to-day lives of those within its borders. Through an example of growing up in the UK, Painter (2006) demonstrates how state institutions and practices are embedded in the everyday, affecting all areas of everyday life. He notes that these prosaic state processes are taken for granted by society, rendering them "barely noticeable" (Painter, 2006, 753). These processes include monitoring the population through the issue of documents, tracking mundane aspects of our lives; "a birth certificate, a health card, examination certificates, a national insurance number, a driving licence, a marriage certificate, an electoral register, an income tax file number, a passport… [and] behind each of these registration numbers, licences and certificates are yet more documents and records held in state archives tracking employment, earnings, criminal convictions, academic performance, visits to doctors

and hospitals, ownership of vehicles and landed property and numerous other features of individuals "private" lives (Painter, 2006, 753). The state also regulates food quality, medical care, health and safety, education and trading hours to name a few, further infiltrating into our "private" lives.

Viewing the state through these mundane practices reveals "the intense statization of social life" (Painter, 2006, 755), defined as "the intensification of the symbolic presence of the state across all kinds of social practices and relations" (758). These processes are conducted by state institutions and private organisations. Painter identifies that the passing of legislation produces few practical immediate effects. The legislation only becomes present in the everyday through the mundane actions of everyday actors, including police officers, shop assistants, teachers, social workers, doctors, builders to name a few. This example not only demonstrates how easily the state infiltrates our everyday lives, but also how a focus on everyday practices reveals the myriad of opportunities to deviate and dilute the state, highlighting the "unsystematic, the indeterminate and unintended" (Painter, 2006, 763) resulting in social and spatial variation across and within the state. Therefore, revealing the state as "heterogeneous, constructed, porous, uneven, processual and relational" (Painter, 2006, 754). Disputing the classical theory of the state as a distinct, unified entity which exercises power consistently across its territory.

2.4.3 The Everyday for Refugees and Asylum Seekers

A focus on the everyday lives of refugees and asylum seekers has proven to provide valuable insights into previously hidden, grass-roots experiences. Many of these studies highlight the contradiction between the state's macropolitical human rights commitments and the violent, harmful, micropolitical everyday lived experiences of refugees and asylum seekers (Cassidy, 2019, Mayblin et al, 2020).

Kathryn Cassidy conducted research with BAMER women who were subject to immigration control after fleeing domestic violence in the UK (2019). A focus on their everyday lives revealed the mundane "state sponsored processes of control" (Cassidy, 2019, 49) enacted by everyday actors, as the policies of the hostile environment shift border policing from the margins directly into everyday lives (Griffiths et al, 2020). "Borderwork" has become ordinary practice for many normal

roles, such as sales assistants, employers, landlords, teachers and healthcare workers (Griffiths et al, 2020, Cassidy, 2019, 50). Cassidy argues that these state controls created layers of everyday carceralities "echoing those experienced in the violent intimate and domestic situations they have left behind" (2019, 49). Cassidy contends that restrictions are so pervasive "that they can be described as a form of everyday incarceration" (2019, 49). The women described how the Home Office controlled their mobility, through forcing them to travel to report to immigration authorities and dispersing asylum seekers across the UK. Separating them from established communities who could offer support. They also described how the state forced them to live off limited financial support, impacting their physical and mental health. These state controls are so harmful that "women question not only if it would have been better to stay in the violence of the home but come to view suicide as their only way to find freedom" (Cassidy, 2019, 49).

Through a focus on the everyday, a recent study conducted by Mayblin, Wake and Kazemi (2020) demonstrates how, despite wide ranging human rights commitments, through increasing welfare restrictions the UK government intentionally inflicts harm in the everyday lives of asylum seekers under their protection. Participants in this study were simply asked about their everyday lives, concentrating on food, clothing, transport, grooming and toiletries and socialising (Mayblin et al, 2020). Through discussions of these seemingly banal topics, participants described the everyday harms they experienced as a result of being forced to live in poverty in poor conditions by the UK government. Simple, mundane activities "produced stress, anxiety and shame, and these had physical and mental effects" (Mayblin et al, 2020, 114). Participants explained how the support of £37.75 per week did not cover the essentials, causing participants to ration food and skip meals causing dramatic weight loss. They expressed the shame they felt at not being able to afford hygiene products and wearing the exact same clothes for 18 months (Mayblin et al, 2020). Participants conveyed the physical pain experienced by being forced to walk everywhere due to not being able to afford public transport. They also shared the effects of living under a permanent cloud of anxiety, as any unexpected expense could cause a crisis, forcing one into destitution. Therefore, they argue that

the "ordinary cannot be equated with "harmless" (Mayblin et al, 2020, 109). They identify that "legal obligations are fulfilled to an absolute minimum to a point where asylum seekers are merely prevented from physically dying" (Mayblin et al, 2020, 111). They argue that slow, hidden, mundane violence through enforced poverty is intentionally deployed by the UK government and that this purposeful treatment of asylum seekers is an example of necropolitics (Mbembe, 2003). Asylum seekers are intentionally exposed to physical and psychological "gradual wounding" (Mayblin et al, 2020, 120), which may keep them "alive but in a state of injury" (Mbembe, 2003, 21). Mayblin, Wake and Kazemi identify that "this is not so much a spectacle of pain because the impoverishment of asylum seekers disperses them and removes them from the public sphere – from public transport, shops, restaurants, from anywhere but the cheapest supermarkets" (2020, 120). However, through a focus on the everyday, the researchers also witnessed that "participants … were very busy with survival, so docile in the face of perpetual wounding, that any possibilities for resistance were quietened" (Mayblin et al, 2020, 120).

A focus on the everyday "exposes the everyday lived realities of much larger structural processes" (Mayblin et al, 2020, 121). From a post-colonial perspective, through the everyday this article demonstrates how macropolitical structures and "practices of human classification" (Mayblin et al, 2020, 120) impact the everyday material and social lives of asylum seekers in the UK. This research shows how international legal obligations are seen to be technically fulfilled at the surface, but an investigation at the everyday reveals that they are fulfilled to the bare minimum, "to a point where asylum seekers are merely prevented (not always successfully) from physically dying" (Mayblin et al, 2020, 121).

So far, this section has demonstrated that a focus on the everyday lives of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK reveals the contradiction between international commitments to protection and the harmful practices of the UK government. However, a focus on the everyday also reveals another inconsistency within the UK state, between exclusionary government narratives and the practice of civil society. Through a research project with a befriending scheme in the northeast of England, Askins revealed "a quiet politics of encounter being enacted … enabled

and mutually co-produced through everyday geographies" (2015, 471). The befriending scheme paired refugees and asylum seekers with British, volunteer "befrienders" who were available to informally support their partner through whatever means they agreed (Askins, 2015). The project was not constructed as a mentoring scheme, rather it emphasised "being together" (Askins, 2015, 471). Through a focus on the everyday, Askins identifies how everyday spaces enabled "meaningful encounters" between the pairings, describing these encounters as "interactions that shift entrenched, largely negative versions of the "other" to reduce social tension, develop inclusive notions of citizenship and enable minority rights to public space" (2016, 516). She argues that everyday spaces, such as homes, cafes, local parks and shops, are where "people discover each other as multifaceted, complex and interdependent" (Askins, 2015, 476). These mundane spaces encourage social contact, enabling small, embodied, emotional, micropolitical acts of befriending, where people establish everyday similarities and differences, which are potentially transformative (Askins, 2016). Moments including "shared silences, gentle hands on knees or arms, gestures of contact and empathy, smiles, nods; bodies present and reactive to each other" (Askins, 2016, 524). Askins argues that these everyday friendships are political as they "are about re-making society at the local level … These social relations are explicit and importantly implicitly intertwined with issues of belonging" (2015, 474). She terms these everyday, informal acts "emotional citizenry … understood as part of a process of reframing rights beyond the formal sphere" (Askins, 2016, 524). The term captures "the ways in which individual bodies and emotions are caught up in the wider body politic … prompt[ing] interdependent relations beyond formal and legal constructions" (Askins, 2016, 524). Similar findings have been published by Huizinga and van Hoven (2018), through their research exploring the everyday geographies of belonging of Syrian refugees in northern Netherlands. Their research emphasises the importance of everyday encounters in ordinary places for refugees to establish a sense of belonging. Academic literature prioritises formal, legal belonging through state recognition, however, the importance of embodied micropolitical gestures of recognition and acceptance in everyday spaces should not be ignored (Askins, 2016). However, Askins does caveat the process of emotional citizenry, stating that these relationships "do not necessarily

translate into wider societal support of such formal, legal rights" nor does it "absolve states and governance processes from responsibilities under various international laws, or in terms of their moral duties" (Askins, 2016, 524, 525). Therefore, through everyday interactions and encounters in mundane places, citizens of the state are contradicting the principal policies of the hostile environment, through building meaningful social connections, helping those intentionally excluded belong in the everyday. This further demonstrates the fractured, contested nature of the state.

The everyday experience of statelessness has not been explored in depth. As demonstrated by the literature outlined in this chapter and Chapter One, statelessness has predominantly been conceptualised as a technical legal category and has therefore been analysed and explored from an abstract, theoretical standpoint. This has excluded many insights into the status which only become apparent through the domain of the everyday. However, Nando Signoa's (2016) paper exploring the Roma in Italy, was the first to offer a sociological perspective on statelessness. This paper examines "the everyday relationship between statelessness and rights, and the family as a key arena where the impacts of statelessness are experienced and negotiated" (Sigona, 2016, 264). This paper explores how and where statelessness become apparent for the Roma in Italy through state bureaucratic encounters and family dynamics. Due to a lack of ID, the Romani individuals Sigona spoke to complained of the inability to work, the exclusion from primary healthcare and immobility as they cannot travel outside of Italy (Sigona, 2016). Sigona also reported the case of a Romani woman who married an Italian man. The couple had a child but the marriage broke down and due to her lack of status the family of her ex-partner were granted custody of the child (Sigona, 2016). This paper shows the potential of exploring statelessness through the everyday, revealing the daily complex negotiations undertaken by Romani peoples in Italy. This thesis will build and expand on this work, demonstrating the academic value of conceptualising statelessness as a lived experience and exploring the status through the everyday.

2.5 Summary: Everyday Statelessness

Following the discussion of the literature, this thesis concurs with Veikou "the one thing that gets lost about statelessness worldwide is the impact that it has on

people's daily lives" (2017, 557). As demonstrated through previous sections of this chapter and Chapter One of this thesis, statelessness has predominantly been conceptualised as a technical legal category and has therefore been analysed and explored from an abstract, theoretical standpoint. This thesis aims to make statelessness tangible through conceptualising the status as a lived experience and analysing statelessness through the everyday. Following similar studies exploring everyday austerity and the everyday lives of refugees and asylum seekers, this thesis asks key questions on where, when and how statelessness emerges in the everyday. How are spaces and encounters constituted by the legal category? How is status coped with or not coped with? How is statelessness endured in the everyday? To summarise, this thesis asks the principal question; what does being "stateless" mean day-to-day?

The following chapter will explain how this thesis will answer that principal question. Chapter three, *Methodology: Scrapbooking Statelessness,* will provide the theoretical background and reasoning for using scrapbooking as the primary methodology for exploring the everyday experiences of stateless persons. The chapter will outline the challenges faced by researchers attempting to represent stateless populations. Then, following an exploration of creative geographical methods, to ethically overcome issues of representation, this chapter will propose a slow, creative-participatory approach. This chapter details how scrapbooking could be used as an ethical, effective methodology with vulnerable populations over a long data collection period, situating the approach in the "Slow Scholarship Movement" (Mountz et al, 2015).

3. Methodology: Scrapbooking Statelessness

3.1 Introduction

Previous chapters have outlined how, compared to other similar areas of research, statelessness has been neglected (Edwards et al, 2016). Statelessness has been repeatedly conceptualised as a theoretical and legal conundrum, consequently excluding everyday, mundane, ordinary experiences of statelessness and the complexities of the status which only become apparent in this domain. To fill this gap, this thesis aims to ground and expand understandings of everyday statelessness in direct conversation with stateless people in the UK. This aim presents a major challenge: how to design and conduct an ethical research project with vulnerable populations. Furthermore, Chapter Two, *The State of Statelessness*, revealed the everyday to be everywhere and nowhere, familiar but ambiguous, escaping attempts to precisely isolate and define (Blanchot, 1987). The ambiguous characteristic of the everyday presents a second challenge for this research project: how to capture the elusive everyday with stateless individuals. To overcome both challenges this chapter proposes and develops a creative, participatory research methodology centred on scrapbooking.

This chapter will provide the theoretical background and reasoning for using scrapbooking as the primary methodology for a longitudinal study exploring the everyday experiences of stateless persons. The chapter begins by outlining the difficulties faced by researchers attempting to represent vulnerable populations, positioning the problems of representing statelessness in wider, well-established feminist academic debates. To ethically overcome these issues of representation, this chapter will then explore creative geographical methods. Specifically, Hawkins's (2015) exploration of an artist's book to represent place raises the possibility of a similar, more accessible, creative methodology of scrapbooking. This chapter will then explore the long history of the collection of scraps and assembly into collages in the social sciences: used to experiment with data to create alternative insights and as a form of elicitation with vulnerable populations. Building on this well-established theory and practice, the final section of this chapter will detail how scrapbooking could be used as an ethical, effective methodology with vulnerable populations over

a long data collection period, situating the approach in the "Slow Scholarship Movement" (Mountz et al, 2015). The practicalities of this study will be outlined, including the study design, participant recruitment, practical material preparations and ethical practices.

3.2 Challenges in Representing Statelessness

During the research process, I travelled to conferences, book launches and summer schools focussing on statelessness. At all these events, without exception, the diverse community working on the subject (academics, NGO's, UNHCR, lawyers) unanimously agreed that the experiences and opinions of stateless people are central to understanding statelessness and generating solutions to help improve their everyday lives. In her 2019 article, Kingston argues that "stateless individuals are the true experts on this issue; they have the ability to explain its causes and consequences, as well as to vocalise what they need and how the international community can help" (2019, 69). She continues "[the] continued inclusion [of the stateless] in this advocacy process also ensures … [that they] are not unintentionally dehumanised, disempowered, or misunderstood" (Kingston, 2019, 69). Therefore, stateless voices need to be brought to the forefront of the subject. Following Kingston, this study aims to "go beyond witnessing human suffering [and] acknowledge the capabilities of stateless groups, which includes listening to and respecting their perspectives" (2019, 69). But how can this be achieved effectively and ethically? How can I, as a researcher who has never directly experienced statelessness, accurately represent this community? This section will outline the difficulties faced by social scientists attempting to represent vulnerable populations, situating the problems of representing statelessness in wider, well-established feminist academic debates.

Practices of representation are directly tied to the production of knowledge and power and are therefore ethical and political. Researchers constantly produce meanings through representing participants' lived experiences in particular ways; using certain words to describe them, telling stories, producing images, the ways in which data is classified and conceptualised, and the values placed on them. Researchers should be very much aware that these representations and portrayals

have knock-on effects and consequences. Spivak (1988) identifies that in many Western writings, both feminists and post-colonialists tend to exclude the voices and knowledge of the colonial "other". Spivak's now widely discussed conclusion that the colonised subaltern cannot speak (particularly the third world woman) tells us that many Western writings have not adequately presented the reality of the colonised "other" and society. This exclusion produces and reproduces unequal social relations. Following on from Chapter two, this thesis argues that due to the dominant conceptualisation of statelessness as a theoretical, legal problem, much of the academic literature on statelessness to date has excluded stateless voices. This thesis aims to counter this trend by working directly with stateless people residing in the UK and conceptualising statelessness as an everyday lived experience. This approach should bring the opinions and experiences of the stateless to the forefront of research exploring statelessness, helping to break the cycle of unequal social relations.

Providing an accurate representation of and amplifying stateless voices is a vital element of this research project. However, post-colonial and feminist scholarship have repeatedly revealed the many difficulties of this objective. Initial feminist research projects primarily aimed to make women's experiences, knowledges and voices heard within academic research. This main goal has since been extended to other "marginalised groups" (Coddington, 2017). However, this aim has been widely recognised as problematic (Alcoff, 1991). Many researchers want to "give voice" to authenticate research findings and reduce the appropriation of others in projects. As Coddington claims, "grounding research in the experience and voices of participants provides a strong feminist counter to the objectivity of masculinist science" (2017, 315). However, this representation involves unequal power relations, with researchers holding more power than participants, although this can change over time and in certain circumstances. Therefore, the researcher's positionality is a key concern when attempting to "give voice". Academics are in a position of power, choosing to represent or not to represent, how certain views and social phenomenon are represented, which in turn reflect the researchers' beliefs, values, and assumptions about reality, and how that reality is to be understood. This

is strongly emphasised in Linda Alcoff's 1991 article, "The problem of speaking for others". She states, "how what is said get[s] heard depends on who says it, and who says it will affect the style and language in which it is stated, which will in turn affect its perceived significance" (1991, 13). An awareness of the obvious and obscured power effects is vital (Vacchelli, 2018b). Similarly tensions of trust, friendship, loyalty, guilt and discomfort are complicating factors (Wynne-Jones et al, 2015). Wynne-Jones et al. highlight that there is no unproblematic singular or fixed subject perceiving and engaging with the world, which complicates self-assessments and analysis of participants' actions and agency. To try and overcome these problems, feminist and post-colonial research methodologies attempt to disrupt the hierarchical power relations that occur between researchers and participants, to foster a more ethical interaction, (Vecchio et al, 2017) by employing more participatory methodologies and critically reflecting on the researcher's positionality.

Participatory research is eclectic and epistemologically diverse, drawing on a range of theoretical influences and empirical applications (Wynne-Jones et al, 2015). However, the common, binding ethos of participatory research is freedom and equality. The Participatory Geographies Research Group of the Royal Geographical Society was founded in 2005 and reached Research Group status in 2009. The group aims to re-approach the ethics and normative interpretation of geographic research practice "not just to do no harm, but to do good on participants' terms, rather than academics'" (Wynne-Jones et al, 2015, 218). A key epistemological goal has been to question and destabilise traditional barriers between "expert researchers" and "researched communities" to enable spaces for collaboration, negotiation and the co-construction of knowledge (Pain et al, 2003, Wynne-Jones et al, 2015). Through this process, a research agenda that is respectful, empathetic and ethically sound can develop (Eggleton et al, 2017). This has resulted in much collaboration outside academia, actively engaging and benefitting communities. This active involvement of participants, when researchers establish relationships with those who belong to the group being studied can be considered "culturally safe" (Eggleton et al, 2017, 976). Nevertheless, there are constant tensions and challenges during this approach; how far can researchers "let go"? Can or should researchers steer the process? Does this

compromise research objectives? How do we deal with compromise and accepting that we may only effect more subtle levels of change? These are only some of the many complicated questions participatory researchers must think through during the research design process.

It has been argued that "participatory working is both in vogue and in crisis" (Wynne-Jones et al, 2015, 218). In vogue, as participatory research methods particularly are ideal to fulfil a brand of governance which places stakeholder engagement at its core. However, in crisis as there are concerns that participatory methods are being applied to research projects without the necessary shift in epistemological orientation or political commitment (Pain et al, 2003, Wynne-Jones et al, 2015). Coddington concurs stating "often divisive or controversial topics of qualitative research are designed to meet the needs of the academic rather than the indigenous community, and research that seeks to meet community needs proves too challenging to the researcher's own identity and practices to be undertaken" (2017, 317). It is also thought that participatory projects struggle to connect research with demands for structural, or wider scale, change (Coddington, 2017). Lastly, participatory methodologies are critiqued for lacking rigour, reflexivity and validity (Pain et al, 2003). Therefore, the assumption that participation alone resolves ethical issues related to voice and representation are problematic.

Coddington argues "that the desire to speak – or write – on behalf of another is always a desire to dominate the encounter" that even this debate on representation is only accessible "from positions of relative privilege" (2017, 317). Even if a participatory methodology is employed and the researcher's positionality continuously and critically reflected upon, how can a researcher really know and understand their participant's perspectives to represent them? Amy Hinterberger simply states that "feminist representational practices must not assume to know or have unmediated access to knowledge of "others" (2007, 77). For Spivak (1988), a comprehensive knowledge of others is completely impossible (Hinterberger, 2007). Therefore, Hinterberger argues that "ethical strategies of representing others need to be based on working responsibly within this framework of impossibility, not trying to sidestep it" (2007, 77). This thesis recognises and accepts the impossibility of the

researcher knowing and identifying with statelessness. "Working responsibly within this framework of impossibility" (Hinterberger, 2007, 77), the following section will consider the potentialities of creative, geographic research methods. Specifically examining their abilities to amplify stateless voices and capture their elusive experiences of the everyday.

3.3 Creative Methods

Tamas (2014, 90) has described the everyday as "hiding in plain view … practiced thoughtlessly, dismissed as banal and boring, and comprised of intangible, transitory gestures, habits, routines, and experiences that are paradoxically both ordinary and extraordinary". Understanding everyday social practices is challenging as many are mundane and taken for granted, therefore difficult to articulate or recall (Willis et al, 2016). Creative approaches to research are thought to be a means of overcoming the two challenges of this chapter: amplifying marginalised voices and capturing the elusive everyday. This section will explore past literatures examining creative research methods to determine if these claims are correct.

Creative orientations to research are a means of opening knowledge production to the more-than-rational. Thinking creatively produces knowledge in new and different ways, bolstered by utilising arts based, creative methodologies (Dowling et al, 2017). At its most refined, creativity includes a range of expert cultural practices of fine art, music, filmmaking and writing. In its most expanded form, to be creative refers to novel or innovative thinking in any domain (Hawkins, 2015). Geography has a long history of employing creative methods to communicate research findings (Hawkins, 2019). At the conclusion of his 1920 presidential address to the Royal Geographical society, Sir Francis Younghusband called for geographers to have "something of the poet and the painter" (Hawkins, 2019, 967). More recently in Geography, academics have turned to creative approaches not only to communicate their findings but also to conduct their research. The "intensification" of creative approaches can be seen in the establishment of the Geohumanities (Hawkins, 2019, 964). This sub-discipline "situates this relation between creative practice and geography as an exchange" (Hawkins, 2019, 964). Today, creative approaches within the geographical discipline encompasses work with a "diverse

range of mediums practiced with various degrees of expertise" (Hawkins, 2019, 978). These creative approaches to research include visual art, image-making, creative writing, knitting, taxidermy and performance techniques (Hawkins, 2015, Straughn, 2015, Mann, 2017). It is thought that this creative (re)turn is a response to the discipline's ongoing orientation towards embodied and practice-based activities, creative approaches not only produce artistic objects but also enable a deeper understanding of the skills involved (Hawkins, 2015, 2019). Hawkins contends that such an emphasis demands the means "to engage, research and re-present the sensory experiences, emotions, affective atmospheres and flows of life" (2015, 248). Creative approaches offer the means "to grasp the messy, unfinished and contingent" (Hawkins, 2015, 248) and to bring to the fore the overlooked and challenge the settled.

Participatory creative methods have long been thought to effectively engage and amplify the voices of marginalised communities; especially children (Oh, 2012), indigenous communities, forced migrants (Vecchio et al, 2017), the homeless (Wang et al, 1997) and communities in poverty (Willis et al, 2016). This complicates the conventional expert-centric approaches by resituating exploration "alongside" rather than "on" research subjects (Alam et al, 2017). Feminist scholars have long explored how images can disrupt the dominant, masculine gaze and participate in the production of geographical knowledge (Alam et al, 2017). It is contended that images allow for those being researched to explore and express emotional responses to and contemplations of the immediate environment, expanding the scope for exploration (Alam et al, 2017). It is also thought that more creative approaches enable deeper relationships to develop between researchers and "vulnerable" people (Eggleton et al, 2017, 987). It is thought that these methods, work on at least three levels. Firstly, they can facilitate access to memories or subconscious emotions which may evoke the participant's experience. Secondly, these methods can simplify issues; being able to symbolically represent their thoughts may assist someone in clarifying and simplifying their intended meaning. Finally, these methods can really help participants "speak their mind" (Eggleton et al, 2017, 987); helping make tangible "dimensions of understanding that were previously unconscious" (Butler-Kisber,

2017, 102). Williams argues that the creative process lowers "conscious control of what is being presented, contributes to greater levels of expression, and in turn greater areas for examination and subsequent clarification" (2000, 275). The issue of being disinhibited through creative research raises ethical issues, which will be addressed later in this chapter.

However, creative methodologies are not always helpful for participants. Creative approaches can place undue expectations on the participant to create an object of art (Eggleton et al, 2017). Some people may feel pressured that their artistic skills are inadequate, or that they will be criticised, which suggests that these "methodologies may paradoxically increase the vulnerability of the participants" (Eggleton et al, 2017, 988). Furthermore, the creative output of these methodologies, whether produced by participants or researchers, are not an exact record of everyday life. They are a representation, a version of events co-produced through the research process, including the end viewer, individually interpreted by each of these stakeholders. Creative outputs do not become data until layered with interpretation and analysis (Willis et al, 2016). Due to this ambiguity, the academic rigor of creative geographic research is often questioned (Bailey et al, 1999). There has long been a call for the establishment of criteria and detailed questioning to enhance rigour in geographers' qualitative research. To resolve this tension between "science" and "creativity", Bailey et al. suggest that "due to the dynamic nature and varied epistemologies and methods of qualitative research, the criteria for the evaluation of individual projects must arise from the research process itself" (1999, 170). De Leeuw and Hawkins (2017) also question the intersection of critical and creative elements in geographical thinking. They identified a relative absence of the critical when geographers are being creative. To overcome this lack of rigor, Hawkins has proposed a critical framework which is summarised by the following categories: "histories, geographies, imaginaries, expertise and politics" (2019, 963). This framework enables researchers engaged in creative approaches to "reflect on where we have come from and to ensure we move forward in critical and positive ways" (Hawkins, 2019, 966).

In her 2015 article exploring creative geographic methods, Hawkins describes the process of compiling an artist's book to represent place. This was an experiment to conserve knowledge of place, not as an inert record, but as something which is alive (Hawkins, 2015). She describes the artist's book "as experimental spaces, they combined the spaces and sequences of the page, the cover and so on into an expressive unity, wherein the conceptual "message" is "the sum of all materialities, content and formal, compositional elements" (Hawkins, 2015, 257). The book was five inches square and 52 pages long. The pages were produced by digital manipulation of materials gathered during a period of shared ethnographic fieldwork. This included paintings, sketches, photographs and text. Hawkins (2015) describes in detail the composition of these pages, especially the effect of including text with sketches: "As a process of making marks on paper, sketches mediate between different registers of material but also have a particular temporality. Sitting alongside words, sketches by their "intimate, sketchy suggestive" nature serve a different function to words; they prompt an exploration of ideas of truth, of record and of witnessing. Sketches "intervene in a reckoning of reality in ways that writing and photography do not" (Hawkins, 2015, 260).

For this exploration, this detailed study of the artist's book raises the possibility of a similar, more accessible, creative, visual methodology for this project. The following section will examine scrapbooking to explore the potential of the practice to be an effective, practical, creative, visual, participatory research method.

3.4 Scrapbooking

Scrapbooks are deeply social texts (Good, 2012). Scrapbooking is a common Western practice of memory-work, especially in North America (Christensen, 2011, Tamas, 2014). Modern scrapbooking grew in popularity with the invention of photography in 1826 (Gerbrandt, 2002). Victorian families frequently made scrapbooks documenting their everyday experiences (Butler-Kisber, 2017). Reflecting this popularity, in 1880 EW Gurley published "Scrapbooks and how to make them" (Gerbrandt, 2002, 9). Modern day scrapbooking tends to be a heavily gendered activity, where women memorialise everyday events. It is a highly accessible form of self-expression as it is not necessary to invest a huge amount of time, effort or money

to participate (Wines-Reed et al, 2004). People scrapbook for a variety of reasons including to document family history, tell a story, make a gift, help heal, make friends or just enjoy the creative activity (Gerbrandt, 2002, Wines-Reed et al, 2004). Tamas states that this work involves "sorting and choosing photographs to memorialise; selecting suitable papers, inks, stamps, sprays, ribbons, sparkles, embellishments, and decorative ephemera; altering materials by glazing, painting, embossing, sewing, punching, tearing, cutting and/or "distressing them" . . . carefully assembling these materials in elaborate compositions, with or without reference to templates; adding expository captions and "journaling" in decorative text boxes; and securing all of the above with archival-quality fixatives" (2014, 87). Gerbrandt adds that "memorabilia such as movie ticket stubs, theatre programmes or sports tickets" (2002, 7) can also be included. Alongside daily ephemera, the participant can also cut and paste repurposed images from dominant print media to tell their own story. It is a highly creative activity, implying a right or wrong approach does not exist; "there are no scrapbooking police" (Rieger, 2008, 7). Gerbrandt states that "only time and imagination limit today's scrapbooker" (2002, 7).

The choosing, cutting, and pasting a range of materials in a scrapbook could be said to form a "collage", which derives from the French verb "coller" meaning "to stick" (Gerstenblatt, 2013, Butler-Kisber, 2017). This cutting and pasting process is very similar to the production of a zine; defined as a visual and textual mode of storytelling (Bagleman, 2016). Good (2012, 559) describes these constructions as "personal media assemblages". It is thought that the stories told by these personal assemblages have the power to "evoke our fondest memories and allow us to relive daily and once in a lifetime experiences" (Gerbrandt, 2002, 8). The following sections will explore and outline existing literature on collage and scrapbooking, providing the theoretical background and reasoning for employing scrapbooking as a research methodology for a longitudinal study with stateless people.

3.4.1 Collage

In their definition of "collage", Davis and Butler-Kisber (1999) emphasise the intuitive nature of the process:

"A collage is a flexible composition that is assembled gradually and additively; as each new part is included, the intuitive relationships among the various parts are ordered and re-ordered until a convincing overall pattern or schema is achieved" (Davis and Bulter-Kisber, 1999, 2)

In their work, Davis and Butler-Kisber (1999) trace the particular practice of collage making back 1000 years to Japanese calligraphers using scraps of torn paper to adorn their written texts. Bulter-Kisber (2017) additionally identifies instances of collage in folk art in the work of Mary Delany (1700-88), "she created paper mosaics by cutting petals from coloured paper and pasting them onto black paper backgrounds" (Butler-Kisber, 2017). Collage was only acknowledged as a form of artistic innovation in the 20th century when artists such as Picasso and Braque used this practice to challenge traditional and elitist conventions of art, pushing the boundaries of representation and initiating postmodern tendencies (Butler-Kisber, 2017, Vacchelli, 2018b). In more recent years, collage has been extensively used in the health sciences for art therapy purposes and in businesses to uncover experiences of employees or the public (Butler-Kisber, 2017).

Collage construction can also be used as a method to overcome the overly rationalistic approach of other qualitative data collection techniques, such as interviews and focus groups. These techniques mainly "rely on data drawn on spoken words, text and observed reality and tend to downplay perception and experimental aspects of researched participants lives" (Vacchelli, 2018a, 172). Very often these spoken words have been refined to articulate a specific message (Butler-Kisber, 2017). As previously mentioned, the creative approach of collage has the potential to unlock the subconscious potentially revealing an un-rehearsed story. There might be various attempts and changes to the images until they are glued, but once they are stuck the images cannot easily be altered (Butler-Kisber, 2017).

Tamas (2014) observes that collage and scrapbooking appear to operate within the orderly world of common-sense rationalism, anchored by photographs that act as "plot lines in linear time" (Tamas, 2014, 88). "Scraps of meaning, things and experiences remain specific, discontinuous and particular, placed in impressionist compositions that reveal the everyday" (Tamas, 2014, 90). Collages can reflect local fashions and scrap selection can reveal how participants view the world and what they think is important (Wines-Reed et al, 2004). However, scrapbookers use additional captions and hand-written "journaling" to change or fix preferred meanings. This suggests they understand perception as partial and malleable (Tamas, 2014). As one of her respondents explained, its "telling a story about the pictures . . . without the story, the decorations are pretty but meaningless" (Tamas, 2014, 88). An independent, innocent snapshot can become a key rhetorical device if placed within a collage or scrapbook. The original intention and message of the image can be altered, therefore moving beyond the instant of it's taking. This notion is supported by Hammond et al. who state, "the right words on a scrapbook page make for a meaningful and lasting memory . . . how you say the words – how the journaling is designed – can also make stories more meaningful" (2009, 73). Journaling clarifies and enhances the stories the photographs suggest (Wines-Reed et al, 2004). Tamas argues that "the apprehension of the everyday and celebration of its hidden wonders" is a refined tradition in scrapbooking, memorialising the brief and easily forgotten (2014, 90). Collage is believed to be ideal to fulfil this aim, reaching beyond the rational cognition to capture the everyday and reveal that it is "not the familiar and banal realm that it seems to be" but is "where the marvellous exists" (Highmore, 2002, 47). Highmore (2002) contends that while scrapbooking rarely takes a radical form, its collage methods hold the potential to shock; each scrap can be considered a charged fragment which, when brought into contact with other elements, produces a potential explosion or change in meaning.

Therefore, Tamas recognises that "as a system of documenting a knowable external world, scrapbooking [and collage] seems clearly flawed. If, however, we accept postmodern, post-empirical views of reality as slippery, complex and inherently exceeding apprehension, what matters about scrapbooks is their impact"

(2014, 88-89). The non-linear joining together of disparate fragments creates a new perspective, revealing associations and connections making unconscious thoughts tangible (Butler-Kisber, 2017) and revealing the "interior shapes of mental space" (Vacchelli, 2018, 176). Tamas claims that "whatever their pages overtly represent, scrapbookers are also always crafting themselves. Layouts announce who you are, what you care about, where you live, and how you fit into society" (2014, 89). However, Butler-Kisber contends that collage "speaks with two voices" (2017, 103), reflecting the way the participant sees the world and how the observer perceives the composition; "when the language of texts or speech interacts with a visual language such as that of collage that new meaning and understanding occur" (Butler-Kisber, 2017, 104). She further states "whatever the original intention or idea of the collagist may be, the multiple levels of processing frequently assure that the result will be made "strange", opening up the possibility for the emergence of tacitly or intuitively known content and the appearance of unexpected new associations" (Butler-Kisber, 2017, 107).

To summarise, scrapbooking and collage offer a straightforward, accessible, creative, participatory methodology. The collage element of the scrapbooking process offers a means to overcome the overly rationalistic approach of other qualitative data collection techniques, such as interviews and focus groups. Very often these spoken words have been refined to articulate a specific message (Butler-Kisber, 2017). However, the creative approach of collage has the potential to unlock the subconscious potentially revealing an un-rehearsed story and grasp messy, elusive everyday experiences. Participants have full control in the selection of the images and texts used to represent their own reality (Vacchelli, 2018b). The process offers participants time to think about what images to select, what they want to uncover and how they want to display their story to the researcher (Wines-Reed et al, 2004, Vacchelli, 2018b).

The following section will explore how scrapbooking and collage has worked as a method of elicitation with vulnerable populations. This section will examine scrapbooking as an embodied, therapeutic research practice, reflecting the ethos of the slow scholarship movement (Mountz et al, 2015).

3.4.2 Scrapbooking in Practice

As previously discussed, like other creative qualitative approaches, Butler-Kisber states that "collage can be used in the inquiry process to find the words to express a subjective experience, to initiate a dialogue with participants, or as a guided reflection" (2017, 214). In her study with asylum seeking women, Vacchelli (2018a) used collage making as a form of elicitation, aimed at triggering memory and experience. During a one-off workshop, refugee and asylum-seeking women were asked to reflect and compose a collage on their experiences of accessing mental health services in the UK (Vacchelli, 2018a). Vacchelli (2018b) identifies collage making as particularly appropriate for conducting research with vulnerable populations, as it is an accessible, user-friendly approach "which the basic skills of cutting and sticking that are acquired in early life can be used" (Butler-Kisber, 2017, 102). For Vacchelli's study (2018a), the collage making process represents a point of reference for participants to talk about their life stories as narratives, often disclosed in an open and participatory manner. Research participants chatted, joked, laughed, asked each other for help in finding images or text and collaborating in a purposeful yet playful manner; a productive social event.

Vacchelli (2018a) contends that the body played a vital role in generating qualitative data during these encounters. She argues that "the making of the collage and collage-making represents an embodied experience suggesting that how we feel, how we perceive, how we relate to our own bodies and the place they have in the order of things – is contextual, gendered, relational, historically and culturally situated" (Vaccelli, 2018a, 171). Feminist and creative geographers have long promoted personal and embodied approaches. They argue that the body of the researcher can be a valuable research tool, not just to process data but also to access and mediate embodied experiences (Collins, 2020), helping to make sense of "messy" knowledges (Hyndman, 2001). Therefore, building on Vacchelli's (2018a) experiences, scrapbooking alongside participants would enable a deeper, subconscious understanding of the practice and participant which remain elusive to conventional methods (Carr et al, 2017, Hawkins et al, 2018, Sjöholm, 2018, Back, 2020, Collins, 2020). Carr et al. states "actually performing tasks is revealing in ways

that cannot be imagined before the task is attempted" (2017, 4). However, this embodied approach does not fit into a strict timetable as the research encounters themselves constantly fluctuate. Inspired by De Certeau's "methodological bricolage", Carr and Gibson call for methodologies that are "adaptable to the dynamics of experiential, performative or nonrepresentational geographies of place" (2017, 5). They argue that this approach brings to the fore "sustained and profound emotional engagements" which are often omitted from academic accounts (Carr et al, 2017, 5). This creative, feminist approach resonates with the "slow scholarship movement" which states that "good scholarship requires time to think, write, read, research, analyse, edit, organise" (Mountz et al, 2015, 1326). Hawkins suggests adding "do, make and create" to this list (2019, 975). Back and Puwar argue that "some forms of connection and understanding cannot be resolved in short time spans. They require time" (2012, 13). The entire scrapbooking process, brainstorming, selecting, cutting, placing, altering, fixing materials and further modifying compositions, provides time for research relationships to develop and participants with multiple opportunities to stop and concentrate on the message they want to communicate (Heath et al, 2020). Therefore, the slow scrapbooking process not only enables the creation of collages and layouts, they also enable the construction of trusting, research relationships. This characteristic bolsters the ethical credentials of a scrapbooking methodology. Furthermore, this approach is in stark contrast to the quickening pace demanded by the neoliberal academy for research "outputs". This project has the luxury of being a PhD project, which restricted to time restraints, but these are not as strict as other academic projects (Carr et al, 2017, Hawkins, 2019).

The embodied, slow practice of scrapbooking has also been identified as a potential therapeutic activity, and therefore beneficial for the participant (Tamas, 2014). Wines-Reed et al. (2004) argue that the scrapbooking process is a release, a method of unloading all the thoughts and feelings participants carry with them. Scrapbooks are often the repositories of "good feelings" which can be reminisced and shared every time the books are opened. Another of Tamas's participants commented "scrapbooking relaxes me, it's a stress reliever. When I scrapbook, the

only thing I think about is the pictures, the papers, the memories and all other worries vanish . . . it is my connection to the past and also my enjoyment of the present" (Tamas, 2014, 89). Wines-Reed et al. also contend that the participant's recognition that they are creating a unique record "one that no-one else . . . is able to create, can bring feelings of accomplishment and joy" (2004, 197). This therapeutic quality was also repeated when scrappers talked about creating pages about particularly difficult times. Many therapeutic discourses argue that healing derives (at least in part) from acknowledging traumatic experiences (Wines-Reed et al, 2004, Tamas, 2014). It is this attribute of the activity which could make it a suitable research method when working with vulnerable populations. This beneficial quality of scrapbooking would also be included in the Participatory Research Group's ethos, to "not just to do no harm, but to do good on participants' terms, rather than academics'" (Wynne-Jones et al, 2015, 218). However, all humans are individuals, therefore what might be therapeutic for one person might be extremely distressing for another. Tamas (2014) suggests that observing your life as a series on constructed scenes can produce a sense of estrangement, particularly for those whose connection to reality has already been fractured by trauma. This situation would need to be managed and monitored with care, potentially with input from other professionals.

To summarise, in addition to the ability of scrapbooking and collage to grasp the elusive everyday and the potential to communicate further meaning due to layering of various materials, the accessible, creative methodology is also an embodied practice. This key characteristic of the process enables a deeper, subconscious understanding of the practice and participant which remain elusive to conventional methods (Carr et al, 2017, Hawkins et al, 2018, Sjöholm, 2018, Back, 2020, Collins, 2020). However, time is needed for this method to be effective, resonating with the "slow scholarship movement" (Mountz et al, 2015). Finally, this embodied, slow approach to research with vulnerable populations has been identified as potentially therapeutic for participants, therefore fully embracing the ethos of the RGS Participatory Research Group. Following the existing theoretical background, the following section will build on Vacchelli's (2018a, 2018b) work to design a longitudinal study, over several weeks, with stateless participants.

3.5 Study Design

Following the theoretical background and reasoning for using scrapbooking as the primary methodology for exploring the everyday experiences of stateless persons, the final section of this chapter will outline the practical study design for this investigation. Initially, scrapbooking was deigned to be conducted during group workshops with individual follow-up semi structured interviews to clarify the books. However, due to the chaotic schedules of participants, a set workshop model was not appropriate for a longitudinal study. The research was adapted to be conducted during informal, individual meetings which were entirely flexible to participant's timetables. This section will outline the dominant features of the research design, including the location of fieldwork, participant recruitment, practical material preparations, adaptability of the methodology in the field and ethical considerations.

3.5.1 Location and Participant Recruitment

Since the project's inception, I have been building strong links with national and international charities and organisations across the UK who are familiar with statelessness from grassroots and international legal perspectives. In particular, I have developed strong working relationships with refugee and asylum seeker organisations in London (European Network on Statelessness and Asylum Aid) and I become a long-term volunteer in Cardiff (Space4U). I started to volunteer at Space4U in Cardiff nine months before data collection began to build ethical and trusting relationships with the attendees and other volunteers in the space.

A report conducted by the Runneymede Trust stated that "Cardiff … is one of the oldest multicultural communities in Britain" (2012, 3). From 1800 to the Second World War, the city's industrial and international export activities have attracted migrants from more than 50 countries, including those from Europe, Arabian Peninsula, the Caribbean, Somalia and West Africa (Runneymede Trust, 2012). The majority of these communities settled in Tiger Bay or Butetown, close to the city's docks (Runneymede Trust, 2012). These long-established communities have made Cardiff an attractive city to some refugee communities. This can be seen in refugee movements following the Somali civil war in 1991 and steady, ongoing refugee

arrivals from China (forming the third largest migrant community in Wales) (Runneymede Trust, 2012, 17).

In 2001, Cardiff became one of four dispersal cities in Wales (WLGA, 2022). Dispersal is a UK Home Office policy where those applying for asylum are moved to local authority accommodation around the UK. In February 2020, Wales housed 3219 asylum seekers across all four dispersal cities (WLGA, 2022, online). However, Cardiff has regularly supported close to half of this Welsh population, 46% in 2016 (Markaki, 2017, 10). Due to this long history of housing and supporting asylum seekers, Cardiff contains multiple multicultural support organisations which provide practical assistance to help asylum seekers to establish a foundation in the city (food banks, clothing banks, drop-in centres), assist them through the formal, complicated legal process of the asylum claim and advocate for refugee and asylum seeker rights. These supportive organisations include the Welsh Refugee Council, EYST, Red Cross, City of Sanctuary, Oasis, Space4U and Asylum Justice to name a few. Furthermore, these organisations have come together to form the Welsh Refugee Coalition which has successfully lobbied the Welsh Government to declare Wales as a "Nation of Sanctuary" (Welsh Government, 2019). The UK Government is responsible for overall asylum policy and decision making; however, a number of essential services are devolved to the Welsh Government. These services include housing, healthcare, education and other social support services, all essential for refugees and asylum seekers to rebuild their lives and become a part of the Welsh national community. The policies to establish Wales as a "Nation of Sanctuary" are outlined in the "Refugee and Asylum Seeker Plan" (Welsh Government, 2019). It is important to note that this policy approach diverges significantly from the UK Government, who have adopted a "hostile environment" since 2012. This will be explored in detail in Chapter five.

Therefore, for this study exploring everyday statelessness, Cardiff was chosen as a primary study site due to its unique multicultural heritage and established support networks to assist refugees and asylum seekers in the city. As explained in the first chapter, as an overlap exists between refugees, asylum seekers and stateless

persons in the UK, Cardiff's multicultural history and established support infrastructure is ideal to find and work with stateless persons.

Recognising the many social and political issues of definitions and categories, for consistency, this thesis has chosen to critically employ the definition of a stateless person stated in international law. Article 1 of the 1954 UN Convention on the Status of Stateless Persons defines a statelessness as "a person who is not considered a national by any State under operation of its law" (UNHCR, 2015, 9). This definition is wider than the UK definition of a stateless person, but narrower than just simply being undocumented. Furthermore, as the majority of stateless persons in the UK have travelled to seek asylum from persecution suffered as a result of their lack of citizenship. Therefore, it is possible for a person to fulfil the international definition of statelessness and seek asylum in the UK with the aim to gain leave to remain as a refugee. With these many overlapping legal immigration categories in the UK, recruiting participants for this study was not straightforward. Very few people openly identified as "stateless". For this reason, I have worked with local, national and international contacts within relevant organisations to identify and recruit potential participants. The study aimed to recruit a representative sample, representing a mixture of ages (above 18 years old), genders and countries of origin. Of the eight participants in the table below (Table 1), five were put in contact with me through partner organisations, but the remaining three contacted me directly asking to participate in the study. This was a while into the data collection process once my purpose in the drop-in space was understood and trusting relationships had been established.

Name (Code)	Male/ Female	Age	Country of Origin	Length of time in the UK	Immigration Status	Location of Fieldwork
K	M	50s	Kuwait (Bidoon)	20 years	Leave to Remain - Refugee	London
P	M	35	Palestine	12 years	Leave to Remain - Stateless	Cardiff
Q	M	28	Palestine	2 years	Student Visa (Norwegian Citizen)	London
S	M	29	Yemen	18 months	Asylum Seeker	Cardiff
W	M	35	Western Sahara	23 years	Asylum Seeker	Cardiff
A	M	36	Kuwait (Bidoon)	11 years	Leave to Remain – Refugee	Cardiff
N	M	23	Afghanistan (Iran)	1 year 7 months	Leave to Remain – Refugee	Cardiff
M	F	30	Baluchistan	1 year 13 days	Asylum Seeker	Cardiff

Table 1 Details of Participants (Source: Author, 2020)

3.5.2 Study Process

For this investigation, creative, ethnographic research methods were proposed. Participant scrapbooks were supplemented with semi-structured interviews and observations recorded in field notes. This triangulated approach is thought to ensure valid, reliable results.

Figure 2 Advert for the Scrapbooking Workshop, Cardiff
(Source: Author, 2019)

Originally, the research process was designed to be very structured. In March 2019, eligible participants were invited to attend weekly drop-in scrapbooking workshops held in the same community centre as Space4U in Cardiff. It was thought that this space would be very familiar to participants, enabling them to be comfortable during the research process. Following Vacchelli's (2018a) work with refugee women in London, workshops were also favoured over individual meetings to construct a space of support and solidarity to also aid the research process. These workshops were planned to last for five weeks, each session lasting two hours, focusing on a specific everyday theme: home, services and hobbies (figure 2). Tea, coffee and cake were also provided every week free of charge to further help participants feel comfortable during the research process (figure 3).

Figure 3 Tea and Cake at the Workshop (Source: Author, 2019)

At the first workshop, the study was explained, the scrapbook introduced, and materials provided. Hand-made scrapbooks were preferred to ensure accessibility and consistency, overcoming potential language and literacy barriers. A range of possible materials were provided, including current newspapers, magazines, books, glue, scissors, coloured paper, disposable cameras and pens etc. (figure 4). Participants were also encouraged to include personal materials, such as transport tickets, leaflets, food labels and articles they have sourced themselves.

Figure 4 Materials provided at the Workshop (Source: Author, 2019)

Figure 5 Participants at the Workshop (Source: Author, 2019)

Participants were asked to log everyday occurrences, emotions, attitudes and responses over the month, which could or could not directly link to the theme of the week (figure 5). They were encouraged to document all experiences significant to them. To help participants think through their own ideas of the themes, I provided a brainstorming sheet (figure 6). Before we would begin scrapbooking we would sit and discuss the theme of the week, noting down ideas to include in the books. All participants asked me to make the notes as some were not comfortable with their written English and others did not like their own handwriting. These sheets also provided further interview data for the research.
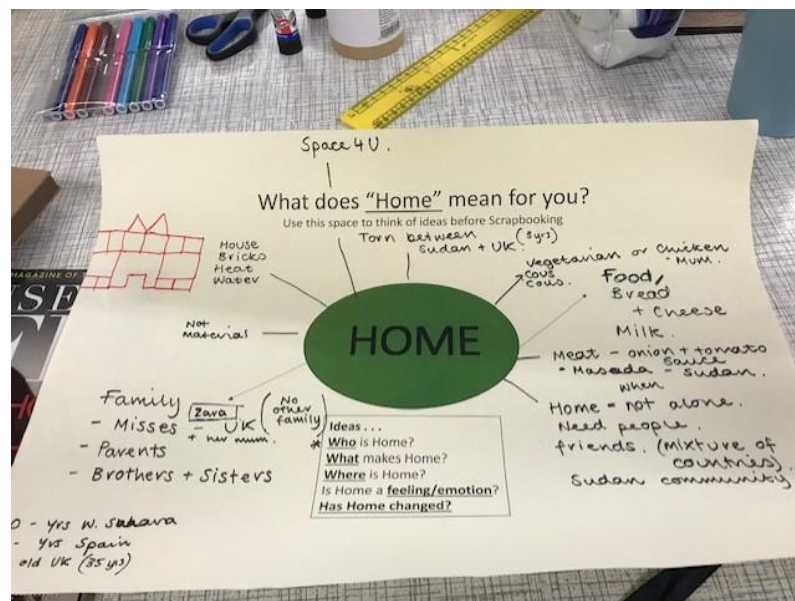

Figure 6 Brainstorming Sheet (Source: Author, 2019)

Participants were able to take their books home to add material in their own time and space around any theme. Participants had full control in the selection of the images and texts used to represent their own reality (Vacchelli, 2018a). This process also offered participants time to think about what images to select and make decisions on what they want to reveal during the research process (Vacchelli, 2018a). I also completed a book alongside participants to document the research process. My book not only acted as an example of a scrapbook to participants who were unfamiliar with the practice, but my actions demonstrated to participants that I was not prepared to ask them to do an activity I was not comfortable to do myself. This changed the dynamics of the research encounter, as my scrapbooking practice removed the "voyeuristic" element of research (Vacchelli, 2018a 41). I was available throughout the data collection to answer any queries. This process was repeated in London, where I conducted another scrapbooking workshop in the offices of the European Network on Statelessness and Asylum Aid. Again, this space was very familiar to attendees, helping to create a comfortable research encounter.

However, this very strict, structured workshop approach did not suit stateless participants over a long period of time. On reflection, the workshops were a useful introduction to the research process and scrapbooking. Participants would attend a workshop, receive detailed information about the project, agree to participate, give consent and start the scrapbooking process. However, participants did not regularly turn up to the set time and dates of the workshops. There were weeks where I would sit and scrapbook on my own in the community centre, demonstrated in the below extract from my fieldnotes:

"I thought I heard a knock on the door – went outside – it was just a van driving over a loose manhole cover.

14:30 – still no one here. I decide to carry on with my own book.

14:55 – someone poked their head around the door, I said "hello" – they said hello back and then left. I went to greet him at the door but by the time I got there he was gone – still no one here.

15:35 – finished my scrapbook page of what I consider home – no one else has joined me though" (Fieldnotes, March 2019).

This might just be a consequence of their chaotic lives, juggling much more important appointments with state services, a meeting with a university researcher is not a priority (Frazier, 2020). Furthermore, stateless individuals might not be comfortable discussing their everyday issues in a group setting, as they are aware that their legal situation is much more complicated than an average asylum seeker in the UK. As the workshops were not entirely successful, I decided to adapt the research process. I started meeting participants individually in the same safe and familiar community centre during the hours of the drop-in. As I had been volunteering in the space for nine months before I started formal data collection, participants reliably knew I would be available. These meetings were very flexible, moulded entirely around participant's availability, reducing the feelings of intrusion. Participants would meet me in the drop-in space when and for how long they could give to the project. Some weeks our meetings would last several hours, others only ten minutes. This flexible arrangement meant that participants did not have to commit to an agreed time, reducing the pressure of the research encounter. These relaxed, flexible individual meetings were successful, creating an alternative, non-intrusive, gentle research encounter (Pottinger, 2020). Participants would regularly come to the drop-in to complete the research over eleven months. This slow, participatory approach enabled the negotiation of a shared research space between researcher and participant. This trusting relationship allowed participants the time and space to contemplate what they wanted to share. It also facilitated an embodied, reciprocal attunement to emotions and sensitivity to small (verbal and non-verbal) details (Pottinger, 2020), consequently producing a different narrative compared to a straight-forward interview. The full timeline of the data collection can be seen below in figure 7.

June 2018 - Started volunteering at the Drop-in Centre

March/April 2019 – Conducted Group Workshops (5 weeks)

April 2019 - Adopted flexible, individual Meetings (11 months)

March 2020 - End of Data Collection due to Covid-19 restrictions

Figure 7 Timeline of the Data Collection Process 2018-2020 (Source: Author 2022)

Throughout the slow, participatory research approach the scrapbooking process served several functions. Firstly, the scrapbooking activity provided a clear purpose for the researcher and participant to meet regularly to complete their individual books. Secondly, as previously discussed, scrapbooking did act as an effective elicitation activity, resulting in rich visual data. Thirdly (and arguably most importantly) the trusting relationship developed between the researcher and participant during this embodied, gentle research approach enabled interviews, informal chats and observations during the primary scrapbooking activity. The embodied scrapbooking activity provided the catalyst for these conversations and observations. The variety of data produced throughout the scrapbooking process (images and interview quotes) are analysed and featured throughout this thesis. Therefore, the scrapbooks themselves are not the only research output during the embodied, creative process; interviews, informal chats and observations were facilitated by the scrapbooking activity and recorded throughout the research process, resulting in a thick ethnography of stateless participants.

A key aim of this thesis is to amplify stateless voices. As this study is a longitudinal study with eight individual participants, each participant had their own story they wanted to share. However, there are also many similar repeated

experiences. Each research output (images, interview data and observations) was systematically analysed, identifying key topics and themes which have formed the structure of the empirical chapters of this thesis: chapter five exploring everyday incarceration, chapter six investigating the role of documentation in home (un)making and chapter seven examining the relationship between leisure and endurance.

Throughout this study, I have included experiences and information which individual participants emphasised throughout research encounters, so this work amplifies their voices and their everyday concerns. However, I have included a lot of material from my research encounters with P. I was privileged to work with P for just under a year, from May 2019 to March 2020. This happened to be an extremely eventful year for P. After 12 years attempting to legally regularise his immigration status in the UK, at the beginning of the project P was officially recognised as stateless by the UK government and granted leave to remain. His was a unique experience in this study, as I was privileged to follow him through his journey from being legally invisible to becoming visible, documenting the opportunities and consequences of his new status. Furthermore, during his time in the UK, P had been involved in grass-roots advocacy for asylum seekers and more recently stateless persons. From this experience, P was able to reflect upon and bring the experiences of others to the research process. Finally, as P had been in the UK for 12 years, he was much more confident in his English language ability than other participants. Therefore, due to his advocacy experience and English language ability, P was able to comfortably and eloquently articulate the experiences of stateless persons in the UK, acting as an interpreter for the community. However, it is important to note that his experiences were not unusual and reflected the responses of other participants in this study.

3.5.3 Research Ethics

In his guidance on conducting research, Hay (2012) emphasises the importance of ethical behaviour. This conduct protects the rights of individuals, communities and environments who are either affected by, or involved in, investigations (Hay, 2012). This study was conducted within the ethical framework outlined by the ESRC and officially approved by the ethics committee at Swansea

University before fieldwork began. This section will outline the practical provisions implemented to ensure the study was conducted in an ethical manner.

As stateless people are marginalised nationally and internationally, they are extremely vulnerable members of UK society. The vast majority of stateless individuals in the UK are a part of refugee and asylum-seeking populations. This population is highly vulnerable; in socially and politically precarious positions, potentially bearing the weight of conflicts, abuse, torture and trauma (Darling, 2014). Individuals from these populations could also be struggling in the UK; trying to grasp a new language and culture, navigate the maze of available services and traverse the inaccessible and confusing SDP or asylum system. The combination of these stresses and strains can result in various health issues, mental and physical. Sensitivity to their marginality is essential. However, it is contended that this sensitivity could be achieved by thinking beyond the formal ethics mechanisms of audits, funding bodies, review boards, universities and the academic community. A practical and practiced concern with ethics argues that these formal processes are often limited in their applicability once faced with the complexities of fieldwork itself (Darling, 2014). Thrift suggests that the difficulty of such a procedural model is that it seeks to "render the ethical outcomes of research encounters predictable" (2003, 119). Darling (2014) and others contend that fieldwork with forced migrants require the development of situated judgements which exceed procedural models. Following Thrift (2003) and Darling (2014), this study aimed to go beyond the formal ethical approval process, as the ability to make situated ethical judgements in the field was particularly necessary for this investigation to tackle the ethical issues of participants potentially being disinhibited during the research process. Situated ethical judgements were continuously necessary to protect the physical and emotional well-being of participants.

At the first research encounter, the study was explained in detail, so all participants were informed from the outset. Written consent forms and information sheets were provided (appendix 1 and 2) and explained in person. However, consent was repeatedly negotiated and re-confirmed verbally throughout the process as Darling (2014) and others contend that fieldwork with forced migrants require the

development of situated judgments. It was also heavily emphasized that participants are completely free to leave the process at any time without giving any justification.

For stateless participants, taking part in a research project has many risks, especially if their immigration cases are un-resolved. To safeguard and reassure participants, participant confidentiality and anonymity was protected throughout the research process. For purposes of the project, each participant chose a random letter of the alphabet. This letter has been used to identify each participant within the spoken, written, and crafted output of the study. This approach allowed myself to know exactly to whom each output belongs and participants to clearly see how their inputs have been used without any danger of being identified by an outside third party. Additionally, any raw data has been stored under this identification system. Digital copies of the books, audio recordings and written transcripts of interviews have been stored securely on my personal computer and hard drive, both of which are password protected. From previous voluntary work, I knew the real identities of participants. A hard and digital copy of the coding system (specifying which letter refers to which person) has been kept for the researcher's use only. This information, along with signed consent forms, which could identify participants, has been kept securely in the researcher's home office and password protected external hard drive.

Participants were encouraged to include personal materials in their books, such as photographs. However, copies of any pages which could lead to the identification of the participant have not been included to protect participant's identity. Photographs were also taken of the research process; however, these photographs obscure any identifiable features. After copies of the books were made, the original scrapbooks were offered to the participants, as these books are highly personal creations.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has addressed the two principal challenges posed by the main aim of this thesis: to ground and expand understandings of everyday statelessness in direct conversation with stateless people in the UK. These challenges are how to design and conduct an ethical research project with vulnerable populations and how to capture the elusive everyday with stateless individuals. To overcome both

challenges this chapter has proposed and developed a creative, participatory research methodology centred on scrapbooking.

This chapter has demonstrated how creative participatory research methodologies have the potential to disrupt the power hierarchies of the research encounter, enabling research participants to dictate the direction of research and amplify their voices. This chapter has also shown how creative approaches to research are a means of opening knowledge production to the more-than-rational, producing knowledge in new and different ways. These approaches offer the means "to grasp the messy, unfinished and contingent" (Hawkins, 2015, 248) and to bring to the fore the overlooked and challenge the settled, including elusive everyday experiences. Following Hawkins's (2015) exploration of an artist's book to represent place, this chapter examined the potential of a similar, more accessible, creative methodology of scrapbooking.

Following an examination of the contents and practice of compiling a scrapbook, this chapter has demonstrated the critical potential of employing scrapbooking as a creative, participatory, ethical methodology with vulnerable populations to capture their ambiguous everyday experiences over a long period of time. Situated within the "slow scholarship movement" (Mountz et al, 2015), scrapbooking has been revealed to provide participants the time and the freedom to choose what, how and when they want to share during the research process. The entire scrapbooking process, brainstorming, selecting, cutting, placing, altering, fixing materials and further modifying compositions, provides time for trusting research relationships to develop, disrupting the hierarchies of the research encounter. Layering a variety of materials to form a collage, has also demonstrated the ability of this method to reach beyond the rational to capture the everyday. Furthermore, scrapbooking offers the possibility for the researcher to scrapbook alongside participants, creating an embodied research encounter. This would facilitate a deeper, subconscious understanding of the practice and participants which remain elusive to conventional methods (Carr et al, 2017, Hawkins et al, 2018, Sjöholm, 2018, Back, 2020, Collins, 2020). Therefore, the slow scrapbooking process not only enables the creation of collages and layouts, they also enable the construction of trusting,

research relationships. This slow, participatory approach enabled the negotiation of a shared research space between researcher and participant. This, in turn, facilitated an embodied, reciprocal attunement to emotions and sensitivity to small (verbal and non-verbal) details (Pottinger, 2020), consequently producing a different narrative compared to a straight-forward interview.

The following chapter, *Crafting Statelessness: Experience in the Field,* will critically reflect on the scrapbooking process. Building on the theory and practicalities outlined in this chapter, the following chapter will explore how working through the creative, "messy" scrapbooking process produces alternative narratives with vulnerable populations compared to traditional qualitative methods (Hyndman, 2001). This chapter details how the creative, embodied, participatory methodology enabled an alternative, non-intrusive, highly flexible research encounter, allowing participants the time and space to contemplate what they wanted to share. Triggered by an instance of mistaken identity during the data collection process, where I was told of a rumour that I worked for the UK Home Office, this chapter will also reflect on my own positionality. This section dissects and examines each aspect of my positionality to explore how this misunderstanding could have occurred and the consequential impact on the project.

4. Crafting Statelessness: Experience in the Field

4.1 Introduction

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the geographical discipline has long embraced creative approaches in research. Historically, creative methods were used to document explorations and then communicate findings. These creative outputs are both professional and amateur, "from the large oil painting to the lantern slide or hand drawn sketch, from the carefully compiled album to the personal diary entry" (Hawkins, 2019, 967). However, more recently in Geography, academics have turned to creative approaches not only to communicate their findings but also to conduct their research. These approaches have encompassed work with a "diverse range of mediums practiced with various degrees of expertise" (Hawkins, 2019, 978), including visual art, image-making, creative writing, knitting, taxidermy and performance techniques (Hawkins, 2015, Straughn, 2015, Mann, 2017). These approaches to research do not only focus on the creative output to communicate findings, but their embodied nature also "offer[s] a focus on process … [on] what happens in the making" (Hawkins, 2019, 973); an opportunity "to grasp the messy, unfinished and contingent" (Hawkins, 2015, 248) bringing to the fore the overlooked and challenging the settled. Through an exploration of the embodied "messy" scrapbooking process with stateless individuals, this chapter aims to contribute a new, longitudinal approach to existing literature in creative geographies.

Jennifer Hyndman (2001) has long advocated the value of working through the "messiness" of fieldwork encounters. From embodied fieldwork experience, scrapbooking with stateless participants created particularly messy research encounters. Each encounter was unique and time was needed to piece together the collage. Not every layout could be cut and pasted onto the next encounter. Some initial assumptions were torn apart, while others were very much fixed to the page.

This chapter aims to demonstrate the value of working through the "messiness" of the scrapbooking encounter, producing alternative narratives with vulnerable populations compared with traditional qualitative methods (Hyndman, 2001). Building on the theory outlined in the previous chapter, this chapter begins by outlining how scrapbooking encounters with stateless persons worked in practice. It

details how the creative, embodied, participatory methodology enabled an alternative, non-intrusive, highly flexible, "care-full" research encounter (Price and Hawkins, 2018). This chapter then explores how the scrapbooking methodology blurs the spatial and temporal boundaries of each research encounter, offering further alternative insights compared with traditional qualitative methods. Finally, this chapter reflects on my own positionality. This exploration was triggered by an instance of mistaken identity during the data collection process, where I was told of a rumour that I worked for the UK Home Office. This section dissects and examines each aspect of my positionality to explore how this misunderstanding could have occurred and the consequential impacts on the project.

4.2 The Scrapbooking Encounter

As mentioned in the previous chapter, I decided to use scrapbooking as a form of elicitation with stateless individuals for a number of practical reasons. Firstly, working with stateless individuals, I anticipated literary and language barriers to the research. As scrapbooking offers multiple methods to communicate experiences, I thought this approach would help overcome these barriers. However, this last assumption proved to be misplaced. On average, the stateless individuals who participated in this project had been living in the UK for nine years. This meant that they all had a good knowledge of English[1]. Secondly, like Sinha and Back (2014), aware of my positionality (white, young, British, woman) and aware that participants had likely experienced multiple coercive interviews by British authorities (who may have looked and sounded like me), I wanted to create an alternative, non-intrusive, gentle research encounter (Pottinger, 2020). Pottinger states that "gentleness can be understood as an embodied relation to the self and others, one that is often associated with slowness, quietness and tenderness" (2020, 2). This slow, participatory approach enabled the negotiation of a shared research space between researcher and participant. This trusting relationship allowed participants the time

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[1] This finding might be skewed as all participants were very willing to participate. Others who might have been eligible to participate may not have been willing if they were uncomfortable communicating in English.

and space to contemplate what they wanted to share. It also facilitated an embodied, reciprocal attunement to emotions and sensitivity to small (verbal and non-verbal) details (Pottinger, 2020), consequently producing a different narrative compared to a straight-forward interview.

This section will critically reflect on the scrapbooking process, highlighting the benefits of a slow, creative, participatory approach. Firstly, following feminist scholarship on slow embodied research practice, I will outline how the creative, embodied, participatory methodology enabled an alternative, non-intrusive, highly flexible, "care-full" research encounter (Price and Hawkins, 2018), subsequently producing alternative narratives. This section will then reflect on how the scrapbooking methodology blurs the spatial and temporal boundaries of the research encounter, highlighting the potentially transformative afterlife of the process and the books themselves. Therefore, scrapbooking is not necessarily about telling a story, but making a new story.

4.2.1 "Care – Full" Encounters

In their conclusion to their book on "*Geographies of making, craft and creativity*", Price and Hawkins state that making is full of care "towards materials, things, objects, people, places and environments" (2018, 237). In her recent article, Pottinger argues that these complex practices of care that "shape (and take shape within) fieldwork encounters" (2020, 1) are often omitted. Throughout my fieldwork with stateless persons, I witnessed and participated in "care-full" research encounters (Pottinger, 2020). Care was practiced by participants in the making of their books and experienced by both researcher and participants in the development of research relationships. This section will outline the "care-full" practices which characterised the scrapbooking encounters and explore how these practices invoked boundaries and blurred borders throughout the research process.

Participant apprehension at the beginning of a project using a creative methodology is not unusual. The method can be daunting and can present an immediate boundary. Specifically, scrapbooking is a western creative practice. All participants in this study originate from the Middle East and central Asia and were unfamiliar with the process, consequently causing feelings of apprehension. For

them, craft and artistic practice is an occupation rather than a hobby or therapeutic activity. At the start of the process, I was consistently met with expressions of uncertainty and insecurity.

"I'm no good at art and I can't draw" (Field notes, May 2019)

"I found the arty bits, umm, I'm not very arty, so it's not the easiest thing for me to make it look nice" (P, October 2019).

The researcher needs to support, reassure and encourage confidence in participants, expressing care throughout the research process (Heath et al, 2020). A slow approach was fundamental in this process. I worked hard to make each "formal" research encounter informal. I wanted each participant to feel comfortable and the encounter to be an extension of our informal catch-ups over the coffee bar in the drop-in space. Every encounter started with a hot drink and something to eat before settling down in a relatively quiet area of the drop-in. We always had a quick catch up, which might neatly lead on to the formal research task, or sometimes I swerved the conversation to bring it on topic. These conversations were very relaxed, I did not want to apply any pressure to the encounter. There was no pressure to reveal personal information, which was made clear at every research encounter. However, I believe the relaxed nature of our meetings made participants feel comfortable to divulge personal and sometimes difficult experiences.

Additionally, to try and overcome these feelings of trepidation, I decided to compile my own scrapbook and complete it alongside participants. My scrapbook documents the research process, but also includes my own interpretation of the prompts for the project. I aimed to include a range of materials in various layouts to show the numerous possibilities available, attempting to demonstrate Latour's notion that "the simple act of recording anything on paper is already an immense transformation that requires as much skill and just as much artifice as painting a landscape or setting up some elaborate biochemical reaction" (2007, 136). Furthermore, by completing my own scrapbook, I wanted to demonstrate that I was not prepared to ask participants to do something which I was not prepared to do myself. Working "with" instead of "on" participants, removing the obvious

"voyeuristic" element (Vacchelli, 2018a, 41), broke down borders between the researcher and researched (Sinha et al, 2014). This embodied approach enabled participants to see first-hand how I approached my book, what worked for me but also the tasks I found very difficult. This can be seen in figure 8, where my mistakes are clear with the exploding glitter pen and documenting the wrong workshop.

Figure 8 Researcher's Scrapbook (Source Author, 2019/2020)

It became clear to participants, with regards to the scrapbooking activity, that we were working it out together, creating an ethical, two-way dialogue, which had a reassuring affect (Sinha et al, 2014, Price et al, 2018, Heath et al, 2020). This reassurance was felt during everyday chat and comfortable silences during scrapbooking, demonstrated in an extract from my fieldnotes below:

"I decided to scrapbook with M, catching up on my own book. We chat about random things – Coronavirus, women's marches in Pakistan, our families, living together before marriage, women's rights and stockpiling food. As we are both scrapbooking the chat is interspersed with silence. This does not feel awkward but occurs naturally as we both think and concentrate on what we are doing." (Field notes, March 2020).

I also encouraged participants to scrapbook in between our meetings, leaving all the necessary materials with them. However, participants regularly expressed how they

preferred to scrapbook with me and would wait until the next supportive research encounter.

"I'll wait til we meet again and I'll do it with you" (M, March 2020)

Working alongside participants helped to overcome Appadurai's "Risks of dialogue" (2018). This embodied approach enabled a mutual understanding of the research, opening a shared space characterised by "selective agreement and provisional consensus" (Appadurai, 2018, 6). This shared space was productive, as "the act of writing with others triggers your own writing" (Winderberg, 2020, 55). During meetings, we would sit together across a table which would be covered in materials, newspapers and magazines which had been carefully dissected, glue sticks, coloured pencils and scraps of wastepaper. Amongst this seeming chaos, participants and I would slowly and quietly choose materials, cut, arrange, then rearrange and stick on our pages. These acts of making together facilitated topics of conversation, but also enabled natural pauses, reflections and moments of care and reciprocity (Tamas, 2014, Pottinger, 2020). Winderberg argues that this atmosphere of silence and concentration during the activity is itself an "expression of a particular kind of fellowship rarely experienced in academic settings" (2020, 55).

When S finished the page he stared at it for a little while and then looked up at me and asked "its good right?" He looked back down at the page and then picked it up and held the book at arm's length, concentrating at the completed page. I reassured him "Yeah, it's looking really great!" (Field notes, September 2019).

For most participants, over time the slow building of our reciprocal, empathetic relationship helped the initial apprehension and discomfort to gradually recede. Through continuous practice we developed some essential skills together. These skills became embedded, embodied and routine, demonstrating the comfort expressed by participants (Sjöholm, 2018).

"Don't worry, I trust you" (M, March 2020)

"I feel like an artist heh heh, all this cutting and pasting" (P, October 2019)

As participants had complete freedom in how they shared their experiences, despite my efforts, not everyone felt comfortable completing a scrapbook. A few participants stated that they would rather talk through the topics of research. As I was working "with" participants, these requests were wholly respected and provide valuable insight into their everyday lives. Others who did complete the books, used a variety of different creative techniques. For example, M collaged and embellished images she had found online, S used a disposable camera to document the present and P wrote his on a word processor which was then printed and fixed in his book. It is not surprising that participants took different approaches when compiling their personal scrapbooks on their everyday experiences. Hall and Holmes simply identify that "there is no 'one' every day . . . everyday lives are multiple and messy" (2020, 1). What is seen and experienced is "embodied and encoded and later expressed by the workings of [their] hands" (Sjöholm, 2018, 36).

As the scrapbooks were very personal creations, a great degree of care was observed during their composition. In each individual encounter, during the selection, cutting, sticking and embellishing process, I witnessed participants really concentrate on each minute action; extremely attentive to every cut, every positioning and every fixing. Pottinger (2020) argues that this slow pace and attentiveness to every detail is typical of taking care. In the pursuit of precision, "connecting the personal and political" (Pottinger, 2020, 2), care was explicitly shown towards the raw materials and the product in process. This care can be witnessed in figure 9 and demonstrated below in quotations from fieldnotes.

I'm watching P cut. He's concentrating, really concentrating. We chat about differences in languages (Hebrew, Arabic, and English) – he stops every time to speak. He's concentrating to cut the difficult shapes exactly. He jokes about being OCD, then trimming further to be neat and tidy. (Field notes, October 2019).

Figure 9 M composing her Scrapbook (Source: Author, 2020)

I watch M as she chooses the photos and backgrounds. Cutting the chosen ones out with such care and attention. She then arranges everything on the page, experimenting with various layouts and positions. Placing an image straight - looking for a few seconds - then placing the image at an angle- looking again before straightening it again. Everything on the page is carefully considered, removing anything that wasn't needed in the composition. Then once decided on the final positions, scraps and images were carefully lifted, flipped and glue was spread around the edges – making care not to use any more than necessary. The image was then delicately placed back in its final position and forced down into the page – making sure it stuck and wouldn't move anywhere. (Field notes, March 2020).

However, the materials available were not entirely biddable, heavily influencing the composition of the scrapbook. A wide variety of materials were provided; daily newspapers published by several different outlets, a variety of magazines collected by family and friends, promotional material, glue, scissors, coloured paper, recycled wrapping paper, coloured pencils, disposable cameras, maps, felt tip pens, stickers and glitter glue (figure 10). Participants were also encouraged to include personal

materials, such as transport tickets, leaflets, food labels and articles they have sourced themselves. Participants also included personal images, emailing images to me to print in preparation for the scrapbooking encounter.

Figure 10 Materials provided at the Workshop (Source: Author, 2019)

Ingold (2013) stresses that creative outputs are produced through the gradual unfolding of a sensuous engagement between the maker and material. Materials have their own agency (Price et al, 2018). Often materials guide the maker as they resist manipulation into certain forms. This leads Hawkins et al. to describe making as "a co-production that sees a human maker interacting with, and being shaped by, the animate matter that is worked with" (2018, 12). The agency of materials was recognised by participants as they demonstrated care in the composition of their scrapbooks; chopping and changing their ideas as they worked "with" the materials. The scrapbooks provided dictated many of the options available to participants. The pages of the books are blank but are "cardboard brown" in colour (figure 11). This page colour strongly influences its composition, as the colour washes out certain

marking utensils, such as pencils and certain coloured pens, therefore dictating the writing instruments used.
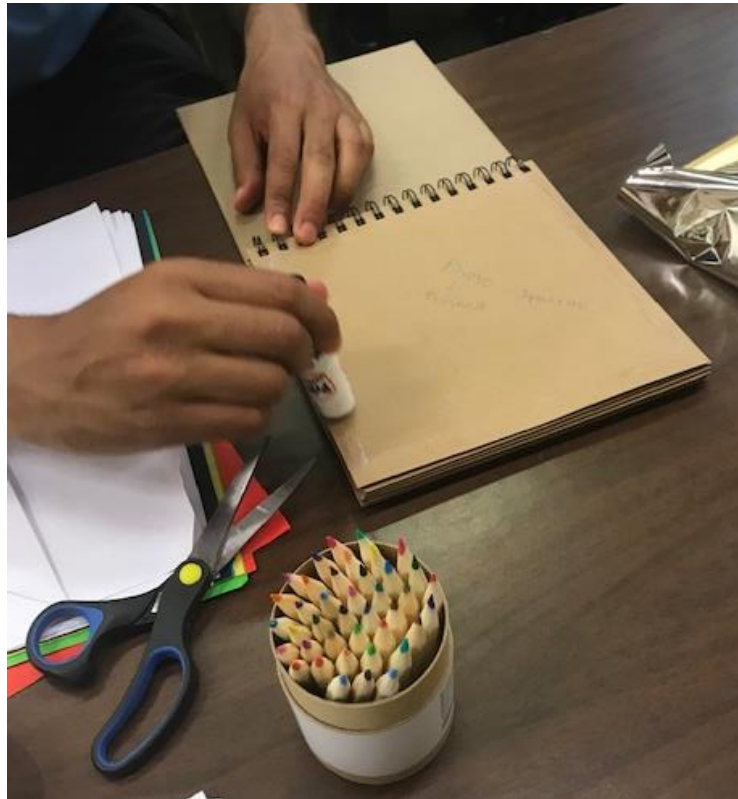
Figure 11 S's Blank Scrapbook (Source: Author, 2019)

To overcome this, the majority of participants chose to fix coloured backgrounds into their books. The shape and size of the books also strongly influenced the compositions. The books are eight inches squared, which places a limit on the available space to create and restricts the layouts possible. The glue used also seemed to have its own agency, drying out over a period of use (even if precautions were taken to prevent this occurring). This happened in the middle of a scrapbooking session with M, therefore we were forced to use "glue dots" found at the bottom of the craft box. These dots were placed in the corner of each image and then fixed to the page. However, due to their domed structure, the glue dots did not allow the images to be fixed flat on the page. This strongly influenced the end aesthetic of the page (figure 12) as the images are slightly raised from the page they do not look securely fixed. Additionally, as the page is not flat, it bulges out of the book.

Figure 12 M's Feminist Layout (Source: Author, 2020)

In the "care-full" pursuit of precision, participant's perceived abilities and inabilities also influenced the individual scrapbooks. For his book, if he could not find what he was looking for amongst the materials provided, S was very comfortable sketching the contents of his scrapbook. Following their use of observational sketching as a methodology, Heath et al. argue that the act of drawing an "everyday object, activity or place has a transformational effect" (2020, 108). By taking the time and effort to draw a cigarette and fix it in his book (figure 13), S has focused all of our attention on to this very mundane object, transforming its meaning (Heath et al, 2020). For him this drawing represented the social interactions which occurred when smoking outside a building with a group of people. For him, these interactions are incredibly valuable for his well-being.

Figure 13 S's "Smoking Page" (Source: Author, 2019)

P chose to first write the contents of his scrapbook on a word processor as he was not confident in his handwriting (figure 14). In the quote below, he explains how he wanted the book to be clear for him and others to read. He was not confident that his own handwriting would achieve this primary aim.

"I have a very bad writing heh heh, my writing is, is awful like, it depends on how I feel, on my mood, so I believe sometimes if I'm in a good mood it will look nice and neat and it will be readable and other times if I'm not very happy or not in the best mood it would've been a struggle for me even to read it, so I thought if it's something that I'd like to come back to . . . and see what I was thinking of, how I processed things . . .like in a rear view mirror" (P, October 2019).

Figure 14 P Making his Book (Source: Author, 2019)

Finally, participants were careful concerning the contents and messages documented in their books. The entire scrapbooking process, brainstorming, selecting, cutting, placing, altering, fixing materials and further modifying compositions, provides participants with time and multiple opportunities to stop and concentrate on the message they want to communicate (Heath et al, 2020). As noted in previous work, slowness is not necessarily harmless (e.g. slow violence (Nixon, 2011), but the slow, relaxed nature of the research encounters made participants feel comfortable to verbally divulge very personal and sometimes distressing experiences, connecting the personal and political (Pottinger, 2020). However, at the end of the scrapbooking process, I observed that none of the participants had included these unpleasant experiences in their personal scrapbooks. This contradicts Tamas's (2014) research, who found that traumatic experiences exceed linguistic representation. She argues that artistic practice has an estranging characteristic, which distances the victim from the incident, enabling one to communicate their experiences more easily. For this study, the lack of representation of trauma could

be a reflection of the source material provided; not providing images which participants felt appropriately reflected their unpleasant experiences in the UK. I followed up this observation with P who explained that he did not want to let these unpleasant experiences define him. He would rather learn from them and forget they happened. He did not want to give them permanent power by including them in his book.

"I wouldn't go into very detail about the very unpleasant experiences, but that's only because I want to get over them rather than really re-live them and remember them. And its personal things, someone else may feel that they empower them, for me personally I want to learn from them, get over them and then they're just behind me, they don't define me or not necessarily like you know going to affect my future experiences in a negative way . . . I don't find them motivating for me, I just want to put them behind me" (P, October 2019).

"I used to write down experiences when I was really low, then used to cut them up really small or burn it – then all the negativity is gone" (P, 2019).

This experience is similar to that outlined by Winderberg (2020) who argues that experiences and memories of oppression and violence are often made to be forgotten. As seen in P's quote, this conscious forgetting is a survival strategy and a form of resistance to past oppression (Winderberg, 2020), "they don't define me or . . . affect my future experiences" (P, October 2019). As will be seen in this thesis, P's life has been dominated by state forces outside of his control. Consciously forgetting unpleasant experiences is in his control and therefore empowering. All of the books became a repository of happy memories. Strict boundaries were therefore invoked regarding the contents of the books.

In summary, the scrapbooks are the result of a "particular collection of experiences, resources [and] materials" (Sjöholm, 2018, 40), and the specific social, political, and cultural context of their production. Furthermore, the scrapbooks are the specific result of a "care-full" research encounter. Care was demonstrated by participants in the making of their books, through the pursuit of precision working "with" materials and the deliberate choice of the messages they wanted to

communicate. Care was also experienced by both researcher and participants in the development of gentle research relationships (Pottinger, 2020).

4.2.2 Beyond the Project

Unlike other more conventional qualitative research methodologies, the scrapbooking process blurred the spatial and temporal boundaries of the project. Due to the nature of the practice, traditional qualitative research methodologies, such as interviews and focus groups, are limited within a specific time and place. Only capturing a snapshot of a participant's life; their thoughts and feelings at that particular time in that particular place. This can be extended through multiple encounters but is still restricted to a series of finite moments. As discussed in the previous chapter, scrapbooking is not the method to accurately document "a knowable external world" (Tamas, 2014, 88). Vacchelli argues that collages "create ambiguity, offering alternative insights . . . on different temporal and spatial scales" (2018a, 66). During this project, although each research encounter took place within a particular space at a defined time, the material and embodied characteristics of the scrapbooking process enabled the defined spatial and temporal boundaries of each research encounter to be blurred and extended, offering the alternative insights. Consequently, the scrapbooks and the process have an afterlife, resulting in a transformational politics (Price et al, 2018). Scrapbooking transforms materials, relationships, self and geographies (Price et al, 2018, Heath et al, 2020), extending the project into the future. The following section will explain how these spatial and temporal boundaries were blurred, the witnessed transformations and the possible future transformations.

At the beginning of their book, Hawkins and Price argue that "making emerges as an agentive force that remakes spatial distinctions" (2018: 3). This characteristic was very much witnessed throughout this scrapbooking project. The distinctive non-linear trait of collage and scrapbooking challenges binary distinctions, unsettling spatial and social categories. The effect of removing material from their original context and fixing it in a new arena disrupts the conventional, linear reading and forms a new understanding. Therefore, I contend that through scrapbooking one is more able to challenge and remodel spatial boundaries on a local and global scale.

Throughout this project, spatial distinctions were challenged at the local scale. The research encounters all took place in the public space of the drop-in centre. As described in the previous chapter, the room was always full of people, strangers, acquaintances and friends. The drop-in space was completely open to refugees and asylum seekers at any stage of their life in the UK. Anyone in this community and who supports this community could walk into the space. Most people were familiar with my primary purpose in the space and therefore knew that I was conducting research with whoever sat with me. Individual meetings were regularly punctuated with people interrupting to say hello or ask what was going on. Very little could be hidden in this public space. However, participants regularly and consistently verbally shared private stories in this public space. These private stories were then further expressed through permanently fixing material in this public space. Furthermore, at the beginning of the project, participants were made aware that their private fragments and constructions would be shared (albeit anonymously) in the public arena through research outputs. In full comprehension of this fact, participants continued to freely share and document their private experiences. Therefore, the scrapbooking process continually challenged and redefined the local public/private spatial binary.

As statelessness is heavily associated with refugee and asylum seeker populations in the UK, many stateless individuals have connections to people and places around the world. These include familial connections, social relationships and experiences along the journey. In the creation of their books, participants brought together scraps reflecting these global connections, extending the defined spatial boundaries of the project. Following Adey, the finished books and the making process reflect that for them "mobility is ubiquitous; it is something [they] do and experience almost all of the time" (2017, 1). This can be seen in the construction of M's book (figure 15).

Before our meeting, M sent me photos to print off for her to include in her book. These were both personal photos and those which she had found online. I also found a load of others online for extra choice. She spread them out all over the table – "I don't know where to start!" She then starts to go through her pictures, one by one explaining where they're from, what they show and why she picked them. (Field notes, March 2020).

Figure 15 M organising images from all over the world (Source: Author, 2020)

The images chosen by M included landscapes of Baluchistan, traditional national dress, cakes, Baluch food, activist artworks and feminist signs. These images were sourced online and personal, taken in the UK and in Baluchistan. M had collected these images together from all over the world to create her own archive, extending the global spatial boundaries of her book and the project.

At the end of a scrapbooking session I noticed that M was taking photographs of her completed pages on her personal phone (figure 16). I enquired why she was taking the photographs: "I like to keep a record on my phone – when I like something. I can share it with my friends and family so they can see what we are doing – using our time productively" (M, March 2020). This explanation not only shows that M enjoyed the research process but saw it as a worthwhile endeavour. The act of sharing the results of the project further expands the spatial boundaries of the research encounter, as most of her friends and family are either in London or in Baluchistan. The effect of the images beyond the research encounter are unknown, but the act offers the possibility of future transformation amongst this extended community.

Figure 16 M photographing her finished page (Source: Author, 2020)
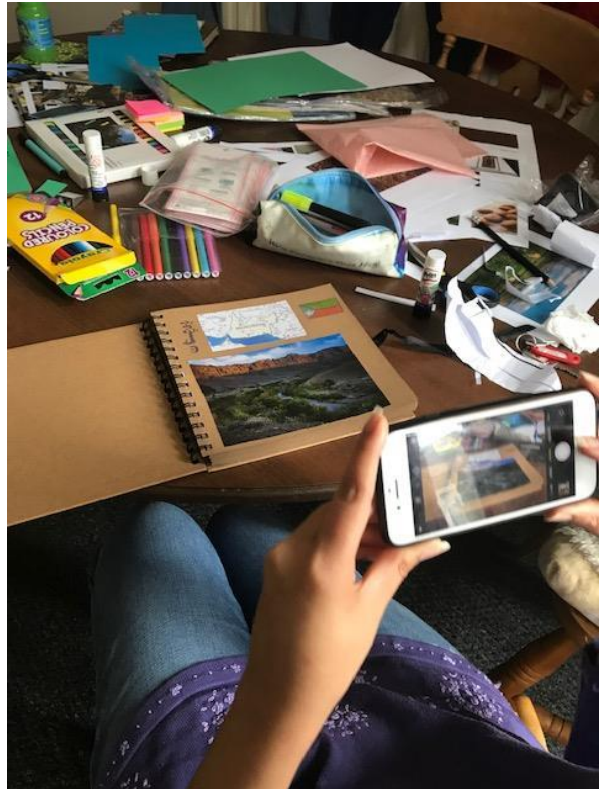
During this project, fragments travelled from their place of origin, between participant and researcher and, once rearranged, shared with friends and family across the world. These actions demonstrate that the scrapbooking extends the spatial boundaries of the research encounter. This extension consequently opens further possibilities for future transformation beyond the defined spatial and temporal boundaries of the research project. The form of this transformation will be discussed in the following section.

As implied above, the material and embodied characteristics of the scrapbooking methodology did not just extend the spatial boundaries of the research encounter, but also the temporal boundaries. This extension occurred as these same key characteristics facilitated various degrees of transformation. Price and Hawkins (2018) contend that through transforming materials, one can transform themselves, relationships and geographies. Following Gibson-Graham, Price and Hawkins argue that these transformations are not grand alterations but "incremental, daily, perhaps even imperceptible movements in bodies (human and non-human) attitudes and affective dispositions" (2018, 232) across numerous sites, spaces and scales. These

transformational, embodied and material "barely perceived transitions in power" (Bissell, 2016, 397) make making a micropolitical practice. These transformations have been witnessed throughout this project. This section will outline the witnessed transformations of self, relationships and geographies, consequently blurring the temporal boundaries of the research encounter into the future.

In her study on artists and their sketchbooks, Jenny Sjöholm (2018) argues that artists often develop emotional attachments, including comfort and care, with their collected materials. This is evidenced through the vast personal sketchbook archives kept by artists. This project has witnessed the same emotional attachments between participants and their books. At the project's inception, I made the decision that at the end of the research I would offer the finished scrapbooks back to their creators. As discussed previously in this chapter, the books are extremely personal creations. Participants invested significant time, care and emotional effort in the making of their books, developing strong emotional attachments. These attachments are exemplified in the following encounter with W:

I bumped into W on the way to the drop-in today. He stopped me – "Hey! How are you? It's been a long time!"

E – "Yeah, I'm fine, how are you? What's happened?"

W – "Lots of bad things"

E – "Do you want to grab a coffee and have a catch up?"

He told me how three guys had attacked him behind Tesco when he was with his girlfriend. He did fight back.

W – "I've been in prison for three months and now I have nothing"

E- "WHAT? Do you want to grab a coffee?"

W – "Yeah, maybe later – I still have my book by the way!" (Field notes, February 2020)

After this encounter, I was stunned that even after this dramatic turn of events for W, after he had explicitly expressed "now I have nothing", he proudly told me that

he had kept his book. That his book was so important to him that he kept it with him. This emotional attachment was not unusual. All of the participants who completed books have kept their creations. At the end of the research process, I asked participants why they wanted to keep hold of their books, P's answer below exemplifies their response:

"I never thought I would write something like this, but for me this is maybe the first experience and I'd like to () not so much keep, keep it up but rather than have a look how I thought and as a reflection on how I felt and how I processed things at this point in my life, hopefully if I looked at it from the future I would see someone who's grown, someone who's seeing things much clearer, I think it will show how much I've developed . . . I think it can be really nice" (P, October 2019)

"Gives you a sense of how far you've come, a good sense of what you have achieved and overcome and hopefully more to come" (P, 2019).

Consequently, the life of the books and the project are extended beyond the defined temporal boundaries of the research encounter. The books transform from a current record of the present, to a personal archive and a tool of reflection. The potential future impact of this materialisation and reflection could be transformational, opening and closing opportunities.

The process of scrapbooking and documenting experiences could transform those memories. Winderberg argues that "to remember, especially in writing, is not only to gain something – for better or for worse. It is also to lose something" (2020, 64). She contends that all memories are interpretations of experiences, influenced by social, cultural, political and linguistic factors. Therefore, memories that are physically documented are only ever interpretations of those events. The act of documenting memories fixes that particular interpretation in time, making it hard to recollect anything else. Therefore, if participants keep their scrapbooks and use them "like a photo album" (P, October 2019) to recollect, these documented interpretations of memories could influence future experiences (Winderberg, 2020).

Price and Hawkins state that "making is as much about the promise and process of what *can* become, as it is about the product that is made" (2018, 232)

Following Anderson, this project has focused on the micropolitical to capture these "sparks of hope" (2017, 594-5). Throughout this project participants expressed feelings of hope for future positive transformation in their everyday lives and wider international policy. Gauntlett argues that this hope for the future through making is generated through instilling a sense of empowerment, "making things shows us that we are powerful creative agents – people who can really do things, things that other people can see, learn from and enjoy. Making things is about transforming materials into something new, but it is also about transforming one's own sense of self" (Gauntlett, 2011, 435). These materialised thoughts and feelings are always available for future reflection beyond the spatial and temporal bounds of the research project. Before and at points during the project, P was extremely negative about life in the UK. At one particular meeting he could not envisage a life in the UK. However, as can be seen in his quotes above, he became very positive about the future. As demonstrated above, reflecting on his scrapbook helped to transform his outlook on the future. However, as identified further on in Price and Hawkins's (2018) chapter, we must be careful not to distance this hopeful and transformatory politics of making from their situated economic, social and political context. There were many other external factors which could have contributed to P's change in outlook. Furthermore, as will be explained throughout this thesis, unfortunately his future in the UK is still restricted due to his stateless status.

In summary, the material, non-linear and embodied characteristics of the scrapbooking process challenged and blurred the defined spatial and temporal boundaries of the research encounters. This characteristic has not only enabled the production of alternative insights, but has opened the possibility for future transformation. The transformation of materials has enabled the transformation of relationships, self and geographies (Price et al, 2018, Heath et al, 2020). The stories made during the scrapbooking process have a potentially transformational afterlife.

4.3 Positionality

O comes to serve himself a cup of coffee. I hadn't seen him in ages (a few months) he came to one of the workshops with W and started a scrapbook but I hadn't seen him since. "Hi, how are you? Haven't seen you in a long time!" I'm smiling, I am genuinely pleased to see him. He smiles back, stops making a coffee, and shakes my hand. "I'm good, how are you? How's your thing you're doing?" "I'm OK, it's going alright. I've still got your book by the way". We are both still smiling but the atmosphere was changing, it was a nervous smile. "Yeah?" he responds with a small giggle. I suggest "maybe we could catch up about it some time?" He re-starts making his coffee. The nervousness and awkwardness becomes more apparent. "Maybe, but I'm busy with work and stuff". "Ah ok, just let me know, whatever is easiest for you". He is still smiling when he says "And I was told you were Home Office". My heart sank – how do I respond to this accusation? I chose to laugh it off, "No! Where did you hear that?" He is still smiling "the other guy who was there". I'm also still smiling, trying to mask the shock "Well it's definitely not true, you know I'm from the uni?" Stirring the milk into his coffee "yeah I know, I'll see you later".

(Field notes, October 2019)

This encounter occurred after fifteen months of volunteering and seven months into formal data collection at the Cardiff drop-in space. Following feminist methodological literatures, I recognised that my positionality would inevitably impact the research. Before fieldwork began, I anticipated that certain aspects of my positionality had the potential to invoke barriers to the research process; principally being a white, British woman. I planned a number of mitigation strategies including dressing modestly, actions and conversation topics. Prior to formal data collection, I also invested significant time and effort into building trusting relationships. I forged a flexible role, helping wherever asked, serving hot drinks, cancelling gym memberships, reading through GP application forms, washing up or just be a listening ear. However, as described in the opening extract, this investment and planning did not prevent misidentification. As a researcher, I diligently followed the ethical advice documented in previous literature (England, 1994, Katz, 1994, Hopkins, 2007, Allain, 2014, Darling, 2014, Sinha et al, 2014, Tarrant, 2014, Wynne-Jones et al. 2015,

Chiswell et al. 2016, Harries, 2016, Wilkinson, 2016, Maillet et al, 2017, Vogels, 2019, Frazier, 2020), but I was still mistaken for an UK Home Office employee; an organisation perceived to be the source of much hardship, reinforcing my "otherness", which I thought had been overcome. To establish if this misidentification was a common misinterpretation, I asked other volunteers if they also thought I worked for Home Office. Both volunteers were asylum seekers and while working together we had developed a friendship. One female volunteer laughed when I described the encounter, "*No, no, no – that's ridiculous!*" However another male volunteer admitted that when we were introduced, he too suspected I worked for the UK government:

"Don't take it personally. It's because you're educated, you're British, you're young, you're female and you ask questions. You come across as – what's the word – smart, professional". (Field notes, October 2019)

In her work, Cindi Katz identifies the potential of research to "invoke boundaries and blur borders" (1994, 67). In the above quote, my colleague identifies many key aspects of my positionality as boundaries to conducting this project. Some of these boundaries were anticipated, such as my gender and nationality, but others were unexpected, including my principal purpose to conduct research. This suggests identifying as a researcher and consequently asking questions immediately puts one under suspicion, indicating "research" has negative connotations amongst this population, creating a further border. As reflexivity is seen as "vital to studies on the mundane and everyday" (Hall et al, 2020, 4), this section will explore my positionality within this particular research context. Through embodied experiences, I will consider and reflect on the borders "invoked" and the boundaries "blurred" (Katz, 1994, 67) by my positionality; primarily being female and being a researcher. Finally, I conclude by considering my personality as a key aspect of my positionality.

4.3.1 Being a White, British Woman

After my colleague identified many key aspects of my positionality as borders to conducting the project in the drop-in space, I wondered if certain characteristics had stronger bordering powers than others. Following England, I recognised that "the researcher cannot conveniently tuck away the personal behind the professional,

because fieldwork *is* personal" (1994, 85). In the context of this study, I anticipated that my whiteness and British citizenship status would have an effect on the research process. I was aware that my "whiteness, and the colonial pasts and presents [that] give it meaning … and entitlements … could also evoke negative, less-well explored reactions" (Faria and Mollett, 2016, 86). I was also aware that my stable citizenship status could introduce a hierarchy to research encounters with those without. My British citizenship, the rights and entitlements associated with it, placed me in a perceived position of power. I am able to access and negotiate state services without question, I am able to freely travel nationally and internationally, I am legally accepted in the UK. This official membership also automatically placed me under suspicion, as previous interactions with the UK state caused stateless persons to question my motivations.

Previously, another white, British PhD researcher had worked in the space, so I enquired if that person also raised suspicions. He responded *"No, he was different"* (Field notes, October 2019), suggesting being a woman presents a stronger border than other aspects of positionality. The complexities of being female in the field have long been documented and analysed. Horn (1997) identifies that female researchers are more likely to be suspected as "spies" as they are seen as "out-of-place" in the "hands-on" and "dirty" fieldwork context.

Many of the attendees of the refugee and asylum seeker drop-in are men who have travelled from Middle Eastern and North African countries. Many are also from Islamic backgrounds, reflecting the general refugee and asylum seeker population in the UK. The majority of activities in the space cater to this demographic - pool, table tennis and table football. The lack of women also reflects typical cultural practices of the majority of the attendees, where men and women socialise in separate spaces. Very often, the only women in the room are the volunteers and I was the only one under 30. Consequentially, being a young, white woman, I was seen to be "out-of-place".

Wilkinson (2016) identifies that clothing influences positionality. Entwistle (2000, 10) argues that the way we dress is "more than a shell", it is a personal facet

of the experience and presentation of oneself. To try to mitigate my obvious "out-of-place-ness", being culturally aware, before entering the field I made the decision to dress casually but appropriately and sensitively. I consciously chose outfits that loosely covered my chest, shoulders and knees. I would not describe myself as overtly feminine, I do have long hair, but I do not wear make-up or jewellery on an everyday basis, nor do I wear a floral perfume. I consciously chose to dress in this fashion to limit the attention from being an obvious stranger in the space. It was also a tactic to protect my integrity, to prevent any misinterpretation of my motives. However, dressing in this manner may have raised more suspicions, as some could have perceived my style as "professional" and therefore a possible "spy" in the space (Horn, 1997). From my viewpoint, this perception was not entirely unwanted, but its negative impact in the field was unanticipated.

In her reflection on positionality, Wilkinson (2016) makes reference to the impact of "embellishments" or additions to one's appearance, including make-up, piercings, tattoos and jewellery. My lanyard with my university photograph identification was an embellishment I chose to permanently display. The lanyard itself is one I acquired from a specialist conference on statelessness. It is a formal dark navy, but is covered in the conference branding which includes "Statelessness" in large capital letters. The card attached shows my name, university affiliation and a photograph of my face. This tactic was thought to build trust with attendees of the drop-in; clearly displaying and proving my position as a university researcher and my interest in statelessness. The wearing of this embellishment did help in the recruitment of one participant. We happened to sit next to each other during the group meal at the drop-in, she noticed my lanyard, read it, pointed at it and said "that's me!". The lanyard enabled her to clearly identify my position in the space and my research interest without hardly any previous conversation. Had I not been wearing this embellishment, she may not have been comfortable to make herself known to me and participate in the project. However, the lanyard has other associations. Lanyards are often worn by employees from a variety of professional organisations, including state institutions regularly encountered by refugees and asylum seekers. Therefore, embellishing oneself with a lanyard could confuse the

researcher's position and affiliation, raising suspicions and mistrust among agency dependent populations, including stateless individuals (Frazier, 2020). Openly affiliating with a state institution, such as a university, could also raise suspicions. Stateless populations are often targeted by state-initiated persecution both abroad and in the UK, fuelling mistrust of those associated. The lanyard therefore produced negative connotations, reinforcing initial impressions of professionalism.

These examples demonstrate that methods employed by female researchers to mitigate their "out-of-placeness" potentially arouse further suspicion, creating further borders to research at the refugee and asylum seeker drop-in. Altering appearances to dress in a culturally sensitive manner and openly displaying our identity is thought to make researchers approachable. However, these methods can have the opposite effect, projecting "professionalism", linking researchers with state institutions, therefore making them untrustworthy. As being seen as "professional" is to be seen to be powerful. This perception prevented the development of trusting relationships, as potential participants exerted their power through non-participation.

Building on Wilkinson's work, a lack of embellishments can significantly impact one's positionality. While volunteering in the drop-in space I noticed men would look at my hands before initiating a conversation. Registering a lack of an engagement or wedding ring highly influenced the following interaction. For some, it was culturally inappropriate to have a one-on-one conversation with an unmarried woman. For others, it was a clear sign of romantic potential, instigating a request for personal contact details or a suggestion to meet outside the drop-in. Even though I would explain my unavailability at the outset, for some this potential was confirmed when a young, unmarried, woman showed an interest in their lives. This seemed to permit a cascade of intrusive personal questions; "Why aren't you married? Why don't you have children? Don't you want children?" (Field notes, 2019). Like Stiedenroth (2014), my "other" and "outsider" status combined with openly discussing my boyfriend and marriage intensions after studying was an acceptable answer, but not acceptable enough to stop enquiries. This persistent line of questioning became tiring and frustrating. My fellow female volunteers also became

exasperated with the subject, with one older refugee volunteer regularly telling enquiring men "She has a partner, she's not interested!" (Field notes, 2019). Some male participants would consistently use my unmarried position as an excuse to repeatedly disrupt the flow of the scrapbooking process, ignoring questions and persistently asking intrusive, personal questions. Similar to experiences documented by Harries, I was being seen as "an "available" woman" before a credible researcher, "evaluated in terms of my gender and sexuality … and not for my abilities, skills or "professional" performance" (2016, 52). Using my gender, these interruptions could be seen as subtle ways to assert dominance in the research encounter, attempting to control and direct the interview (Allain, 2014). These tactics also worked to undermine my position in the space, as they did not see me as a plausible researcher (Vogels, 2019).

This section has demonstrated that being female, in this research context, posed a persistent border to research, which had to be consistently negotiated at nearly every research encounter. The combination of my primary purpose in the drop-in space (to conduct research) and my gender placed myself under immediate suspicion amongst some attendees of the space, as women are not associated with the "dirty", "hands-on" task of fieldwork (Horn, 1997). This assumption immediately devalued my position in the space, with mitigation measures causing even more suspicion. My reduced position can be demonstrated through the persistent personal questions I received, as some attendees of the drop-in saw me primarily as a romantic interest rather than a serious researcher. However, I also cannot dismiss or underestimate the positive impact of my age and gender on the project. Being a young, female outsider, some in the space might not have taken my position seriously, but they simultaneously could have perceived me as "harmless" (Horn, 1997, Chiswell et al, 2016), sharing more experiences for this project than for another led by a completely different researcher. The following section will examine the borders "invoked" (Katz, 1994, 67) by being a researcher.

4.3.2 Being a Researcher

Developing and sustaining research relationships is key in qualitative research (Clark, 2008). Between myself and the lead volunteers, it was decided I would openly

identify as a "PhD researcher" in the drop-in space. This was predominantly for ethical reasons, not to mislead and take advantage of the attendees of the project. It was also thought that the attendees of the space would be familiar and comfortable with the identification as there are regular opportunities for encounters with students in the space. The building has long hosted the Student Action for Refugees (STAR) meetings, where students from Cardiff University hold informal English conversation classes every week for refugees and asylum seekers. I also knew a PhD researcher who had just finished conducting his research at the same project. Therefore, the assumed familiarity with the "PhD researcher" label was thought to easily enable comfortable research relationships with the attendees of the drop-in space. Throughout this process, I fully embraced my identity as a researcher, openly discussing my purpose and the project. Many frequent attendees of the service would regularly enquire about university life and progress of the project.

However, this assumption only works in practice if previous experiences of students and research has been positive. Researchers are seen as privileged, being highly educated and mobile (Caretta et al, 2017). Katz argued that researchers exist in-between, entering the field as a "stranger" and using their "status to ask questions that under any other circumstances might seem intrusive, ignorant or inane" (Katz, 1994, 68). Non-covert, qualitative research is not passively experienced by participants and these experiences could be completely different to those anticipated by the researcher (Clark, 2008). Negative experiences of research have been repeatedly reported from refugee and asylum seeker communities globally. These experiences include exploitation of their stories, abandonment and lack of perceptible change from repeated research engagement (Clark, 2008: Pascucci, 2019). "Research" is frequently seen as intrusive, time consuming and ineffective. These opinions often result in "research fatigue" (Clark, 2008, 954), where affected communities exert their power and agency through lack of participation in research (Frazier, 2020). Therefore, the unethical or those construed as unethical practices of previous researchers can cause feelings of scepticism and suspicion, creating a barrier to future research. To be absolutely clear, I am not accusing the previous PhD researcher of unethical research practice. He was very much a part of the drop-in

before, during and after his research and as a result, is very much liked among the attendees of the space.

Statelessness and the experience of stateless individuals in the UK is a highly under researched subject. However, in the UK, stateless individuals fall into several other groups whose lives have long been of interest to researchers, including refugees, asylum seekers, Kuwaiti Bidoon, Palestinians, Baluch to name a few. As much research in refugee studies relies on humanitarian infrastructure for field access (Pascucci, 2019), individuals in these groups could have encountered researchers at multiple points during their journey to and within the UK. When I first met K (a participant in this project) he listed the many PhD and Masters projects he had taken part in over the years. Some he remembered fondly and is still in touch with the researchers, but others were dismissed as unhelpful and a waste of time. To overcome the negative perceptions of being a "researcher" I endeavoured to work ethically throughout the research process. In his paper, Clark identifies that "research relationships are a process of negotiation for both the researcher and the researched" (2008, 954-955). With this in mind and following the "do no harm" principle, I strove to work "with" participants rather than "upon" (Maillet et al, 2017, 936), recognising that participants have their own perceptions of research engagement (Clark, 2008). I worked flexibly so the study did not become an additional burden in an already chaotic life, fully recognising that meeting with a researcher may not be a participant's top priority (Clark, 2008). Meetings were dictated by their timetables, only meeting when and for how long they could give to the study. Following Malkki (1995), during meetings I resisted intrusive questions, allowing the participant to reveal what they wanted to reveal at a time they felt comfortable. Participants did disclose personal stories, but this always occurred a while into the research process, after a trusting relationship had been forged. I have also kept in contact with participants long after the formal research process was completed. We still meet at the drop-in, catch-up and I update them on the progress of the project. I tell them how the research is coming together, where I have presented the findings and show them the physical scripts with their anonymised quotes and images. Even during the Covid-19 pandemic, I kept in regular email contact. This continued, open

approach allows participants to see exactly how their inputs are being utilised, guarding against feelings of research exploitation and abandonment.

To summarise, openly identifying as a researcher can present borders to conducting research. Research is not passively experienced by participants, and often experienced in many different ways completely unanticipated by the researcher. Therefore, amongst some vulnerable populations, "research" is a loaded term associated with exploitation and abandonment. Researchers need to recognise and acknowledge how our primary purpose can immediately invoke borders between us and participants, taking precautions to prevent these borders being erected. I have argued that continual engagement after the official end of data collection, prevents feelings of exploitation and abandonment, as it really matters what researchers *do* with data. I am aware that this advice is from the perspective of a researcher and not a participant. Further investigation is needed into ethical research practices from the perspective of the participant.

This section has so far identified and examined the borders "invoked" (Katz, 1994, 67) by significant, unavoidable aspects of my positionality. The final section of this chapter will reflect on the impact of my personality on the research process, exploring if this aspect of my positionality had a positive impact, enabling myself to traverse the borders posed by my gender and primary purpose.

4.3.3 Personality as Positionality

In her 2008 article, Sarah Moser questions if personality should be the new positionality. Moser (2008) contends that researchers tend to describe themselves using impersonal, externally defined meta-categories (gender, race, class). During her fieldwork in Indonesia, she identified that researcher's share many meta-categories, resulting in similar initial impressions to participants. Over time, she argues her participants used aspects of her personality (social skills, emotional responses and behaviours) to distinguish her from other researchers. She argues that it was these characteristics which affected access to participants and the extent to which they shared experiences (Moser, 2008). Moser states that "initial respect based on various positions soon gives way to respect which had to be earned based on aspects of

personality" (2008, 385). This section will examine the impact of my individual personality for this investigation.

As previously mentioned, before I began data collection, I invested months into building relationships at the drop-in centre. The first few weeks were very quiet, very few wanted to initiate a conversation. Being a young, white woman, I was a very visible stranger in this male dominated space. It was suggested I help behind the coffee bar where a few refugee women congregate and volunteer. Initially, I was not allowed to assist. I listened and did what I was asked, even if this was just sitting. From Darling (2014), I was conscious of being a guest in this space. The coffee bar was a hub of activity within the space. It was often everyone's first port of call on arrival: they make themselves a hot drink and then head to different areas of the room to socialise. Being behind the bar I had the opportunity to greet the majority of attendees, listen and contribute to informal conversations and slowly build trust. I never asked probing questions, such as where someone was from or how they travelled to the UK. I concentrated on neutral, universal topics such as television or sport. Over time, through these conversations aspects of my personality were revealed, including sociability, reliability, curiosity and emotional intelligence. These and other characteristics were judged alongside my opinions, behaviours and reactions. We established similarities and differences, traversing the initial boundaries presented by my positionality. In the context of the drop-in centre, I would argue that my personality significantly enabled the research to commence.

On reflection, I would contend my personality, the personalities of participants, and the relationships between enabled by a slow approach to research, heavily influenced the progress of formal data collection. As all interviews were very loosely structured, research encounters were distinctively fashioned between myself and participants. The loose structure allowed participants to discuss what they personally deemed important, very often revealing unexpected, distressing experiences. The process relied heavily on instinctive social skills and emotional intelligence to make split-second judgements on appropriate reactions; instinctively knowing which stones to turn and which to leave untouched (Malkki, 1995). This is demonstrated in the below extract where P reveals he has suddenly become homeless:

"P – So I left.

E – So where did you sleep last night?

P - Don't ask me that.

E – Ok, inside or outside?

P – Both. I know an old place – it's basically squatting" (Fieldnotes, August 2019).

I instinctively made the decision to terminate this interview and, with his permission, seek support from charitable services readily available through the drop-in. In this encounter, I recognised that his well-being was much more important than the research. It could be argued this decision negatively impacted data collection, but I would argue it benefitted the research process. By employing a gentle approach to research (Pottinger, 2020), instinctively putting the well-being of a fellow human above the research project, I demonstrated compassion and trustworthiness, strengthening the personal, long term research relationship. However, I would strongly argue this unconscious decision was not motivated by a desire to acquire good data, but for the participant's well-being.

On reflection, those unfamiliar with my personality were those uncertain of participating in the project. From a distance, they only saw the meta-categories of my positionality (young, female, white, British, researcher) which generated suspicions. Those who knew my personality were comfortable and trusting in myself and the project, throwing themselves into the process, sharing their experiences. Participants were able to see my personality through the slow, collaborative, relaxed activity of scrapbooking, facilitating comfortable, reciprocal research relationships, therefore exemplifying how "making is connecting" (Gauntlett, 2011, Hawkins et al, 2018, 15). Through her investigation into crafting at the hair salon, Helen Holmes (2018) argues that through regular, repeated, lengthy, embodied one-on-one interactions trusting relationships are crafted. The hairdresser and client bond over common connections, making their exchange "both in-depth and memorable" (Holmes, 2018, 138). The development of these trusting, reciprocal relationships are evident throughout the scrapbooking encounters. Therefore, the mundane

"practices of care that exist in the give and take of [creative] research encounters" (Pottinger, 2020, 2), such as being a listening ear, sharing recipes, experiences, TV recommendations, go beyond just creating verbal and visual data, they enable participants to see the researcher's personality and create valuable social connections. The trusting relationships developed through this study are further evidenced by participants regularly voluntarily engaging with the project without any material or financial incentive. When asked why they participated, participants frequently referred to our trusting relationship.

"Sometimes you don't have anyone to talk to, it's been good to talk to someone" (S, 2019)

"It's been like talking to a friend. It has a professional aspect, but hopefully people will see the human side of it. The emotions and thoughts" (P, 2019)

Many aspects of my positionality could be interpreted as borders to research, but my personality proved to be an asset to traverse those borders. However, participants were only able to witness my personality because this research employed a slow, gentle, "care-full", participatory research methodology. This approach enabled and encouraged the construction of ethical, trusting, and reciprocal research relationships which proved critical working with stateless persons.

As demonstrated in the opening extract of this section, sincerely recognising and addressing my privilege through my words and actions as an attempt to mitigate this privilege was not enough to prevent suspicion and misidentification. This section has shown that a female researcher occupies "a position that is neither inside or outside" (Katz, 1994, 72). During this process, my gender and primary purpose positioned me far outside the drop-in space I wished to research. I was seen as suspicious and untrustworthy; my gender and purpose being seen as completely incompatible. However, a slow, gentle research approach enabled participants to witness my personality and make their own judgements on my actions. They observed for themselves my commitment to ethical working practices before, during and after the formal data collection process. The construction of these trusting,

ethical working relationships were indispensable for this project and demonstrate the importance of going beyond simply recognising privilege to acting politically. This should emphasise to researchers the importance of what one chooses to do with data and how one elects to represent participants, really matters.

4.4 Summary

This chapter demonstrated the value of working through the "messiness" of the scrapbooking encounter (Hyndman, 2001). An exploration of the borders "invoked" and the boundaries "blurred" (Katz, 1994, 67) by the scrapbooking process has firstly revealed the benefits of employing a slow, creative, gentle, participatory research methodology with vulnerable persons. This critical chapter has also uncovered additional specific ethical considerations for female researchers wishing to conduct research with vulnerable populations.

Firstly, this chapter contributes to the slow scholarship movement; demonstrating how creative research methods can be used to construct an alternative, non-intrusive, gentle research encounter with vulnerable populations over a long period of time. The entire scrapbooking process, brainstorming, selecting, cutting, placing, altering, fixing materials and further modifying compositions, provided time for research relationships to develop and participants the time and space to contemplate what they wanted to share, resulting in an alternative narrative compared to a straightforward interview. This approach is in stark contrast to the quickening pace demanded by the neoliberal academy for research "outputs". This slow, flexible, gentle research environment enabled a "care-full" research encounter; practiced by participants in the creation of their books and experienced by both researcher and participants in the development of research relationships.

During this project, the material, non-linear and embodied characteristics of the scrapbooking process challenged the defined spatial and temporal boundaries of the research encounters. Fragments travelled from their place of origin, between participant and researcher and, once rearranged, shared with friends and family across the world. This opened the possibilities for future transformation beyond the defined spatial and temporal boundaries of the research project. The transformation of materials enabled the transformation of relationships, self and geographies (Price

et al, 2018, Heath et al, 2020). An example of this transformation is participant's development of emotional attachments towards their scrapbooks. Participants had invested significant time, care and emotional effort in the making of their books, developing strong, emotional attachments. As a result, participants kept their books after the project, transforming the book from a current record of the present, to a personal archive. These materialised, tangible thoughts and feelings are now always available for future reflection beyond the spatial and temporal bounds of the research project.

Finally, a critical reflection on my positionality – triggered by a potentially devastating case of misidentification – has revealed additional specific ethical considerations for female researchers wishing to conduct research with vulnerable populations. Researchers need to recognise and acknowledge how our primary purpose can immediately invoke borders between ourselves and participants. Research is not passively experienced by participants and does hold negative connotations for vulnerable populations. This experience demonstrates that sincerely recognising and addressing researcher privilege through words and actions is not enough to overcome negative connotations, prevent suspicion and misidentification. Although not a blueprint for all research projects, from this embodied research experience, I would encourage all researchers to act ethically before, during and after the process, putting people before the research. Continual engagement after the official end of data collection prevents feelings of exploitation and abandonment. This should emphasise to researchers that one chooses to do with data and how one chooses to represent participants matters. Furthermore, I am aware that this advice is from the perspective of a researcher and not a participant. Further investigation is needed into ethical research practices from the perspective of the participant.

Following Joe Painter's work on the "Prosaic geographies of stateness" (2006), this thesis recognises the multitude of ways the state infiltrates and weaves through everyday life in mundane spaces, practices and encounters. Furthermore, following Sarah-Marie Hall, this thesis focuses on the "geographies *in* everyday life", concentrating on encounters, relationships and spatial practices "that configure and

are configured by the everyday" (2019a, 31). The following three chapters bring together empirical findings from the scrapbooking encounters. Through an exploration of public services, home and leisure, each chapter demonstrates how statelessness emerges and is contested in mundane public and private spaces, demonstrating further that the personal and political do not exist in separate spheres.

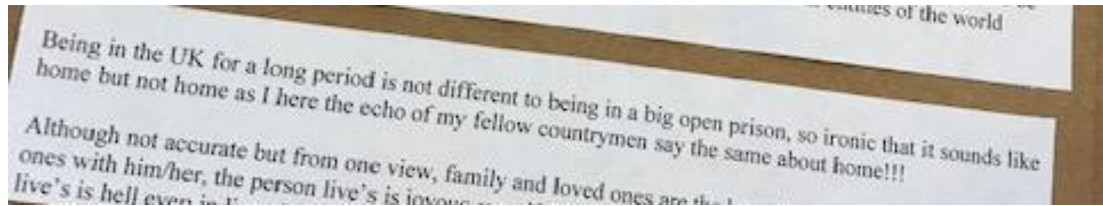# 5. Statelessness as Everyday Incarceration

5.1 Introduction

Figure 17 P's "Open Prison" Quote (Source: Author, 2019)

Above is an extract from P's scrapbook (figure 17). He compares his experience of being a stateless person living in the UK for 12 years to "being in a big open prison" (P, 2019). This comparison was not unusual, most participants made similar comparisons during our scrapbooking meetings, making references to feeling punished and abandoned.

"It's like being kept in prison" (M, 2020)

"I'm locked up in the UK" (W, 2019)

"My life is waiting time" (K, 2019)

To understand why stateless people feel "locked up" in the UK, this chapter will explore how everyday encounters create carceral geographies for stateless individuals in the UK.

The carceral is not absolute, it is subjective and relative. Moran et al (2018) propose that the concept relies on three characteristics: intention, spatiality and detriment. Intention refers to an external agent (structure or organisation) which "intends and administers punishment" (Moran et al, 2018, 678). Spatiality "refers to diverse (im)material techniques and technologies (which deliver intent) and spatial relationships to them" (Moran et al, 2018, 679). Detriment is defined as "the lived experience of harm, as perceived by those suffering it" (Moran et al, 2018, 677). These key characteristics of the carceral open the concept beyond traditional carceral spaces of the prison and the detention centre to wider, everyday spaces. This assists this exploration as to why stateless people feel imprisoned, trapped and stuck in the UK.

As seen in the previous chapter reflecting on the scrapbooking methodology, the scrapbooking process not only produced visual data in the books, but also verbal data which emerged during the process. This chapter primarily draws on verbal data gathered during our scrapbooking meetings. The slow, relaxed nature of the research encounters helped participants feel comfortable to verbally divulge very personal and distressing experiences, connecting the personal and political (Pottinger, 2020). The slow, "care-full" scrapbooking process enabled the formation of a trusting relationship between myself and participants, allowing participants to be open about difficult experiences and the impact on their mental health. As explained in the previous chapter, because participants wanted to keep their books after the project, they predominantly only wanted to include happy memories to help them reminisce in months/years to come. Therefore, difficult experiences were only shared verbally.

This chapter will outline "the carceral" before exploring how the key characteristics of the carceral - intention, spatiality and detriment (Moran et al, 2018) - are present in the stateless everyday. Through an exploration of the wider policy context of the hostile environment and the lengthy Statelessness Determination Procedure (SDP), this chapter will first explore if the UK state shows intention to harm stateless people. This chapter will then explore how this intention to harm is enacted spatially in the detention centre and in mundane, everyday spaces in the UK. This section will also explore how the intention to harm is practiced temporally through "stuckness", a state of "existential immobility" (Hage, 2009, 97), of not only being stuck in place but also stuck in time. Finally, this chapter will examine the detriment experienced by stateless people in the UK as a result of the government's intention to harm in everyday spaces. The harm of everyday carceral geographies can be most acutely witnessed in the mental health of stateless people in the UK, highlighting the "less-than-human geographies" of statelessness (Philo, 2017). Through conceptualising statelessness as a lived experience and exploring their everyday, this chapter exposes the everyday limitations produced by the UK policy context and the consequences of this enforced liminality.

5.2 Carceral Geographies

Carceral geographies describes spaces where "individuals are confined, subjected to surveillance [and] deprived of essential freedoms" (Gregory et al, 2009, 64). As the word originates from "Carcer" the ancient state prison in Rome (Moran et al, 2018), academic enquiries historically related to state prison spaces. However, following Foucault (1977), scholars have expanded the carceral beyond the prison walls. In Discipline and Punish (1977), Foucault describes how mechanisms of disciplinary control ripple from the prison in "carceral circles", spreading throughout society. Subsequently, carceral geographers have studied the carceralities outside the prison, including islands (Mountz and Lloyd, 2014), the convict ship (Peters and Turner, 2015), immigration detention centres, homes, psychiatric asylums and hotels (Cassidy, 2019). These expansive studies have also demonstrated that a simple binary between the carceral and non-carceral is not easy to define. The carceral is not absolute, it is subjective and relative. Moran et al. state that "the carceral is in the eye of the beholder – its perception is complex, nuanced, contextual and only partially predictable" (2018, 677). To continue to enable the openness of the field of the carceral but provide definitive guidance, Moran et al (2018) propose that the concept relies on three characteristics: intention, spatiality and detriment. Intention refers to an external agent (structure or organisation) which "intends and administers punishment" (Moran et al, 2018, 678). Agents can include those not associated with the state, including families and traffickers. The second characteristic, spatiality, "refers to diverse (im)material techniques and technologies (which deliver intent), and spatial relationships to them (through which detriment is experienced, contested and resisted)" (Moran et al, 2018, 679). Moran et al (2018) argue that the carceral is always achieved through spatiality. The final characteristic, detriment, is defined as "the lived experience of harm, as perceived by those suffering it" (677). This harm can be intentional and unintentional, encompassing physical, psychological, emotional suffering and "comparatively mild inconvenience" (Moran, 2018, 678).

In her research with women subjected to immigration control as a result of fleeing domestic abuse, Cassidy argues that "those waiting for leave to remain in the UK experience carceralities in everyday life" (2019, 58). She contends that certain

minorities in the UK are subject to "layers of carcerality" which form "everyday incarceration" (Cassidy, 2019, 58). These "layers of carcerality" included direct control of their mobility and immobility, home situation, finances, ability to work and therefore indirect control of everyday purchases and activities. Cassidy argues that this intentional "everyday incarceration" by the UK state and third-party agents excludes targeted populations from society, "it might not be the wall of a prison that marks this carceral boundary, but these processes situated the women outside the boundaries demarcating belonging in contemporary Britain" (2019, 58). This intentional, everyday spatial exclusion is harmful and therefore carceral. Following the findings of this study, this chapter will explore the "layers of carcerality" apparent in the everyday lives of stateless persons in the UK which compound to form a situation of "everyday incarceration" (Cassidy, 2019).

This chapter will combine Moran et al's (2018) and Cassidy's (2019) conceptualisations of the carceral and explore how the stateless everyday fulfils Moran et al's characteristics of the carceral (intention, spatiality and detriment), forming "layers of carcerality" creating a sense of "everyday incarceration" (Cassidy, 2019, 58). The following section will explore how the state's intention to harm stateless people is demonstrated in the policy context of the hostile environment and inaccessible, complex legal procedures. This chapter will then explore how this intention to harm is enacted spatiality; not only in the spatial confinement of borders and detention centres but also in mundane, everyday spaces. This section will also explore how these layers of everyday, national and international incarceration create a situation of temporal carcerality resulting in feelings of "stuckness" amongst stateless persons in the UK. This situation leaves those suffering feeling trapped in the present, unable to perceive any possible future. Finally, this chapter will explore the detriment inflicted on the physical and mental health of stateless persons in the UK as a result of the carceral everyday.

5.3 Intention to Harm: The Hostile Environment

In her recent book, "(B)ordering Britain" (2020), Nadine El-Enany argues that the foundations of the UK's immigration system can be traced directly to the collapse of the British Empire, reflecting a political desire to regulate access of racialised and

deprived former colonial peoples. Since then, the immigration system has evolved to comprise of increasingly restrictive policies, complex and continuously changing rules, punitive and arbitrary decision making, criminalisation of mobility and indefinite immigration detention (Goodfellow, 2019, Griffiths and Yeo, 2021). Over the last decade, these approaches in UK immigration policy have been categorised as features of the "hostile environment". This section will explore how the policies that characterise the hostile environment demonstrate a clear intention of the UK government to target and harm stateless people. The broader policy context of the "hostile environment" will be outlined before exploring how harm is intended and inflicted by the UK government through the SDP for stateless individuals to regularise their status in the UK.

In a 2012 interview with the Telegraph newspaper, then Home Secretary Theresa May announced that she wanted to create a "really hostile environment for illegal migration" (Kirkup and Winnett, 2012). To put this interview in context, the UK government had made a wider commitment to reduce net migration from the "hundreds of thousands" to the "tens of thousands" (Yeo, 2020, 15, Trilling, 2021) projecting the narrative that the UK immigration system needed a drastic overhaul. However, the phrase "hostile environment" has never been officially defined nor clear aims and objectives set (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021). The "hostile environment" is not officially monitored and cannot be found in any central government policy documentation. In her original interview, May describes a new approach which proposed to discourage illegal residence in the UK by stopping people accessing basic public services (Kirkup and Winnett, 2012). Griffiths and Yeo contend that the lack of clear objectives and monitoring suggests that the approach is not driven by practicalities, such as costs, resources and numbers, but by "feeling rules appealing to notions of belonging, fairness and national sovereignty" (2021, 10). When defending the approach, Theresa May stated "most people will say it can't be fair for people who have no right to be here in the UK to continue to exist as everybody else does" (Travis, 2013). Furthermore, in September 2020, a report by Parliament's Public Accounts committee concluded that the Home Office had "no idea" what immigration enforcement has achieved (Trilling, 2021). Therefore, "the hostile

environment may be better understood as an ideological stance, rather than evidence based, ends-driven policy" (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021, 10).

The term "hostile environment" has shifted and expanded in academic and media discourses to refer to a general maliciousness of the state towards migrants, going beyond marginalising, punitive state policies and practices (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021). Griffiths and Yeo argue that the terminology of the "hostile environment" is significant and deliberate as it openly acknowledges "the UK's punitive approach to migration management" (2021, 3). "Hostile environment" is still used to describe extremely dangerous overseas locations. Griffiths and Yeo contend that using the same terminology previously associated with warzones, terrorists and serious criminals, the Home Office deliberately conflated mobility and security, feeding the narrative of "delegitimization, criminalisation and securitisation of mobility" (2021, 4), which therefore required a decisive, harmful and punitive solution.

The policies which are attributed to the "hostile environment" are spread across various Immigration Acts, rules and regulations affecting numerous sectors and policy areas. Through "deputisation" (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021), this approach shifted national borders and their enforcement away from the physical boundaries of the state into internal, everyday spaces (Cassidy, 2019). Employers, teachers, doctors, carers, bank clerks, landlords and marriage registrars (to name a few) were made "street level bureaucrats" (Lipsky, 1980), responsible for interpreting and enacting immigration policy. Members of the public were transformed into "border guards" (Trilling, 2021). The Prime Minister at the time of the introduction of the hostile environment, David Cameron, encouraged the British public to participate stating in a speech "I want everyone in the country to help with this … including by reporting suspected illegal immigrants" (Trilling, 2021). On the ground, this responsibility involves conducting immigration status checks and refusing people services, jobs and accommodation if the result did not comply, producing inclusion and exclusion (Cassidy, 2019). This data is then shared with the Home Office, enabling them to take further action. This system "equate[s] the absence of papers with the absence of permission" (Yeo, 2020, 29). Therefore, "deputisation" to third parties diffuses the hostile environment throughout UK society (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021). This

approach was formalised through Immigration Acts passed in 2014 and 2016 (Yeo, 2020).

The impacts of the hostile environment are extensive and potentially devastating. Obstruction to employment can lead to destitution and risk of modern slavery, refusal to rent can lead to street homelessness and extremely vulnerable people may refuse to seek medical assistance, being afraid of financial costs or criminal repercussions. Research argues that these impacts are not "accidental side effects" of the hostile environment, but are intentional (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021, 11, Mayblin et al, 2020). It is further argued that deputisation has "legitimised and even encouraged racism and xenophobia" in British society (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021, 13). Ethnic minorities, even if they hold legal and valid immigration status in the UK, are subject to disproportionate immigration checks and their residence questioned in mundane spaces (Yeo, 2020). El-Nany (2020) argues that this excessive discrimination is evidence of classed and racialised biases originating from the British colonial system. These racialised biases are evident in the actions of the Home Office. In 2013, the Home Office hired vans emblazoned with the message "GO HOME or face arrest" to drive around racialised areas of London (El-Nany, 2020, 219), specifically targeting black and Asian communities. In 2014, a report by the Legal Action Group revealed that a number of Commonwealth citizens, who were eligible to reside in the UK, were stripped of their rights as they did not have the paperwork to prove their status (Yeo, 2020, Trilling, 2021). This report was dismissed by the Home Office, who continued to "target the undocumented not the unauthorised" (Yeo, 2020, 54). This escalated until 2018 when what became known as the "Windrush Scandal" was exposed (Yeo, 2020).

The Windrush generation describes "lawful long-term residents from Commonwealth countries" (Yeo, 2020, 50). These people either migrated to the UK when they were considered British citizens or are children of those who migrated (Yeo, 2020). They were granted indefinite leave to remain automatically by law and are therefore lawful residents in the UK. However, many of these people did not have documents to prove their lawful status, making them vulnerable to a system which "target[s] the undocumented not the unauthorised" (Yeo, 2020, 54). Affected people

were made unemployed, lost their homes, denied healthcare and threatened with deportation (Yeo, 2020, Trilling, 2021). Some did deport themselves, to a country they barely knew. After the press attention in 2018, apologies were issued and a specialised unit was created within the Home Office to resolve these cases and award compensation. However, these actions have an ongoing legacy. The "everyday borders" created and experienced by racialised communities in the UK have generated feelings of mistrust, instability and anxiety. These feelings are especially evident amongst communities without formal documentation, even if they do have legal status in the UK, marginalising those affected and creating "chronically insecure and dehumanised 'deportable' people" (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021, 11).

The hostile environment, recently re-branded by the government as the "compliant environment", has remained largely unchanged since its inception ten years ago (Trilling, 2021). The hostile environment purposefully devolves and diffuses responsibility for border policing throughout British society, sustaining racialised colonial hierarchies, requiring UK residents to inflict considerable harm on each other. Affected people can be denied employment, education, healthcare and housing, making them "physically present, but criminalised, marginalised and precarious" (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021, 18). As the hostile environment "target[s] the undocumented not the unauthorised" (Yeo, 2020, 54), stateless people are directly singled out and targeted. Stateless people in the UK do not have any form of official documentation, nor have any prospect of documentation, leaving them extremely vulnerable to the effects of the hostile environment. The following sections will further explore the intentional effects of the hostile environment on asylum seekers and stateless people residing in the UK. This section will then specifically examine how the UK's hostile environment and its intention to harm stateless people is evident throughout the Statelessness Determination Procedure (SDP).

5.3.1 Hostile environment for Asylum Seekers

The hostile environment has impacted all forms of irregular migration, including those seeking safety and sanctuary in the UK. Even though the UK is a signatory to various international human rights laws, including the 1951 UN Refugee Convention and its 1967 protocol designed to protect communities fleeing

persecution, successive UK governments have restricted working rights and entitlements to welfare for asylum seekers. Like other policies and practices in the hostile environment, these restrictions are designed to deter "disingenuous" asylum applicants (Mayblin et al, 2020). However, like other aspects of the hostile environment, there is no empirical evidence showing that these policies have made any impact on individual's decision to seek asylum in the UK (Mayblin et al, 2020, Trilling, 2021, Yeo, 2020).

In their recent article exploring everyday life for asylum seekers in the UK, Mayblin, Wake and Kazemi argue that the hostile environment makes "the everyday … a site of intense harm, of slow violence" and that the "ordinary cannot be equated with harmless" (2020, 109). Concurring with other post-colonial scholars (El-Enany, 2020), Mayblin, Wake and Kazemi (2020) contend that the legacies of human hierarchies which formed the basis of organisation of colonial powers are evident in the in UK immigration system. Asylum seekers are racialised, assumed to be "unmodern", making their lives disposable, "more easily impoverished, detained without charge, socially, culturally and physically excluded" (Mayblin et al, 2020, 109). They argue that international legal obligations are consciously and purposefully "fulfilled to an absolute minimum . . . where asylum seekers are merely prevented (not always successfully) from physically dying" (Mayblin et al, 2020, 121). The article demonstrates how the hostile policies towards asylum seekers in the UK result in "systematic impoverishment" and necropolitical control i.e., control through death (Mayblin et al, 2020, 108). Asylum seekers are forced to live in poor housing, prevented from working and wholly dependent on limiting welfare payments of £37.75 per week (Parker, 2018, Yuval-Davis et al, 2019, Mayblin et al, 2020, 108). Mayblin, Wake and Kaemi argue that "the position of asylum seekers as "not welcome" is realised in their simultaneous enforced dependency and poverty" (2020, 120). Their interviews revealed how this imposed poverty produced constant stress, anxiety, and shame with harmful mental and physical consequences. An unexpected expense could be catastrophic and leave one destitute. Therefore, the policies and practices of the hostile environment inflict an intentional hidden "slow violence"

(Nixon, 2011), physical and psychological "gradual wounding", which result in asylum seekers being "kept alive but in a state of injury" (Mbembe, 2003, 21).

5.3.2 Hostile Environment for Stateless persons

Stateless persons have not escaped the wide-ranging consequences of the hostile environment. Due to their prolonged irregular status, participants in this study re-counted instances of losing their accommodation, being prevented from gaining employment, being made destitute, being asked to pay for healthcare and placed in detention facilities for years. Through direct experiences of the SDP, this section will explore how the hostile environment and its intention to harm is evident throughout legal encounters with the Home Office.

As demonstrated in the first chapter of this thesis, the SDP is not straight forward. The SDP is not eligible for legal Aid, appeal rights are limited, a high standard of proof is required, applicants have few rights and may be detained during the procedure (ENS, 2018, Splawn, 2021). However, this investigation has uncovered fundamental issues in obtaining legal advice in statelessness and the SDP. Many participants reported difficulties finding a lawyer who understood their stateless situation and could advise how to legalise their status through the SDP.

"It's really hard to find a lawyer. Lawyers don't' understand statelessness. My case is not resolved after 18 years" (W, 2019)

"It's not easy to find lawyers who know statelessness. And no legal aid makes things difficult" (K, 2019)

Those who did manage to find a lawyer attributed this to "luck" and "chance", recognising and appreciating the difficulties in accessing appropriate legal assistance.

"I was lucky to find a good lawyer. I've had the same solicitor all the way through" (A, 2020)

"It was complete chance. From Cardiff I was referred to someone in Bristol and someone just happened to know someone in the office who knew about the Liverpool Law Clinic. I was the first case outside of Liverpool in 2015" (P, 2019).

There are several factors contributing to this difficulty in accessing legal assistance. Firstly, the legislation is relatively new: the SDP came into existence in April 2013. Many law firms, even those specialising in immigration and citizenship matters, are still not familiar with the process. Secondly, the lack of legal aid for statelessness determination cases prevents many law firms from investing in and offering their expert services. Legal representatives can apply for funding via the "Exceptional Cases Funding" scheme, but fees are fixed at £234 per statelessness case, compared to £413 for asylum cases (Splawn, 2021). Most stateless cases are supported by the Liverpool Law Clinic, based at Liverpool University, or Asylum Aid, part of the Helen Bamber foundation in London. Despite their best efforts, these two organisations can only support a finite number of cases at any one time. As these organisations are based in Liverpool and London, there is an uneven geography of access to specialised legal advice and representation, creating legal deserts for statelessness (Burridge and Gill, 2017).

As previously discussed in the first chapter, in the UK most cases of statelessness (but not all cf. 2018 Windrush Scandal) originate in other states. Stateless persons often arrive in the UK seeking asylum to escape the persecution and discrimination experienced as a result of their lack of citizenship. Therefore, most stateless persons go through the lengthy UK asylum system before attempting the SDP. Practitioners advise this route as Legal Aid and other limited financial support is offered for asylum seekers and not for those seeking to regularise their status through the SDP. However, this advice is not always appropriate (Bezzano et al, 2018) and can lead to a long legal battle, extending the hostile enforced impoverishment and "chronic uncertainty" where stateless persons "are situated within a precarious legal space" (Burridge and Gill, 2017, 23-24), limiting their access to public services, employment and at risk of detention for potentially many years. P (below) was stuck in the asylum system for eight years before he started his SDP application with the help of the Liverpool Law Clinic.

"I went through the lengthy asylum process. Put in a fresh claim, judicial review, immigration tribunal and higher court. Took 8 years, 2007-2015. You know it gets harder" (P, 2019).

"I will (2) um make the all the necessary steps in order to deport myself, so I'd have to do it voluntarily, but I'd have to cooperate with the Home Office. And because of my situation, I've done I've been through that process several times and every time you know the same answer, its not feasible, it's not doable… It's to reach to your home embassy or um ah commission or consulate and try to obtain ah travel document, ah visas if necessary to go back to your country. And in my situation that wasn't an option because I've never had a Palestinian document in the first place and they know about this and like in the process, but it was a set of procedures you have to follow and every time like you know I tried to do that, its its pointless, like you know it's very clear it can't be done. Yet I was told that I need to take the necessary steps because of the rigidity of the law" (P, 2019)

P describes his frustration with the asylum system. He describes how after his initial application and appeals were rejected, he tried to follow all the rules, even trying to take steps to deport himself but how this was not possible as, being stateless, he has never been recognised as a Palestinian and therefore never owned a Palestinian identity document. His only option was to try the lengthy asylum process again, only for his application and subsequent appeals to be rejected for a second time. P was stuck in this precarious cycle of rejection because the asylum system is not designed to accommodate people in his situation, leaving him stuck for years.

However, even if one is lucky enough to find a legal representative with knowledge and experience of the SDP, there are many problems with procedure making it an extremely lengthy and uncertain process. Due to the complexity of statelessness cases, a representative can spend a year gathering evidence (contacting embassies, schools, birth registry offices, hospitals and local councils) and then wait a further 12 to 20 months for a decision (Bezzano et al, 2018, Splawn, 2021). It should also be noted, that the Home Office only granted 85 stateless applications between 2013 and 2018 (Bezzano et al, 2018). Therefore, the regularisation of legal status through this procedure is not guaranteed. This perpetuates the precarious legal status of stateless individuals. This maintenance of chronic uncertain living conditions leads to further harm by the UK Home Office. If applicants are a failed asylum seeker and at risk of destitution, they may receive some government support and

accommodation. However, this means that the applicant's life is dictated by the Home Office, where one lives, with whom one lives, what they can do within their limited weekly budget and the risk of detention hanging over them at all times (Yuval-Davis et al, 2019, Mayblin et al, 2020). As discussed previously, these measures are intended to make the UK a "hostile environment" to deter people from staying. However, as demonstrated by P, stateless persons do not have the required legal status to move anywhere else, even if they so desired. This perpetual precariousness instigated and intended by the lengthy, confusing, inaccessible legal procedure disproportionately affects stateless persons in the UK, causing a lasting harm to one's mental and physical health.

This section has demonstrated how the government shows intention to harm stateless persons residing in the UK, fulfilling the first characteristic of a carceral environment as defined by Moran et al (2018). The UK state is an external agent which, through the policies of the hostile environment, intends and administers punishment on the stateless. The hostile environment devolves and diffuses border control throughout British society, encouraging ordinary people to question and check documents, then interpret immigration law in everyday spaces. As stateless people in the UK do not have any form of official documentation, nor have any prospect of documentation, they are extremely vulnerable to the affects of the hostile environment; denied employment, housing, education and charged for healthcare. Furthermore, this section has shown how the legal procedure designed to regularise legal status for stateless people (the SDP) can also be interpreted as an intention to harm those it is meant to help. The process is inaccessible, lengthy and complex; perpetuating the harmful effects of the UK hostile environment. As this procedure is relatively new (April 2013), there are few lawyers with the essential knowledge and expertise to guide stateless applicants through the procedure. Furthermore, the lack of legal aid for statelessness determination cases prevents many law firms from investing in and offering their expert services. As a result of this lack of expertise, stateless people are advised to apply for asylum, which could be inappropriate and sentence them to a long, uncertain legal battle in a highly precarious everyday environment. Therefore, this lack of legal support and

knowledge adds a layer of carcerality to the everyday geographies of stateless people in the UK. The SDP is designed to offer the start of a solution to statelessness in the UK, by providing status and rights. However, the SDP is only a solution if it can be accessed and completed by those who need the procedure. Without legal expertise and access to justice across the country, the SDP is still out of reach to many and therefore, does not offer a solution to statelessness. As a consequence, a practical solution to statelessness does not exist in the UK, excluding stateless people from rights and opportunities.

The following section will explore how being stateless in the UK fulfils Moran et al's (2018) second characteristic of the carceral: defined spaces for harm.

5.4 Space for Harm

Moran et al. (2018) contend that the carceral is inherently spatial. The purposeful infliction of harm occurs at a specific location, whether that be a prison, detention centre, hospital, home or island (to name a few). For harm to be inflicted in a particular space, the mobility of the intended target of that harm needs to be controlled. Typically this is achieved through forced immobility, through confining an individual to prison or detention centre. However, this section will show the everyday spaces for harm constructed for stateless people residing in the UK outside of the detention centre.

This section will firstly explore the position of the stateless person within the UK detention centre. This section will then explore the spaces for harm constructed outside the detention centre for stateless individuals. Such spaces are constructed through forced mobility and immobility, experienced at the local, regional and international scales. These scales form layers of carcerality, acting simultaneously through the everyday. Finally, this section will explore how these layers of carcerality can create a sense of temporal immobility, or "stuckness" (Hage, 2009).

5.4.1 The Detention Centre

In the UK, people deemed as "unauthorised migrants" are vulnerable to immigration detention before deportation. By law detention is only permitted for a reasonable period. De Genova argues that "migrants subject to detention, very

commonly, are literally 'guilty' of nothing other than their 'unauthorised' (illegalised) status, penalised simply for being who and what they are, and not at all for the act of wrong-doing" (2016, 4). Mountz et al. argue that "state detention of migrants is often rationalised through fear of the unknown" (2012, 526). Detention is an attempt to contain and make detainees "legally knowable". It is "only through becoming "*knowable*" can citizens prove their innocence" (Mountz et al, 2012, 526). However, when one becomes knowable, one also becomes deportable. Following this logic, the stateless are the ultimate unknown. This makes them highly vulnerable to being placed in detention facilities but without any form of citizenship they are without a mechanism to become known and prove their innocence. Without becoming known, they are also un-deportable, leaving them in limbo. Therefore, stateless individuals are in a highly liminal position within the liminal space of the detention centre. The lack of physical documentation transform the stateless into unauthorised non-citizens and therefore detainable (De Genova, 2016). However, the complete lack of documentation (as the stateless are not citizens of anywhere) make them unknowable and therefore completely un-deportable, leaving stateless individuals in a harmful, legal no-man's land. In the UK, a time limit does not exist for immigration detention and prolonged periods of detention have been found to be lawful in some cases. This liminal legal position, within an exceptional, liminal space, leaves stateless persons at risk of prolonged periods of detention and forced immobility. Legal Aid is available to challenge detention, but evidence suggests that there are barriers to accessing this assistance in practice. Below, W recalls his three years in the UK detention system:

"I was detained for three years. They moved me 20 times in three years – Gatwick, Heathrow, Dover, Brook House, Cranbrook. They don't say you're moving until the morning, "pick up your clothes we are leaving!" (W, 2019)

"Its boring. Do nothing. Just walk around in a circle for five/ten minutes. Food is horrible – it stinks, smells off. They're all foreign staff, don't treat you right but you can't speak how you want" (W, 2019)

This repetitive forced mobility is an intentional tactic of the immigration system. Gill (2009a, 2009b) identifies that the carceral is reinforced through moving detained asylum seekers between detention centres, separating them from networks of charitable support, disrupting community and legal assistance. These moments of forced mobility facilitate their future, long-term immobility. Mountz et al. contend that "detention is not simply a matter of containing migrant bodies, but also choosing when and where they can move" (2012, 529).

For W, his stateless position within the liminal, harmful space of the detention centre became very clear after two years of being moved between detention facilities:

"After being detained for two years, I requested to go back to Western Sahara. I was refused three times. The Home Office said no. I was so annoyed/pissed off with the UK" (W, 2019)

For the UK state, the detention system had achieved one of the main aims of the hostile environment. The system had made life so unbearable for W that he wanted to voluntarily deport himself and return to Western Sahara, a country he had not seen since he was a very small child. However, even though he wanted to leave the UK - and presumably the UK authorities also wanted him to leave - as he is stateless and without any documentation, this repeated request could not be facilitated. W's mobility was not only being restricted by the UK, but also by the international state/citizenship norm, demonstrating layers of national and international everyday incarceration. W was detained for another year, further demonstrating his detainability and un-deportability as a result of his statelessness (De Genova, 2016).

The authorities also do not refer people in detention to the Statelessness Determination Procedure, even though a detainee can make an application from detention (ENS, 2018). This can result in the increased vulnerability of the stateless, as a person released from detention is not routinely issued with residency documents unless they have been applied for and been granted stateless status from within detention. This can result in destitution outside detention (Thorpe, 2012) and does not remove the risk of detention in the future as a lack of documentation makes one detainable – restarting the whole cycle. The permanent threat of detention can

"render one's way of life and one's life projects to be always relatively tentative and tenuous" (De Genova, 2016, 7). This permanent uncertainty and precariousness can have a significant impact on one's physical and mental health, which could be interpreted as a layer of incarceration outside of the detention centre.

The following section will explore the spaces for harm constructed outside of the detention centre for stateless individuals. These spaces are constructed through forced mobility and immobility, experienced at the local, regional and international scales, forming layers of carcerality which act simultaneously through the everyday.

5.4.2 Incarceration Outside the Detention Centre

Incarceration and forced immobility of stateless persons can also be achieved outside the detention centre. Everyday spaces outside the detention centre have been interpreted as spaces of harm for asylum seekers (Cassidy, 2019, Yuval-Davis et al, 2019, Mayblin et al, 2020, Yeo, 2020). This section will explore everyday spaces of harm constructed for stateless individuals in the UK. These spaces are experienced at the local, regional and international scales, forming layers of carcerality experienced simultaneously through the everyday.

At the very local scale, the accommodation provided by the Home Office is interpreted as a harmful space by stateless participants. Stateless asylum seekers and destitute, failed stateless asylum seekers are placed in designated Home Office accommodation on a no-choice basis. The poor conditions of these houses have been well reported (Yuval-Davis et al, 2019, Mayblin et al, 2020).

"[The houses are] run down – doors off hinges, squeaky floors, drippy taps, ceilings leaking downstairs … You put up with it as you think its short term. You can't complain to anyone as there are language difficulties" (P, 2019)

The Home Office decides where you live and with whom you live, which can lead to issues making one distressed and uncomfortable in their own home. This is explained below by M:

"I'm not comfortable in the house. It's a female only house but men stay late. I have to be properly dressed at all times – I can't be comfortable" (M, 2020)

"Full of different people, from different cultures with different eating habits. But we are all forced to eat the same dinner at 4pm. We are also put into shared rooms with strangers. I can't trust a stranger around my possessions. They are treating adults like children. We don't have a choice." (M, 2020)

In the quote above, M references the control the Home Office inflicts upon stateless asylum seekers in the minute occurrences of their everyday lives, for example deciding what and when to eat within some Home Office accommodation facilities. Below, M also describes other small, everyday controls:

"There aren't any mirrors in the house. The manager told me it's to stop us from harming ourselves. If we really wanted too there are so many other ways! Being treated like children" (M, 2020)

"No wifi is provided, and you need documents for wifi and phone contracts. The internet is essential to us, we can't call anyone, can't watch movies or read to relax. We are not prisoners. We are left with our thoughts, constantly overthinking – it's so boring - which has an impact on mental health" (M, 2020)

Another more extreme example of the control demonstrated by the Home Office and their third-party partners was shared by P. In August 2019, P was living in the YMCA. A fire occurred and the source of the fire was only 3 rooms away from P's. The incident, described by my fieldnotes below, was especially traumatic for P due to his underlying mental health conditions.

Because of his mental health conditions (PTSD) instead of evacuating the building P was found in his room by the firefighters curled in a ball, in shock with his hands over his head and ears. "Bombing, shooting, smoke in Palestine. Ambulance sirens and the warning alarm to find shelter sounds like the fire alarm. I lived there until I was 22/23, of course it's traumatising". *Smoke had started to fill the room. He had a panic attack and couldn't move. A paramedic was called. As the fire happened after midnight, he was taken to hospital and stayed the rest of the night there as there weren't any mental health nurses available until the morning. In the morning he was assessed and sent back to the YMCA. However, the floor where P's room is and the fire was, was not safe, so he was not able to go back to his room" (Fieldnotes, 2019*)

However, the subsequent clean up of the incident reinforced for P the level of control of the Home Office and their third parties had over his everyday life as they packed all of his possessions to move him to an unknown location without his consent.

"I went out for the day with my friend and when I came back they had packed my stuff without me being there, without my consent – I wasn't there! They want to move me to one place and then to another place, its temporary, it's draining. I don't have the energy to deal with this" (P, 2019).

"When I invite my support workers into my room they say they can't come in, then they go into my room without my consent. They want to get rid of me, I feel like a burden, like they don't want me there. They keep saying "it's your choice" – no its not! I'm not a fussy person, I just want a roof over my head. You should be treating me like a human in need. I do say thank you and I'm not greedy. They are treating me like a child" (P, 2019).

For P, the trauma and harm of the fire was further amplified by the highly invasive breach of his personal space. For him, this incident emphasised how little control he had over major aspects of his life, at the mercy of the Home Office and attached third parties. Even though P was not physically in a detention centre, the harmful, micro-managed, carceral existence was replicated in Home Office accommodation.

Similar tactics of forced mobility used in the detention system are also used to control stateless asylum seekers through the state-wide dispersal system. Participants reported being moved at very short notice between various sites of Home Office accommodation in various cities. Again, through separating individuals from their community and legal support networks, these moments of forced mobility are intended to cause long-term immobility (Gill, 2009a, 2009b). The wider impacts on other constructive activities, such as education, are described by S below:

"I started college in London, doing English – but that stopped when the Home Office moved me to Cardiff. It's so annoying, frustrating. Now I have nothing to do. It's a new community, starting again." (S, 2019).

These forced movements also have detrimental impacts on one's healthcare, as identified by S when he tried to arrange an emergency dental appointment:

Booking a dentist appointment in September 2019 – "Rang the dentist and they told me the next appointment is January 2020, so I gave up. I don't know if I'll still be in Cardiff then" (S, 2019)

S was in considerable pain when trying to arrange an appointment with an NHS dentist. However, aware that the Home Office controlled his mobility and aware that he could be moved to a completely different city at any moment, prevented him from committing to an essential healthcare appointment, leaving him to endure the pain. These examples demonstrate the everyday choices stateless people make and the potential detrimental consequences they are made to endure because the UK state controls their everyday (im)mobility.

Further layers of forced immobility are achieved through lack of travel documentation required for international mobility. Like W requesting to leave the UK after his treatment in the detention system, P reached also reached his limits and wanted to leave the UK. But like W, as P did not have any official documentation due to being stateless, he could not leave through official channels. He concluded that his only way to leave the UK was by swimming the English Channel to France.

"I reached to a point where I was so fed up. … you are surrounded from all sides with with walls and barbed wires and and borders, and and here in the UK if you want to cross legally you can't without any document, without any identification…So, you can't do it even voluntarily … and official channels in some situations are very complicated and only feasible on papers … they're not realistic. So the situation was that I need to progress in my life, I need to to keep going. I I I reached to a point where I felt like I'm stalling, there's nothing more, I can't be here. And the only way was is to cross illegally and because I didn't want to get in anything illegal, () although crossing the channel in a way is illegal without having documentation, but this doesn't involve anyone else helping me or anyone else () um to facilitate that process for me." (P, 2019)

"I started exercise … It's very dangerous … just suicidal… I read like about a few people who had crossed the Channel and very fit, some of them young, some of them old but they all have support or in a way support in in to ensure their safety. I wouldn't have that luxury … if I would've done that it would've been (3) just me swimming. And thinking about it now, it's very active, (2) like shipping route – it's ridiculous that you'd think that you can swim that far besides () physical fitness, the weather, there are so many things involved that – but out of desperation it's just like you know, it's either this or just like burying yourself alive here." (P, 2019)

P had never experienced the carceral space of the detention centre. However, through everyday experiences in everyday spaces, P saw the UK as an "open prison" (P, 2019) and he wanted to escape. P was that desperate to leave the harmful space of the UK, he was willing to risk his life and swim the channel. The control exercised by the UK state over the everyday lives of stateless people, creates harmful everyday spaces and layers of everyday carcerality. Examples in this section reveal that these layers are experienced in accommodation, in college and accessing dental care. Stateless lives are surveyed, confined and harmed in throughout everyday spaces in the UK.

The following section will explore how these layers of carcerality can create a sense of temporal immobility, or "stuckness" (Hage, 2009).

5.4.3 Temporal Carcerality: "Stuckness"

As previously discussed, the inaccessible, complex legal system and the status of the "unknowable" stateless person, makes them detainable but un-deportable (De Genova, 2016), creating a perpetual carceral circuit, which leaves stateless persons at risk of enduring the intended harmful restrictions of the hostile environment for much longer than any other non-citizen in the UK.

"I used to tell housemates all the time that "I'll be here longer than all of you" – it was a broken record" (P, 2019).

The layers of everyday, national and international carcerality result in feelings of "stuckness". Stuckness refers to how confinement is experienced by those subjected to the carceral (Jefferson et al, 2019). Jefferson et al argue that this

experience is not only "an expression of physical confinement" (2019, 2) but is an expression of how individuals interpret these carceral forces. Jefferson et al. defines stuckness as a liminal state, being "caught between the temporary and the permanent; between exclusion and inclusion" (2019, 2). As the carceral is imposed by an external agent there is a specific power relationship (Straughan et al, 2020). The harmful experience of enforced (im)mobility is inflicted by the powerful on the powerless, therefore one cannot choose to be "stuck".

Mobility is a "highly differentiated activity where many different people move in many different ways" (Adey, 2006, 83). Being "stuck" is often interpreted as a spatial confinement, physically immobile. In contrast, being "mobile" associates corporeal movement with freedom and agency (Jefferson et al, 2019). However, Adey (2006) argues that mobility and immobility are relational and experiential, entailing various meanings for different people depending on their social situation (Straughan et al, 2020). Ghassan Hage expands stuckness by defining the situation as a state of "existential immobility" (2009, 97), of not only being stuck in place but also stuck in time. McNevin states that stuckness is the "feeling of going nowhere, geographically, socially or economically in a world in which others are perceived as being unfairly mobile" (2020, 547). One who is "stuck" cannot see any advancement in their situation, "thwart[ing] aspiration" (McNevin, 2020, 548). They are unable to perceive any possible futures, they are trapped in the present (Jefferson et al, 2019, Straughan et al, 2020). Very often, the ability to control their time is removed from the stuck and the timescale of others is forced upon them. Therefore, the stuck are often without agency, suffering "from both the absence of choices or alternatives … and an inability to grab such alternatives even if they present themselves" (Hage, 2009, 100). This lack of agency forces a "necessitated short-termism" (Harris and Norwicki, 2018, 389), where lives are put "on hold, as energies are channelled into short term processes of "getting by" rather than to long term decision marking" (Harris and Norwick, 2018, 389). Due to the carceral conditions imposed on them, the stuck therefore are prevented from future planning and controlling their own lives, inflicting precarity and its associated layers of harms (Staughan et al, 2020).

This chapter has shown how intentional, everyday harmful environments in the UK can create a sense of existential immobility, of being stuck in place and time for stateless individuals. This chapter has demonstrated how an inaccessible, complex legal process creates a sense of legal stuckness. Without legal expertise across the country, the SDP is still out of reach to many and therefore, does not offer a solution to statelessness. Therefore, a future with rights and opportunities is unimaginable for many stateless persons in the UK.

"UK immigration law is made to be impossible especially for stateless people" (P, 2019)

"It's frustrating that no one seems to know any answers. I'm constantly feeling uncomfortable – I can't relax. Waiting only makes it worse" (S, 2019)

Previous work on waiting in the asylum system, has identified time as a technique of border control (McNevin, 2020). As previously discussed, slowness or suspension in the legal process to regularise stateless status can lead to "sustained periods of stasis, indeterminacy and waiting" (McNevin, 2020, 547). This slowness results in an indefinite, sustained precarity, left vulnerable to the intentional, harmful conditions of the hostile environment. Therefore, slowness is deployed as a means of control by the UK state. McNevin's research demonstrates how "a progressive temporal narrative of citizenship-to-come obscures the effective denial of citizenship" (2020, 545). This can be seen in the SDP process. The lengthy SDP provides the sense of a progressive temporality, where future legal status is assumed to be much better than current statelessness. However, the slow, interrupted process "masquerade[s] … reality, serv[ing] to delay and deny the very equalities they purport to represent" (McNevin, 2020, 556). Therefore, the SDP has the potential to perpetuate the layers of carcerality and stuckness rather than resolve their stateless situation.

However, stuckness does not necessarily equate to passivity (Jefferson et al, 2019). Although this chapter has highlighted instances of stuckness, where participants are unable to perceive any possible futures, trapped in the present, this chapter has also simultaneously revealed that stateless participants did not

permanently succumb to this feeling (Jefferson et al, 2019, Straughan et al, 2020). Participants persisted with the inaccessible, lengthy legal system, driven by the prospect of a future of not being stateless. Chapter 7, *Enduring Statelessness,* will further explore these strategies of endurance employed by stateless people in the UK.

The final section of this chapter will examine how everyday spaces in the UK fulfil Moran et al's (2018) final characteristic of the carceral: detriment. Through an exploration of the mental health of the stateless, this section will outline the detrimental results of the intentional infliction of harm by the UK state in everyday spaces on stateless people in the UK.

5.5 Detrimental Effects of Everyday Incarceration

"I was bulletproof til I came here … your brain has a limit and it breaks at one point … no one is immune. You think you are getting better, but you can't switch it off, during an episode no force in the world can bring you out of it" (P, 2019)

As discussed in the previous chapter, the slow, relaxed nature of the research encounters made participants feel comfortable to verbally divulge very personal and distressing experiences, connecting the personal and political (Pottinger, 2020). The slow, "care-full" scrapbooking process enabled the formation of a trusting relationship between myself and participants, enabling participants to be open about their mental health. This was completely unexpected, as previous literature has repeatedly stated how mental health is a taboo subject amongst refugee and asylum seeker communities (Khanom et al, 2019, Shannon et al, 2015). Examples of the harms caused by everyday geographies of incarceration have been identified throughout this chapter. However, this section will explore the impact of these layers of incarceration specifically on the mental health of those targeted, highlighting the "less-than-human geographies" of statelessness (Philo, 2017).

It has been long reported that the "prevalence of mental illness is found to be higher among refugee populations resettled in high income countries than it is among native populations or non-refugee migrants" (Hvidtfeldt et al, 2020, 401). This includes affective and nervous disorders, such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

(PTSD), and psychiatric disorders, like schizophrenia (Hvidtfeldt et al, 2020). Both pre and post migration adversities are thought to have an impact (McColl et al, 2008). However, there is significant evidence that post-migration problems have a substantial bearing on mental wellbeing. A Norwegian study compared the admission diagnoses of refugees and asylum seekers (Iverson and Morken, 2004). They found that asylum seekers had much higher rates of PTSD than refugees (45% vs 11%), which was thought to indicate the high levels of stress caused by the uncertainty of the asylum procedure (McColl et al, 2008). Building on this finding, a recent Danish study assessed whether the length of asylum decisions is associated with resettled refugees' risk of being diagnosed with a psychiatric disorder (Hvidtfeldt et al, 2020). After assessing 22 years' worth of data, they concluded that "refugees who waited longer than a year for an asylum decision face an increased risk of psychiatric disorders" (Hvidtfeldt et al, 2020, 400). McColl states that this extreme stress is caused by the "seven D's", "discrimination, detention, dispersal, destitution, denial of healthcare, delayed decisions and the denial of the right to work" (2008, 455). These "seven D's" have already been considered in this chapter as layers of the everyday carceral environment. However, as already identified, stateless persons are subject to a longer, more complex legal procedure, they are therefore subject to the effects of the "seven D's" for longer than other refugees and asylum seekers. This extended exposure leaves them at a higher risk of suffering from mental health problems. All of the participants in this study were and some are still subject to lengthy delays to regularising their legal status in the UK. M's case was the quickest, only taking 14 months to resolve, but as previously discussed, it took P 12 years to regularise his status in the UK and W's case is still ongoing after 24 years being stateless in the UK.

"My brain can't cope. Its mentally and physically exhausting. Waiting, waiting, waiting . . ." (W, 2019)

All participants waited longer than one year to resolve their legal status, leaving them at higher risk of developing mental health problems (Hvidtfeldt et al, 2020). Participants openly discussed the mental anguish they have suffered and which they attribute to their treatment by UK services. Participants revealed

experiences of severe depression resulting in weight loss, self-harm, suicidal thoughts and attempts to take their own life.

The tactics of forced mobility in the detention centre and through the state-wide dispersal system have been previously discussed in this chapter. Gill (2009a, 2009b) identified how the carceral is reinforced through moving asylum seekers, separating them from networks of charitable support, disrupting community and legal assistance. These moments of forced mobility are designed to cause long-term immobility. However, as demonstrated by M and N below, this forced movement is also detrimental to the mental health of those affected.

"In Cardiff my depression and anxiety have become much worse. You have no choice where they send you. I'm completely on my own. All my friends, family, my support system are in London" (M, 2020)

"Home Office moved me from London to Cardiff. But all my friends and family are in London. I became depressed, felt alone and spent all the time in my room. I lost weight – six kilos because I stopped eating. I was so stressed with everything" (N, 2020).

These experiences concur with Lowe and DeVerteuil, who contend that "having a degree of personal control over residential circumstances is crucial for [a person's] attempts to maintain stability in their mental health" (2020, 4). Both M and N had absolutely no control over where they were housed, unable to challenge the decision of the Home Office. Following Lowe and DeVerteuil (2020), I argue that this forced mobility resulting in immobility is an example of "residential entrapment" which "serves to damage already damaged people" (2020, 6). The forced mobility of dispersal isolated them from their established networks of relations, their legal and emotional support systems. Often relocations occur with very little notice, leaving no time to tell their communities, "leaving individuals re-traumatised and dealing with new separation and loss without preparation" (Khanom et al, 2019, 51). These repeated relocations have a detrimental impact on physical and mental health.

Detention is a more extreme form of "residential entrapment" (Lowe et al, 2020, 6). The complete lack of control over one's everyday movements, meals and

activities is thought to "substantially worsen the health" of those detained (McColl et al, 2008, 455). As previously discussed, as the stateless are without any form of citizenship to prove their innocence, stateless persons are un-knowable and un-deportable. These characteristics place them at a higher risk of repeated and prolonged detention in the UK. W describes how the indefinite, isolating, micro-managed existence of being in detention facilities pushed his mental resolve to the absolute limit.

"I've thought about suicide many times – very depressed" (W, 2019)

"The last time they moved me I ran from the bus up onto the roof of the centre. I threatened to jump. They got me down and I was sectioned. But when they released me, I had nowhere to go" (W, 2019)

It is thought that detention facilities do not provide satisfactory healthcare for those detained (McColl et al, 2008). This is demonstrated by W's experience. Being subject to the indefinite detention system for three years pushed him to his limits and then abandoned him at his lowest, as his un-deportable legal status and health needs meant that it would be unreasonable to detain him any longer. However, after three years of detention, W felt he did not have anywhere to go as he had been separated from his established support systems for too long.

The detrimental effects of mental health issues can be further compounded for stateless persons in the UK due to perceived and actual barriers to healthcare. Some stateless persons are afraid to use the NHS as they believe that their status excludes them from such services and that by making themselves visible to the state they are putting themselves at risk of detention, deportation and discrimination (ENS, 2021). In some cases, these fears are realised when they are charged for essential health procedures.

"Charges are a problem. These charges increase if they are not paid. Only become a problem in the last two years. I was told of an old lady in the [Bidoon] community who was told "if you haven't status you should pay" (K, 2019).

For P, he felt his legal status resulted in lack of care following a highly dangerous and traumatic mental health episode. In the following quote he equates the denial of care, assistance and discrimination at his most vulnerable as worse than torture.

"In 2014 it was bad. I was experiencing suicidal thoughts and I took an overdose. I was sectioned but then I was discharged but I refused to leave. They called the police and I spent a night in jail. They told me to go home the next morning. Being in prison/tortured is nothing compared to being told you shouldn't be in hospital. I felt I needed to be in hospital – I wanted to be there. I'm being pushed away – because of who I am – pushed to lesser services. From consultants to nurses – I know they aren't as qualified" (P, 2019)

Referring to mental health services "I felt helpless – I don't want to go back there again. I'd rather die, go through the worst of the worst than see a psychiatrist. It's out of this world. One of the worst experiences ever. It's worse than the Home Office" (P, 2019).

At the time of the incident, P clearly felt that the medical staff were not interested in him and therefore received inadequate care because of his stateless status. The comparison to the Home Office is significant for P, as seen previously in this chapter, he views the Home Office as responsible for all the carceral harms he has experienced in the UK. For him, this experience has created a barrier to seeking medical assistance. These feelings of non-recognition or not being taken seriously are not unusual amongst the refugee and asylum seeker population. A report examining the health experiences of asylum seekers and refugees in Wales (HEAR), reported instances "where care providers' behaviour made them feel judged, or that their intellect was questioned" (Khanom, 2019, 36). These negative experiences can reverberate throughout the community, creating wider mistrusts and further barriers to mental healthcare.

"You don't talk about stress because everyone is stressed. You don't talk about trauma, because everyone has experienced trauma" (P, 2019)

"Mental health is still not acknowledged. People think that they should cope on their own. They don't seek treatment. It's not normalised" (M, 2020)

These views of the wider refugee and asylum seeker community, expressing mistrust of the service and mental healthcare as a taboo subject, are also evident in the HEAR report (Khanom, 2019). The report stated that participants "felt there wasn't enough help for people whose poor mental health was linked to experiences of trauma" (Khanom et al, 2019, 39), putting people off searching for care. The report also found that people would rather talk about "feeling sad or unhappy rather than feeling mentally unwell" and prioritise "food and security" over mental health issues (Khanom et al, 2019, 39). However, not all experiences with health services were negative and harmful. Participants in Cardiff praised the personal advice and support they received from their GP.

"Once registered it was really easy. The GP and nurse were really kind and I felt I had equal rights" (M, 2020)

"I've been under the care of the GP since. The GP has been incredible and supportive, but even he has his limits when its outside his speciality" (P, 2019).

The GP services were praised for being kind, supportive, empathetic and provided a continuity of care. All of these characteristics were highly appreciated and valued by participants, enabling a trusting relationship between the GP and stateless persons (Khanom et al, 2019).

Finally, the detrimental effects of incarceration have been identified by carceral geographers to continue long after formal incarceration has ended (Moran et al, 2018), including mental health problems. W showed me the physical lasting harms of everyday incarceration.

W then turns over his forearms to show me. He reveals tens of white scars up both his arms, clear evidence of self-harm. "This is what Britain has done" (W, 2019)

The creation of a carceral everyday geography and long term "stuckness" has proven to be detrimental for stateless individuals. The slow legal proceeding exposes stateless people to the harms of the hostile environment for much longer than any other non-citizens in the UK, "wounding" stateless individuals through "unspectacular events and mundane spatialisations" (Joronen, 2021, 1). However,

despite the difficulties and harms stateless people suffer every day for significant periods of their lives in the UK, participants demonstrated willpower to push on through; "to suffer and yet persist" (Povinelli, 2011, 32). How stateless persons endure and persist will be explored in chapter seven.

"I have my demons, I'm getting by, but I'm getting by not because of them but because of me." (P, 2019).

5.6 Summary

Through the fulfilment of Moran et al's (2018) carceral conditions of intention, spatiality and detriment, this chapter has demonstrated how the everyday forms "layers of carcerality" and a sense of "everyday incarceration" for stateless people residing in the UK (Cassidy, 2019, 58).

Harm is intended through the government policies of the hostile environment. These policies, and the social environment they construct, inflict a slow physical and psychological violence (Nixon, 2011), prohibiting stateless persons from employment, accommodation, and free healthcare. This chapter has also demonstrated that an intention to harm is evident throughout the SDP. Many participants reported difficulties in finding a lawyer who understood the complexities of their situation and could advise how to regularise their status through the SDP, resulting in legal deserts for statelessness expertise (Burridge and Gill, 2017). These difficulties in accessing appropriate legal advice can leave stateless persons "within a precarious legal space" (Burridge and Gill, 2017, 23-24) for undetermined, lengthy periods of time. This perpetual precarious legal status and chronic uncertainty leads to further harm by the UK Home Office, as they are subject to the policies of the hostile environment for significantly longer than any other non-citizens in the UK. The perpetual precariousness and enforced impoverishment instigated and intended by the lengthy, confusing, inaccessible legal procedure disproportionately affects stateless persons in the UK, causing a lasting harm on one's physical and mental health.

This purposeful infliction of harm occurs within a specific space. This chapter has demonstrated how the (im)mobility of stateless persons in the UK is controlled

to facilitate this harm. This is achieved through the indefinite detention in detention facilities, the national dispersal system, the lack of any documentation and the international state/citizenship norm. This control practiced by the state over the lives of the stateless creates a sense of "stuckness", the experience of spatial and temporal confinement (Jefferson et al, 2019). They are unable to perceive any possible futures, they are trapped in the present. The inaccessible, complex legal system and the status of the "unknowable" stateless person making them undeportable creates a perpetual carceral circuit, leaving stateless persons at risk of enduring the intended harmful restrictions of the hostile environment for much longer than any other migrants to the UK.

This perpetual, inescapable "stuckness" has proven to be detrimental for stateless persons, resulting in severe mental health problems, highlighting the "less-than-human geographies" of statelessness (Philo, 2017). This chapter has revealed "what *subtracts* from the human in the picture, what disenchants, repels, repulses – what takes away, chips away, physically and psychologically, to leave the rags-and-bones (and quite likely broken hearts, minds, souls and spirits) of bare life" (Phil, 2017, 258). However, despite the difficulties and harms stateless people suffer every day for significant periods of their lives in the UK, participants demonstrated willpower to push on through; "to suffer and yet persist" (Povinelli, 2011, 32). How stateless persons endure and persist will be explored in chapter seven.

6. "Status affects everything": The role of Documentation in Home (Un)Making

6.1 Introduction

"The first loss which the rightless suffered was the loss of their homes" (Arendt, 2017, 384)

In the Origins of Totalitarianism (2017), Arendt claims that as the stateless are defined and categorised outside the state norm and therefore deprived of the "right to have rights" (Arendt, 2017, 388), the stateless are homeless. Following this narrative, current international approaches designed to "solve statelessness" prioritise state registration to re-categorise stateless persons and the introduction of various legal identity documents to provide international rights and the ability to make a home. This can be seen in Action 8 of the UNHCR Global Action Plan to end statelessness "issue nationality documentation to those with entitlement to it" (2014b, 26) and the UN Sustainable Development Goal 16.9 "legal identity for all".

Following this well-established narrative, in this study, stateless participants identified the issue and receipt of state identity documents as key to making a home in the UK; identifying that official state documents are the material proof of legal status, rights, recognition and stability. However, they also recognised the limits of these documents, how they are repressive and destructive within certain encounters, contributing to home unmaking (Baxter et al, 2014). Following Joe Painter's article on the "prosaic geographies of stateness" (2006), the previous chapter revealed how the state and statelessness infiltrates and weaves through the "public" realm of everyday life via mundane practices. Through the study of state identity documents issued to stateless persons in the UK, this chapter will reveal how statelessness infiltrates and impacts the "intimate" space of the home.

Firstly, following a critical geography of home, home will be conceptualised as a multi-scalar, fluid, material and imaginative space: shaped by everyday practices, lived experiences, social relations, memories, emotions and external political, economic, social and cultural factors. Therefore, home does not simply exist, but is continually made through everyday practices and encounters with people, places and materials (Blunt and Dowling, 2004). Following Baxter and Brickell (2014), this

chapter then contends, as home is a fluid, multi-scalar concept, home can easily be "unmade". This process is not necessarily catastrophic but can be ordinary and mundane. This chapter will then outline existing literature on documentation, exploring their purpose within the state. Finally, using Brinham's (2019) categorisation of government documents as emancipatory, repressive and destructive, this chapter will explore how government documents issued to stateless persons in the UK simultaneously influence home making and unmaking.

6.2 Conceptualising Home

Alison Blunt defines home as "a material and an affective space, shaped by everyday practices, and lived experiences, social relations, memories, and emotions" (2005, 505). Common sayings including "home sweet home", "home is where the heart is", "an Englishman's home is his castle" and "there's no place like home" construct home as an idyllic place; a person's personal, intimate sanctuary. Yi-Fu Tuan has written that "home is a place that offers security, familiarity and nurture" (2004, 164). Home is often conceptualised as "not only a line separating the inside and outside … but also as the epitome, the spatial inscription of the idea of individual freedom, a place liberated from fear and anxiety, a place supposedly untouched by social, political and natural processes, a place enjoying an autonomous and independent existence" (Kaika, 2004, 266). This narrative of the "ideal home" is evident throughout public discourse, in the media, popular culture and public policy, constantly permeating our consciousness (Bennett, 2011).

Feminist and critical scholars have uncovered home to be "messy, mobile, blurred and confused" (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011, 519, Ahmed, 1999, Brickell, 2012b). A critical geography of home recognises home as complex and ambiguous, "simultaneously material and imaginative; the nexus between home, power and identity; … [and] multi-scalar" (Blunt and Dowling, 2006, 22). Home can be a physical location where one lives, but it is also an imaginative, affective space. This material or imaginative space forms a central position for the construction of identity and belonging in wider society, which is experienced differently according to intersectional factors (Brickell, 2012b). Finally, this place is not protected from the outside world, but is heavily influenced by varying external political, economic, social

and cultural factors; "the domestic is created through the extra domestic and vice versa" (Blunt and Dowling, 2006, 27). Therefore, as stated by Ahmed "The lived experience of being-at-home hence involves the enveloping of subjects in a space which is not simply outside them: being-at-home suggests that the subject and space leak into each other, inhabit each other" (1999, 341). Therefore, the home extends far beyond its physical location, a highly fluid and contested site of human existence (Baxter et al, 2014). Joanna Long summarises home as "an interplay of the house and the world, the intimate and the global, the material and the symbolic" (2013, 335).

In the social sciences, belonging is often defined in relation to the conceptualisation of an ideal home. Yuval-Davis simply defines belonging as "an emotional attachment, about feeling at home" (2011, 10). In this context, place is felt as "home", specifically as an ideal "symbolic place of familiarity, comfort, security and emotional attachment" (hooks, 2009, 213). Probyn (1996) argued "that belonging is a "longing to be" [a process] incorporating an emotional dimension that is more than be-ing [a status]" (Askins, 2015, 474); a yearning for attachments, "a visceral, embodied feeling that one is incomplete without meaningful relationships" (Kale et al, 2019, 2). Like home, belonging is understood to be porous and multidimensional, simultaneously subjective and socially defined (Antonsich, 2010, Huizinga et al, 2018). Therefore, the personal, intimate feeling of being "at home" is heavily influenced by external processes (Antonsich, 2010). These external factors have been conceptualised by Yuval-Davis as the "politics of belonging" (2006). The politics of belonging outline the specific spatial norms and expectations to which a person needs to conform to belong (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011). These norms may include language, accent, behaviour, appearance, eating habits, political opinions and religious beliefs. The politics of belonging are temporarily, intersectionally and spatially determined, emphasising that belonging is "context specific and place dependent" (Huizinga et al, 2018, 311) and that belonging is a process and not a state, continually subject to change (Huizinga et al, 2018).

Comfort and being comfortable is strongly associated with feelings of belonging and home (Yarker, 2019). Yarker defines comfort "as a sense of familiarity rooted in long periods of residence, safety, security and an ability to identify with

those around you" (2019, 535). Comfort is a "dynamic feeling of an individual's relationship to place … shaped by everyday spatial practices in places, and not a static characteristic of belonging" (Yarker, 2019, 541). These everyday spatial practices and engagements with the community build a sense of predictability and familiarity with place. Therefore, comfort is not a feeling which can simply be granted, it has to be made. It is fluid, affected by external influences, and constantly negotiated through the everyday. Yarker further defines the politics of belonging as "the process of becoming comfortable in place … a negotiation between the individual, other social groups and institutions" (2019, 547). Therefore, variable external influences and constant negotiation of the everyday can make comfort a difficult affective state to achieve (Bissell, 2008). Feminist scholars have long contended that home is not always a comfortable place (Brickell, 2012b, van Lanen, 2020). Home can be a place of extreme discomfort, of violence, neglect and boredom (van Lanen, 2020).

Ralph and Staeheli emphasise that home should also "be conceptualised as both dynamic and as moored in order to reflect the complexity and ambivalence that makes it a tricky and slippery concept" (2011, 518). They conceptualise home as "accordion-like … stretch[ing] to expand migrants outwards to distant and remote places, while also squeezing to embed them in their proximate and immediate locales" making home both mobile and grounded (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011, 518). Following a critical geographical approach, this conceptualisation highlights how home is experienced as both a specific location and a set of material and social relationships which "shape identities and feelings of belonging" (Ralph and Staeheli 2011, 518). For this study with stateless persons, this approach helps to capture the many complex framings, experiences and meanings of home as all participants have migrated to the UK at differing points in their lives. This has caused them to associate feelings of home with many different people and places, rather than one dominant fixed location. All participants maintain social contacts with families and friends across the world. Studies have suggested that this regular communication is a response to their new hostile, un-welcoming environment (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011). Furthermore, this conceptualisation of home as fixed and fluid also "softens the hard boundaries between the private and public aspects of home" (Ralph and Staeheli,

2011, 525), exposing the complex and porous relationships a person builds and negotiates with human and non-human entities (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011). Therefore, following other studies into the affects of austerity (van Lanen, 2020), home is a key space and imaginary where statelessness becomes present and lived in the everyday.

In the opening few lines of her book, hooks states that finding home and belonging is about "the creation of meaning – the making of lives that we feel are worth living" (2009, 1). Home, and its associated feelings of belonging, safety and comfort, do not simply exist, but are made (Blunt and Dowling 2004). What home means and how it comes into being are continually created and re-created through everyday practices and encounters. Home is made through the establishment and negotiation of human and non-human relationships, demonstrated through the following examples (Tolia-Kelly, 2004, Ralph and Staeheli, 2011). Holton's (2015) work explores how students make a home in their term-time accommodation. His research reveals how the material and social environment of the shared space is negotiated to make a home. He uncovers how "shared student accommodation exists as hybrid spaces – flexible environments in which sharers regulate the appropriate use of space through the complex maintenance of physical and behavioural boundaries" (Holton, 2015, 62), with residents retreating from communal spaces if tensions arise.

Jason Hart, Natalia Paszkiewicz and Dima Albadra's (2018) work explores how Syrian refugees made home in Jordanian refugee camps. Their work highlights how refugees adapted their material dwellings to instil a sense of comfort and familiarity in the camp. Residents would secretly move their shelters at night to create extended dwellings connected by tarpaulin (Hart et al, 2018). These new creations housed private and public areas to entertain guests. This rearrangement also provided private space for female relatives to withdraw and offer hospitality to other female visitors (Hart et al, 2018). Residents also abandoned communal kitchens and bathrooms and instead built private facilities in their adapted dwellings (Hart et al, 2018). Hart et al, argue that these adaptations did create a familiar environment,

installing an element of comfort "nonetheless normality [home] … remains elusive" (2018, 377).

Tolia-Kelly's work highlights the affective impact of objects in the homes of South Asian migrants. She argues that objects, such as photographs, are "prismatic devices which refract lived landscapes of South Asia and East Africa into British domestic scene" (Tolia-Kelly, 2004, 675). These objects are placed on display in their new houses, enabling an embodied, sensory connections to past landscapes and relationships of home. This placement of the tangible familiar in the domestic assists in creating "a textual landscape of belonging" (Tolia-Kelly, 2004), helping make a comfortable, new home in the UK.

As previously explained by the critical geographies of home, home is contested and complex and should not be romanticised as a space of comfort, security and belonging. Ahmed states "home is not simply about fantasies of belonging … but that it is *sentimentalised* as a space of belonging" (1999, 341). Bennett reveals how one can feel "homeless at home" if you are "struggling to pay bills and visited by debt collectors … living with abuse and domestic violence … or when subject to the imposition of heterosexual norms and assumptions" (2011, 962). Working with women in social housing in east Durham, her research reveals how "the porous boundaries that shape home allow the policies, practices and attitudes of powerful others to seep into home life" (Bennett, 2011, 981). The women were not able to feel at home as they felt constantly under threat from the council who had the power to evict them. This is a process of home unmaking (Baxter et al, 2014). Baxter and Brickell define home unmaking as "the precarious process by which material and/or imaginary components of home are unintentionally or deliberately, temporarily or permanently, divested, damaged or even destroyed" (2014, 134). As home making is multi-scalar and porous: home unmaking shares these characteristics, influenced by many complex relationships, social, political, cultural, and economic factors. Baxter and Brickell (2014) argue that home unmaking is not necessarily a catastrophic event such as forced eviction and natural disasters. Home unmaking occurs as part of the life course of all homes, including the more mundane occurrences of domestic life. The concept recognises that "people's domestic lives

are rarely fixed or predictable, but rather dynamic and varied" (Baxter et al, 2014, 135). Therefore, home making and home unmaking often occur simultaneously (Baxter et al, 2014). They also note that home unmaking is not necessarily a wholly negative experience, as it can work concurrently with the recovery and remaking of home. This is demonstrated in Brickell's (2013) work with women leaving abusive marriages in Cambodia, which uncovers how home unmaking can be both liberating and disempowering.

In the UK, home making and unmaking has also been explored in relation to austerity politics. Sander van Lanen explores how the economic policies of austerity have caused a slow, protracted material and affective home unmaking (2020). Following the conceptualisation of home as multi-scalar and porous, his work highlights how austerity alters capabilities to make home and how this effect alters the past, present and future. Van Lanen identifies how "the porosity of home makes it vulnerable to political-economic policies … which illuminates how external developments permeate home with negative emotions and experiences" (van Lanen, 2020, 11). His research demonstrates how the reduction of welfare services and household income as a consequence of austerity threatens the affective and materialities of home. The tightened budget reduces the ability to purchase food or pay rent, causing hunger and potentially eviction, causing anxiety, tension and stress. These tangible and intangible impacts of austerity directly endanger the material and imagined home, contributing to the present unmaking of home. Future possibilities of home making are also threatened, as the present restrictions of austerity and further anticipated cuts are "a barrier to future plans" (van Lanen, 2020, 15), damaging and/or transforming future attempts to make a home.

Legal status has been identified as a key external factor in constructing belonging and therefore making home (Fenster, 2005). Wood and Waite specifically describe belonging as "feeling "at home" and "secure" but … equally about being recognised and understood" (2011, 201). Legal factors, such as citizenship and residence permits, are essential to ensure a safe environment as they can safeguard international human rights (Antonsich, 2010). Fenster (2005) also identifies that legal status is often a pre-condition to participate in and actively shape society, which is

important in forming place belongingness and home making. For stateless persons, legal status is a contentious issue as they are officially defined as "other" and therefore inferior everywhere, excluding them from belonging and feeling at home anywhere. The following section will explore existing literature addressing the relationship between statelessness and home.

6.2.1 Home for the Stateless?
"Status affects everything" (K, 2019)

In the Origins of Totalitarianism (2017), Arendt claims that as the stateless are defined and categorised outside the state norm, the stateless are permanently homeless:

"The first loss which the rightless suffered was the loss of their homes, and this meant the loss of the entire social texture into which they were born and in which they established for themselves a distinct place in the world … What is unprecedented is not the loss of a home but the impossibility of finding a new one. Suddenly there was no place on earth where migrants could go without the severest restrictions, no country where they would be assimilated, no territory where they could found a community of their own." (Arendt, 2017, 384)

As Arendt herself was stateless, she laments the loss of home as a physical place and a social community. She also mourns the loss of the imaginary of home as the stateless are without legal status and rights. Excluded from everywhere she contends that they are unable to make a home anywhere in the world. It would be impossible to make oneself feel secure and comfortable without legal status to demonstrate formal rights and belonging. Arendt's thoughts have been examined more recently by Belton (2015) who explored belonging amongst stateless populations of Haitian descent in the Bahamas and Dominican Republic. In her 2015 article, she argues that "the stateless' sense of identity is ambiguous at best or non-existent at worst" (2015, 907-8) and are therefore "unable to answer or are prevented from answering "where do I belong?" (908). She argues that this confusion is a direct result of the citizenship denial or deprivation practices conducted in the states of their birth, resulting in a form of forced displacement which immobilises them in place. She further argues

that this form of displacement leaves stateless individuals without a psychological home, even though they remain physically in the countries of their birth (Belton, 2015). The stateless are forced into liminality, invisibility and detached from their national home. This article demonstrates how the displacement caused as a consequence of statelessness affects ones sense of identity, belonging and construction of home in very distinct and tangible ways. Belton concludes that the sphere of statelessness goes beyond where the law ceases to function or where rights are difficult to achieve (2015).

As home is a porous concept, highly susceptible to wider power relations and the "personal is political" (Hall, 2019a), Brickell argues that "home is a vital space for understanding the micro-geographies of social and spatial uncertainty which influence, and are influenced by, wider structural forces" (2012b, 227). She further expands, stating that "homes are thereby metaphorical gateways to geopolitical contestation that may simultaneously signify the nation, the neighbourhood or just one's streets" (Brickell, 2012a, 575). Brickell concludes stating that "critical geographers have an obligation to document and respond to the experiences of those living on the margins of home" (2012b, 227). This follows Geraldine Pratt who also states "our commitment should be one of opening doors for communication" by "creating trouble" and "making visible boundary constructions and the production of difference" to be politically productive (1999, 164). As in other chapters, through the gateway of home, this chapter aims to project stateless voices and reveal the previously hidden everyday inequalities experienced by stateless persons in the UK.

Following a critical geography of home, this study has conceptualised home as "messy, mobile, blurred and confused" (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011, 519, Ahmed, 1999, Brickell, 2012b). Home is material and imaginary, grounded and mobile, settled and contested, fixed and fluid, spatial and relational, familiar and strange, porous and multi-scalar and can be made and unmade (Blunt, 2005, Blunt et al, 2006, Ralph and Staeheli, 2011, Brickell, 2012b, Baxter et al, 2014). Home can offer security, belonging and comfort, but can also be a site of danger and violence (Blunt, 2005, Brickell, 2012b). Home is a complex and ambiguous geographical site formed through everyday negotiations of human and non-human relationships at many scales. Legal

status has been identified as a key factor for making home (Fenster, 2005). Being "recognised and understood" (Wood et al, 2011, 201) through an official legal status is believed to provide rights and security, enabling feelings of belonging and comfort to "feel at home".

For this study, I simply asked participants what makes a home? Participants all conceptualised an ideal home as a sanctuary; a space and place of belonging, comfort and security. However, they did not see the home as disconnected from state influences. For a large proportion of participants, key to making home was the issue and receipt of state identity documents. The following section will explore and outline the primary purpose of state documents and the affective attachments bestowed upon them.

6.3 Documentation

Chhotray and McConnell contend that "IDs are the points at which the state passes into material form . . . where the state individual relationship becomes most visible and tangible" (2018, 122). In the modern bureaucratic state, government issued material documents are essential to validate any formal membership; defining who does or does not belong and the nature of that belonging. Within the narrative that legal status is required to access universal human rights, documents form the critical physical evidence needed to prove stable legal status and access "the right to have rights" (Arendt, 2017, 388, Birkvad, 2019). It is for this reason identity documents have been described as "unique" and "distinctive", as their "presence and absence" have significant consequences for an individual's prospects (Chhotray et al, 2018, p113). Identity documents are "mediators" (Allard et al, 2016, 405, Hull, 2012, 253), regularly used to negotiate everyday life, often in mundane and banal encounters, producing "diverse effects through the relations formed around [them] as meaning is translated, transformed and recited" (Darling, 2014, 490). Painter (2006) and Allard et al (2016) argue that it is through these encounters the state comes into being, penetrating the public and private realms of everyday life. Within these mundane encounters, the presence or absence of state issued identity documents are the catalyst for action, containing the power to transform circumstances for better or for worse. It is for this reason, identity documents carry

many affective qualities for individuals who are with and without (Navaro-Yashin, 2007).

Article 27 of the 1954 Convention clearly states that "the Contracting States shall issue identity papers to any stateless person in their territory who does not possess a valid travel document" (UNHCR, 1954, 17). Following this principle, state registration and the introduction of various legal identity documents are often cited by international organisations to be the solution to end statelessness. This can be seen in Action 8 of the UNHCR Global Action Plan to end statelessness which states the responsibility to "issue nationality documentation to those with entitlement to it" (2014b, 26) and the UN Sustainable Development Goal 16.9 "legal identity for all". However, as identified by Brinham "documents do not merely prevent and reduce statelessness; they also produce and reproduce it in multiple ways" (2019, 168). In a bureaucracy, key decisions on formal belonging are seen to be "impersonal" and "founded on rational-legal administrative structures" (Abdelhady et al, 2020, 3). In many cases well-established state structures reproduce discrimination and inequality (Abdelhady et al, 2020). Documents not only relate to whether people are seen or unseen by the state, but also how and for what purpose (Brinham , 2019). Alongside the rights and freedoms identity documents facilitate, they also enable the state to survey and control its population (Chhotray et al, 2018). These opposing qualities intrinsic to state documentation can "lead to both entitlement and deprivation, security and insecurity, empowerment and control, emancipation and repression" (Chhotray et al, 2018, 118). Brinham (2019) classifies the multiple, contradictory powers of documents into three categories: emancipatory, repressive and destructive. This chapter contends that all of these conflicting qualities can be identified in the affective relationships, encounters with and materiality of identity documents given to stateless persons in the UK, subsequently influencing home making and un-making.

For the majority of participants, official government identity documents were considered a key component of what makes them feel "at home" and therefore make an ideal home. For stateless persons who have lived with the consequences of formal non-recognition for a significant period of time, identity documents were viewed as

key material signifiers of belonging and were therefore extremely affective. However, participants also expressed a complex relationship with these official documents, recognising that these documents contained repressive and destructive qualities. Documents provide official status, security, comfort to "feel at home" alongside uncertainty, anxiety and vulnerability, as they are excluded in another way, officially labelled as "other".

At the time of data collection, none of the participants in this study had gained UK citizenship (Table 1). Three participants had gained leave to remain as a refugee, one participant had gained leave to remain through the SDP and the other four participants were in the process of seeking asylum. One participant has since gained refugee status. As stated in the previous chapter, multiple legal routes to status recognition are not uncommon in the UK amongst stateless populations as they are often persecuted in their country of origin and are therefore eligible for asylum. The most common legal routes to legalise status available to stateless people are the through the asylum procedure and through the SDP. A successful application through either of these routes result in a Biometric Residence Permit (BRP) being issued, confirming your identity, immigration status and rights to public funds. It should be noted that BRPs are different to Application Registration Cards (ARC) issued to all asylum seekers on application in the UK. ARCs confirm a holder's temporary status as an asylum seeker and are therefore not as highly desired as a BRP or permanent citizenship document. Therefore, following participant's differentiations between the ARC and BRP, this chapter specifically explores the relationship between the issue of the more permanent BRP, associated legal status and home (un)making (Baxter and Brickell, 2014).

As official legal identity and "being recognised and understood" (Wood et al, 2011, 201) has been identified as a key external factor for belonging and making home (Fenster, 2005), using Brinham's (2019) classification of documents, as emancipatory, repressive and destructive, this section will explore the complex affective qualities instigated by the material identity documents (BRPs) given to stateless individuals in the UK. Specifically, this section will examine how these

materials instigate affective home making and unmaking across different locations and temporalities.

6.3.1 Documents as Emancipatory

For a large proportion of participants involved in this study, the issue and receipt of identity documents are key to feeling "at home". For them, identity documents are tangible, material evidence of formal, legal recognition, which enable access to many freedoms, rights and benefits of which they have been deprived for many years. These include rights to education, employment, residence and mobility. Documents are the concrete, physical proof of "the right to have rights" (Arendt, 2017, 388) exemplified by P below:

"Having been granted the legal status in the country has opened so many door that I was waiting for them to be opened, like going to university, applying and trying to find work. So all these things, things made possible after been granted the leave to remain" (P, 2019)

This section will outline how UK state issued identity documents (BRPs) are perceived to be emancipatory by stateless individuals and answer why "it's a dream for any stateless person to have an ID" (P, 2019).

Firstly, for all the stateless individuals who participated in this study, identity documents were key to providing legal protection and stability. This was key to feeling secure and comfortable, essential to "feel at home" in the UK. As seen in the quotes below, this understanding of security is extremely practical, emphasising physical and social security (Skulte-Ouaiss, 2013).

"I've never had a home. Home is wherever you get nationality. Wherever you have rights. You are safe. You have a government to protect you." (A, 2020)

"And you'd say that this is my home, this is the people who represent me, this is the people who defend me. And this is the country that gives me my rights as a citizen, as a human, as a fully represented human" (P, 2019)

These thoughts are grounded in everyday experience. M was living in shared accommodation provided by the UK Home Office. This was specifically a female-only

property but a male partner of one of her housemates repeatedly stayed the night, making M uncomfortable in her own house. She complained to the housing manager without any success.

"I complained to the housing manager, he asked me "do you have the money to go?" I answered "no", he replied "you have to put up with it". He was emphasising that I don't have a choice without documents" (M, 2020)

As shown in the quotes above, government issued identity documents (BRPs) are understood to provide legal status and rights, therefore delivering safety and stability. Navaro-Yashin (2007) argues that this sense of stability is reinforced by the materiality of the document itself. In the UK, successful applicants of the SDP or asylum procedure are issued with Biometric Residence Permit; a credit-card sized, plastic card displaying their image, key identifying details (name, date of birth), immigration status and the UK royal coat of arms. The plastic card suggests durability and the royal coat of arms confers authenticity (Navaro-Yashin, 2007). The security and stability inferred by the materiality of the card also instil a sense of comfort to the holder. Bissell argues that "corporeal comfort is an embodied contingency forged between the body and the proximate environment" (2008, 1703). As comfort is an affective sensibility and does not necessarily inhabit any particular object at any given time, bodies must "work with [objects] to effect this sensation" (Bissell, 2008, 1703). Therefore, the identity document "acts on and transforms the body and, conversely, the body acts on and transforms" the identity document (Bissell, 2008, 1703). However, one could argue this sense of comfort and durability is undermined as an expiration date is also included on the card (date which their leave to remain in the UK expires). The effects of this feature on home making and unmaking will be explored in the following section.

Secondly, ease of spatial mobility was a key emancipatory factor of identity documents for stateless participants. Many stateless participants were extremely frustrated by their inability to travel due to their lack of official documentation. Participants wanted to travel to sustain transnational bonds (friends and family) and fulfil key life ambitions, such as pilgrimage to Mecca.

"Nationality makes it easy to travel. I can't travel. I want to go to Mecca but can't. I couldn't travel to see my mum before she passed" (A, 2020)

A's account of not being able to visit his mother before she passed away was not an unusual occurrence in this study. Many participants shared similar experiences of separation and loss due to their immobility, which had a detrimental impact on their well-being. One cannot travel internationally with a BRP, but a holder can apply for a separate stateless travel document which enables international mobility. Although the BRP is not the direct key to international mobility, the document is perceived as an important step towards achieving that goal. Therefore, BRP is perceived to help maintain key relationships and fulfil lifetime goals, improving one's wellbeing and "feeling at home".

Finally, government issued identity documents (BRPs) are material proof of state recognition (Wood et al, 2011). Staples defines recognition as "a way of articulating the relationship between the individual, state and state system" (2017, 173-4), "a form of social visibility" (Brighenti, 2007, 329). It is argued that legal recognition is essential to form feelings of equality and belonging (Staples, 2017, Birkvad, 2019). Below P explains why formal recognition is so fundamental to him:

"having that ID gives you, gives you a sense of self. Before that card you're no one, you belong to nowhere, you slip through the cracks of of the any system, like whether it's any department, any any organisation – you're not there, you don't, your physically there but you you're not counted. Only when you've got that ID can you say I am here, and I have some sort of recognition. Because that ID says that you're <u>legally</u> considered a person who's allowed to stay in a particular place. . . Then they say that you've been granted leave to remain I was like, I couldn't believe it – it was surprise, shock, it was overwhelming . . . it took like <u>weeks</u> to sink in like, I <u>can</u> live legally here in the UK now . . . I'm really happy that I can move forward at last because it felt that I was really cuffed and held back because I couldn't progress any further" (P, 2019)

For P, official state recognition, materialised in an identification document, had an overwhelming positive impact on his wellbeing and was empowering (Brighenti,

2007). After living with the consequences of non-recognition for 35 years, the identification document inspired confidence and boosted his self-esteem. Possessing the BRP card is a source of dignity and provides a sense of worth, after years of feeling degraded by the UK hostile environment policy. This moment of recognition is characterised by conflicting emotions. Overwhelming relief and happiness as the card opens doors to many opportunities, freedoms and security, but he is also angry and frustrated at the process, that he has always been "physically there but not counted" (P, 2019), prevented from forming lasting relationships and making a home in the UK.

As demonstrated throughout this section, a result of seeming to be the key to the "right to have rights" (Arendt, 2017, 388) state issued identity documents are extremely affective. In her study on the documents issued by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Navaro-Yashin identified documents "carrying, containing or inciting affective energies when transacted or put to use in specific webs of social relation" (2007, 81). This can also be seen in McConnell's exploration of the Tibetan Green Book (2016). Being a material symbol of belonging to the nation, she witnessed books being carefully kept on a high shelf (with height above oneself signifying importance in the Tibetan Buddhist context) and pride when Tibetans presented their books to officials (McConnell, 2016). As shown throughout this section, participants projected many emotions onto official materials issued by the UK government, including the mixture of emotions tied to feeling "at home" (belonging, comfort and security). Often, as M states below, identity documents are strongly associated with these feelings before they are physically encountered; seen as objects essential "for a good life" (Ahmed, 2014, 220).

"I don't feel settled yet, when I get the decision then I can begin the process, then I have to accept the UK as home" (M, 2020).

As the document provides legal protection, rights, recognition and stability, M believes that it will also provide comfort and the ability to "feel at home". Through the example of an internet contract, she explains how documents are the catalyst for material comforts:

"No wifi is provided, and you need documents for wifi and phone contracts. The internet is essential to us, we can't call anyone, can't watch movies or read to relax. We are not prisoners. We are left with our thoughts, constantly overthinking, which has an impact on mental health" (M, 2020)

An internet connection enables numerous activities including regular contact with friends and family (both in the UK and abroad), reading and watching films and television series, which all have the potential to alleviate stress, provide comfort and therefore help one "feel at home". Furthermore, an internet connection also provides a level of autonomy and could help them shape their own future in the UK.

To summarise, the state issued identity documents (BRPs) given to stateless individuals in the UK have many emancipatory qualities. The BRP cards are the material proof of legal status and recognition which have a positive impact on the holder's wellbeing. The cards also represent the entitlement to rights, providing legal protection, security and stability which is reinforced by the materiality of the card. The cards also open the possibility for international travel, enabling holders to maintain connections with family and friends and fulfil life-long ambitions. These emancipatory qualities make the cards extremely affective objects, providing a sense of security, belonging and comfort to the holder even before they are physically encountered. These affective qualities of the card provide the emotional foundations for the holder to make a home in the UK.

The following section will argue how government issued documents can be repressive, as making oneself visible to the state is not without risks.

6.3.2 Documents as Repressive

A person's relationship with the state greatly depends on how one is seen by the state. Being officially categorised as a citizen, refugee or stateless person has differing consequences for the individual. In his article, Hull states that documents are "the central semiotic technology for the coordination and control of organisations and the terrains on which they operate" (2012, 256). The issue of documents make those previously invisible to the state (the stateless) very visible. This process comes with its own risks. Previously in this chapter, I demonstrated how official state

recognition can empower stateless individuals, opening many closed doors, benefiting one's wellbeing and providing the emotional foundations to make a home in the UK. However, stateless participants also recognised that there is safety in invisibility as explained by P below:

"It's very hard for the Home Office to deport them, they don't want to be deported, and they have to live in the shadows away from anything official or legal, just to stay safe or not go back to their countries" (P, 2019)

Stateless individuals recognise that making oneself visible to the state opens oneself to surveillance, control and potential repression (Brighenti, 2007). The UNHCR recognise that stateless individuals "are often unwilling to be identified because they lack a secure legal status" (2014b, 25). Therefore, visibility can simultaneously be "empowering and disempowering" (Bringhenti, 2007, 335). This notion of official recognition as disempowering corresponds with Foucault's conceptualisation of the disciplinary society. This work suggests that the state's primary aim of making one visible is not recognition but suppression (Bringhenti, 2007). Participants expressed that the identity documents given to them by the UK government had repressive qualities. Both bureaucratic channels available to stateless individuals (SDP and asylum) only offer successful recipients temporary leave to remain in the UK for five years (UNHCR, 2020). As identified in the previous section, this temporality is reinforced on the cards themselves as the expiration date is clearly displayed. These documents do not secure permanent residency and equality with the majority population, which many argue is the basis for full inclusion into the wider community (Birkvad, 2019). This defined temporality creates ambiguity, complicating a stateless person's relationship with their official identity document. The document offers recognition and rights, whilst simultaneously officially categorising the stateless as different, only offering these rights for a limited time, consequently affecting their ability to make a long-term home in the UK. P's quote below demonstrates that stateless individuals are aware of the repressive qualities of these documents, recognising the importance of the "right" documents, but also knowing that other options are limited.

"Imagine that you, you starving, you make something very delicious, you can't wait to eat it, and then for whatever reason that meal or that dish was burnt or gone bad and then you <u>so hungry</u> that you <u>have</u> to eat it and this is how it felt . . . You have to take it, it doesn't matter how bad it tastes you just have to take it, because it's good. Without it you wouldn't survive, and this is how it felt" (P, 2019)

P's quote suggests a high degree of ambivalence towards the formal status and documentation offered by the UK government. As demonstrated in Anne McNevin's article, P "acknowledges the transformative potential" of the document, but he is also aware that receiving this document and becoming visible to the state "may paradoxically affirm a [system] that has proved less emancipatory" (2013, 185). Specifically, the ambiguity created by the identity documents create a sense of insecurity for the holders. The documents are not perceived to provide safety and security. This perception may be influenced by past experiences of other governments and the UK hostile environment, forming feelings of great caution and mistrust, that documents can always be unrecognised, misinterpreted or revoked (Staples, 2017). Participants were all too aware of Allard and Walker's contention that "documents may not be fully legible even for state officials" (2016, 406). Fiddian-Qasmiyeh describes this caution a "travelling fear" (2013). These fears are demonstrated in the quotes below:

"The refugee card is only temporary. I don't feel I belong. I don't feel completely safe in the UK" (A, 2020).

"You are not a British citizen . . . They'll protect you as long as you are in the UK, but if you left the UK, you'll become stateless again. You have the recognition now, but you are still a stateless person. And the only way to break that barrier is just to be considered . . . a member of that particular country" (P, 2019)

"I don't have the same rights as a British citizen – how would I be treated by the police? I can't report a crime; will they think I am the trouble maker?" (M, 2020).

These quotes further demonstrate the ambivalence towards government documents issued to stateless individuals. Participants are aware of the connection of UK government identity documents to "institutionalised modes of violence" (McNevin,

2013, 185). They recognise that many fundamental rights, including rights to security, mobility and permanent residence remain the privilege of citizens (Birkvad, 2019). Therefore, as stateless individuals are distinguished from citizens, they are judged as deportable (Birkvad, 2019). Menjivar describes this grey area as "liminal legality" (2006), offering "more protection than undocumented status, yet stopping short of the stability offered by permanent residency and citizenship" (Birkvad, 2019, 801). Therefore, their level of autonomy is still limited in the UK (Canning, 2020). They still feel in limbo and at the mercy of the state in many banal aspects of their lives, causing feelings of inequality and long-term uncertainty leading to severe anxiety (Birkvad, 2019). As seen in the previous chapter, these ambiguities and anxiety are not an unforeseen consequence. Bureaucracies regularly exercise control through ambiguity (Hull, 2012), exerting their authority into the lives of stateless individuals after a formal legal status has been approved (Darling, 2014). As these identification documents do not offer the same rights as full citizenship, the government documents granted are seen as both severely inadequate and the best currently available option. Sigona argues that the overall effect of both categorisations procedures establishes "statelessness, rather than being a form of radical exclusion, becomes a mode of differential and precarious inclusion" (2016, 275). These mixed emotions are summarised in P's quote below:

"So, this journey is currently at a safe place but not where I can say it's over. It's only over when you become, when you naturalise and you've been granted a citizenship"

(P, 2019)

P's statement concurs with the UNHCR. It is explicitly stated in the Handbook on the Protection of Stateless Persons "as a general rule, possession of a nationality is preferable to recognition and protection as a stateless person" (UNHCRa, 2014, 10).

This section has demonstrated how official state identity documents contain repressive qualities. Stateless individuals are only granted temporary leave to remain for five years and this temporality is reinforced on their identity cards. Therefore, these cards do not secure permanent residency and equality with the majority of the population. This creates ambiguity, complicating a person's relationship with their

identity document. The document offers recognition and rights, whilst simultaneously officially categorising the stateless as different, only offering these rights for a limited time, creating anxiety and insecurity. This consequently affects their ability to make a long-term home in the UK. These repressive qualities are recognised and acknowledged by stateless persons, expressed through ambivalence towards the documents.

The following section will argue how government issued documents can be destructive and how officially categorising stateless individuals as such is a form of administrative violence.

6.3.3 Documents as Destructive

Documents can be destructive, serving "a function in the (re)documenting, (re)counting, (re)categorising and (re)organising of national identities" (Brinham, 2019, 165). "Documents can bring identities into and out of being, reorganise them and destroy them" (Brinham, 2019, 167). As previously discussed, identity documents are not neutral records, they are infused with state power which "do not just describe or represent particular identities; they also shape, change and reify them" (Brinham, 2019, 166). In her article, Brinham (2019) contends that the Rohingya were not "uncounted" but that they were "recounted" as Bengali and foreign. This reclassification profoundly changed how the Rohingya could function and interact with the world. As these bureaucratic actions have harmful consequences, this chapter argues that the "(re)counting, (re)categorising and (re)organising" (Brinham, 2019, 165) of stateless populations in the UK is a form of administrative violence. This final section will define administrative violence and demonstrate how the documentation issued to stateless persons in the UK inflicts lasting harm, contributing to the unmaking of home.

Administrative Violence refers to the "bureaucratic rules and regulations that condition life itself" (Tyner et al, 2014, 362). The concept is based on Walter Benjamin's writings where he distinguished between "law making" and "law preserving" violence. The former relates to foundational violence, associated with the moments of investiture of law, whereas the latter refers to administratively enforced violence, such as the establishment of judicial and police systems (Tyner,

2014). Administrative violence is a form of structural violence. As the violence is built into the system, no individual can be held accountable as it is "dissolved into the division of labour" (Doel, 2017, 158). Doel argues that the "extensive and hierarchical division of labour" and the impression of "instrumental rationality" which characterises bureaucracies excuses persons "of both moral responsibility and ethical concern" (2017, 168). A key example of this structural administrative violence was recorded by Hannah Arendt (2006) in her account of Adolf Eichmann's trial. Eichmann was a Nazi SS officer with wholly bureaucratic duties managing the transportation of hundreds of thousands of Jews to death camps across Europe during the Second World War (Doel, 2017). Arendt described his administrative role in the Final Solution as a "desk murderer" or "schreibtischtäter" (Doel, 2017, 157) as although he did not directly participate, his administrative actions were key for the genocide to occur. Doel describes "desk murders" as working "with pens and reams of paper, telephones and memoranda, files and folders, calculators and clocks, invoices and accounts, rules and regulations etc. . . Their more or less humdrum work takes place within a detailed and extensive social and technical division of labour that sustains the machinery of destruction" (2017, 158).

Writing later in the context of the student movements across the USA and France in the 1960's, Arendt further elaborates on the violent effects of the lack of moral responsibility and ethical concern built into bureaucratic systems:

"In a fully developed bureaucracy there is nobody left with whom one could argue, to whom one could present grievances, on whom the pressures of power could be exerted. Bureaucracy is the form of government in which everybody is deprived of political freedom, of the power to act; for the rule by Nobody is no-rule, and where all are equally powerless we have tyranny without a tyrant" (Arendt, 1969, online)

In this essay, Arendt clearly states that administrative violence within a bureaucracy does not always result in physical violence as seen during the Final Solution. Administrative violence also occurs through the denial of rights and freedoms (Abdelhady et al, 2020). Specifically in relation to statelessness, administrative

violence has been defined by Beaugrand as "the process of rights deprivation through the denial of identification papers, official forms and certificates" (2011, 234). With reference to the Kuwaiti Bidūn, Beaugrand identifies four mechanisms of state administrative violence. The imposition of an identity rejected by the effected persons, the denial of socio-economic rights, a symbolic process of stigmatisation and a complete lack of transparency in government processes (Beaugrand, 2011). The effects are stigmatising and symbolic, the state staging its full power. It is stigmatising as the state artificially creates a category of people in order to make an example, tearing apart their links to the rest of the population (Beaugrand, 2011). After conversations with participants, I argue that characteristics of administrative violence can be identified within the UK Stateless Determination Procedure (SDP).

The introduction and implementation of SDPs are seen by many activists as key to protect and reduce stateless populations (Swinder, 2017). However, it is also argued that the introduction of SDPs across Europe has given rise to statelessness being imposed as a nationality marker, rather than a legal status preceding the granting of citizenship (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016). While being perceived as the first step in "resolving statelessness", becoming stateless through an administrative procedure has been described as a form of violence. Participants with experience of the procedure have described the removal of their nationality, and the imposition of the stateless label, as erasing their existence. Participants recounted the UK state system imposing the stateless label upon them and the moment of becoming XXA (the code for statelessness) as a distressing event.

"I can't say that I am stateless – it's only an official label that I have to carry around in order to get access to what other people have access to, like the basics of getting an education, being able to get medical care – those kind of things" (P, 2019)

"The UK system forces you to say you aren't Kuwaiti to accept you. You need to say you are Bidoon, stateless" (K, 2019)

"Why is there an X on my ID? It's not nice, it's a sign for discrimination, points out difference. It's inhumane. All people are human beings and need to be recognised as such, not by an X" (A, 2020)

A's above quote describes his "gut" reaction to his identification document. For him, the removal of his nationality and the imposition of the official XXA label is destructive. It removes his humanity, opening the possibility for further discrimination and marginalisation. As stated earlier in the thesis, being identified and categorised as a stateless person offers fewer legal rights and protections than being categorised as a refugee (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016). This is the reason many argue official determinations of statelessness should be the final option (Staples, 2017). Therefore, the stateless label is not perceived by recipients as offering protection. Instead, it is seen to remove existing identity markers, forms of attachment and the right to self-determination (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016). Being officially labelled as "stateless" offers further perceptions of "rightlessness, home(land)lessness and voicelessness" (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016, 301), reproducing the narrative of not belonging.

These feelings of lacking belonging are not confined to the moment a stateless identity document is issued. These feelings recur and persist in mundane times and spaces. As the state is present "across all kinds of social practices and relations" (Painter, 2006, 758), Birkvad identifies that "national membership is not only governed by the state from above, but also between ordinary people" (2019, 802). In these encounters, Abdelhady, Gren and Joorman describe the state as "an omnipresent yet abstract actor" (2020, 9). Identification documents are constantly scrutinised in everyday, mundane settings across the UK, far away from the external borders, by non-state officials, in offices, factories, shops, hospitals and schools. These mundane checks in ordinary spaces can cause great distress for stateless individuals. P has been granted leave to remain as a stateless person in the UK and has been issued an identification card to prove his status. However, he recounts the constant confusion when he produces the card in mundane environments as evidence of his identity and status. In particular, he has documented the encounter with an administrator when he tried to enrol at university (figure 18).
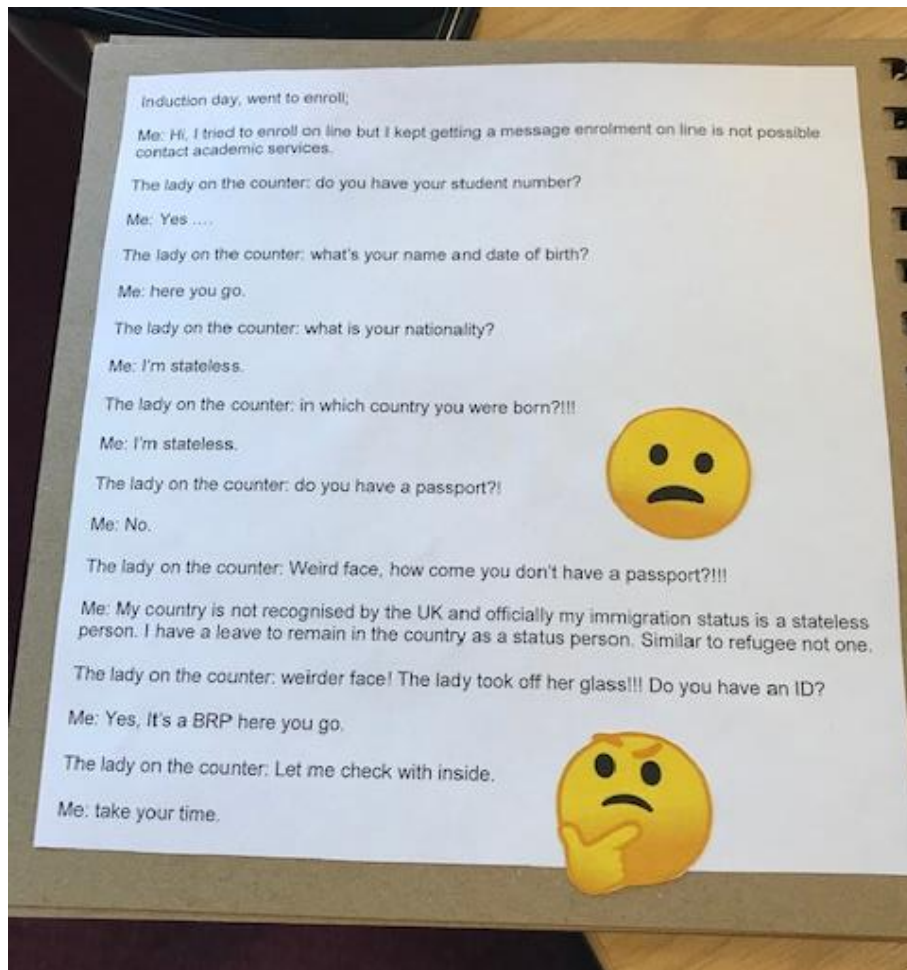
Figure 18 P's Conversation with University Administrators (Source: Author, 2019)

For the majority of students, enrolling at university either at a computer or with a university administrator is an extremely mundane encounter. A simple tick-box exercise. However, for P through this seemingly mundane, prosaic practice, the state emerged creating further obstacles (Painter, 2006). In this encounter (figure 18), P's admission to university depended on the prosaic understandings, interpretations and decisions of two administrators far away from the external UK border. This experience demonstrates that stateless documentation issued in the UK can have stigmatising and violent effects on the document holder. At this particular place, at this particular time, the identity card worked with bodies to create an uncomfortable and awkward situation (Bissell, 2008). The unawareness of the existence of the stateless status in the UK is creating uncomfortable, everyday encounters for stateless persons. The act of an ordinary citizen questioning ones status after years of fighting for recognition can be degrading and detrimental to one's wellbeing. As seen in Jonathan Darling's work on governmental letters (2014), the mundane

encounters between stateless individuals, documents and ordinary citizens maintains the systems of bordering described in the previous chapter.

"Really? Even after you have been labelled and recognised they still like don't understand, they don't see you, they can't fit you, um your box doesn't exist . . . It all feels very frustrating" (P, 2019)

"It was refusal, after refusal, after refusal . . . and then when you got to the bay that to say that OK I have reached to the shores and now I can start to feel normal, you find that you are pretty much the exception in pretty much every situation you go through" (P, 2019)

The above thoughts were expressed during a meeting after his encounter with the administrator (figure 18). P describes the feelings caused by repeatedly not being recognised and constantly being "the exception" after one has been formally accepted and documented. These encounters are constant triggers for stateless individuals to question their belonging in the UK. Building on Fiddian-Qasmiyeh's (2016) work, this study shows that the repeated encounters involving the stateless status and identification card generate feelings of anxiety and vulnerability. As shown in Abdelhady, Gren and Joorman's work with refugees, the impersonal, rule-based and formal bureaucratic structure "alienate[s], isolate[s] and oppress[es]" (2020, 16) stateless individuals before, during and after the administrative process. Therefore, contrary to prior perceptions, the identification documents offered to stateless individuals in the UK do not necessarily offer certainty, comfort and security, key to belonging and feeling "at home". Instead, these documents can produce feelings of uncertainty, anxiety and vulnerability, creating further physical and emotional obstacles to everyday life in the UK. This research concurs with previous work by Fiddian-Qasmiyeh that a "disjuncture exists between the way the [stateless] label is conceptualised by academics, practitioners and policy makers and those individuals and groups labelled as such by others on the other" (2016, 314). Through engaging directly with stateless individuals, this investigation provides further evidence of their opinions towards the stateless label.

Finally, to summarise, this section has demonstrated that identity documents are not neutral records, they are infused with state power which "do not just describe or represent particular identities; they also shape, change and reify them" (Brinham, 2019, 166), infusing them with destructive capabilities. This makes identity documents potential vehicles of administrative violence. This section has demonstrated how the documents issued to stateless persons in the UK can be described as modes of administrative violence. Firstly, the stateless label is imposed on people. Participants with experience of the procedure have described the removal of their nationality and the imposition of the stateless label, as erasing their existence. The official XXA label is not perceived by recipients as offering protection, instead it is seen to remove existing identity markers, forms of attachment and the right to self-determination (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016). Secondly, the stateless label on the card is stigmatising, the feelings of lacking belonging are not constricted to the moment a stateless identity document is issued. These feelings recur and persist in mundane times and spaces, causing great distress for stateless individuals. As the card is not well recognised amongst the general UK population, this study has shown that encounters involving the stateless identification card generate feelings of anxiety and vulnerability. Additionally, this lack of understanding can lead to the denial of socio-economic rights. Therefore, contrary to prior perceptions, the identification documents offered to stateless individuals in the UK do not necessarily offer certainty, comfort and security, key to belonging and feeling "at home". Instead, these documents can produce feelings of uncertainty, anxiety and vulnerability, creating further physical and emotional obstacles to everyday life in the UK.

6.4 Summary

Through exploring statelessness at the everyday and directly engaging with stateless persons, this research has uncovered the complex relationship stateless persons have with identity documents issued by the UK government.

This chapter has demonstrated that stateless individuals perceive an ideal home as a place of security, comfort and belonging. However, they do not see the home as isolated from the state, identifying official state identity documents as key to making home in the UK. This follows the international narrative, stated in the 1954

Convention, Action 8 of the UNHCR Global Action Plan to end statelessness and the UN Sustainable Development Goal 16.9, that legal documentation is essential to grant emancipatory international rights to stateless persons. These rights are seen to provide legal recognition, status, security, comfort and belonging, essential for one to make a home.

However, this chapter has also demonstrated how identity documents can simultaneously unmake home, as they also contain repressive and destructive qualities. The document offers recognition and rights, whilst simultaneously officially categorising the stateless as different, only offering these rights for a limited time, creating anxiety and insecurity. Furthermore, the imposition of the stateless label is stigmatising and seen to remove existing identity markers, forms of attachment and the right to self-determination. The effects of this stigmatisation are felt in mundane, everyday encounters across the UK. Therefore, the identification documents offered to stateless individuals in the UK do not necessarily offer certainty, comfort and security, key to belonging and feeling "at home". Instead, these documents can produce feelings of uncertainty, anxiety and vulnerability, creating further physical and emotional obstacles to everyday life in the UK. The limits of the documents were recognised and acknowledged by participants, who viewed their identity documents with ambivalence, but they were also well aware that currently other options are very limited.

7. Enduring Statelessness

7.1 Introduction

The previous empirical chapters have explored the everyday harmful effects of being stateless in the UK: before, during and after administrative processes to regularise status. Specifically, I have explored how interactions with state institutions create everyday carceral geographies and how state documents are a catalyst for home un-making, reinforcing feelings of not belonging. Both of these chapters have outlined the everyday, relentless, monotonous suffering of stateless persons in the UK. As seen in previous examples, this suffering erupts and is exacerbated by a sudden change in circumstances, such as being placed in a detention facility but is more commonly experienced as slow violence, a gradual deterioration and exhaustion caused by prolonged limitations to everyday services and opportunities (Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar, 2019).

This thesis aims to explore all aspects of the stateless everyday in the UK: how, where and when does statelessness becomes present in the everyday? How does the legal category impact daily life? How is it coped with or *not* coped with? How is it endured? Conceptualising statelessness as a lived experience has meant examining the public and private, the material and immaterial and the legal and affective. To achieve this aim, this study has so far concentrated on services (*Chapter Five*) and home (*Chapter Six*). This final empirical chapter will focus on leisure.

During the data collection, leisure was a topic of convenience. It was thought that participants would be familiar with the theme as it is a fundamental topic in many English language courses. It was also assumed it would be a relatively safe topic of conversation to conclude the research process as the previous two topics (services and home) had upsetting moments for all involved in the research encounters. However, leisure is another everyday sphere "where social, political and structural issues are lived and addressed" (De Martini Ugolotti et al, 2022, 13). Statelessness is also lived through leisure. A critical exploration of leisure with stateless populations has the potential to challenge "dehumanising or infantilising binaries" (De Martini Ugolotti et al, 2022, 4), as to participate in leisure one must have agency (Crang, 2009, Stebbins, 2017). This would directly challenge Agamben's narrative characterising the

stateless as "bare life" (1998). This approach also has the potential to produce alternative insights into statelessness, highlighting mundane harms, ordinary complexities, everyday negotiations and how one endures. Following studies exploring the everyday affects of austerity (Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar, 2019), it is important to explore the everyday strategies of endurance deployed by stateless persons to fully comprehend how affected populations cope with their severely restricted circumstances. This final empirical chapter is vital to capture and fully comprehend the everyday experiences of stateless persons in the UK; constructing an "all-too-human-geography" defined by Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar as "a scene of exhaustion and endurance, diminishment and fortitude, decay and aliveness" (2019, 158). Through an exploration of leisure activities, this chapter will investigate how stateless persons persist and endure within the (previously discussed) restrictive circumstances (Povinelli, 2011).

Through conceptualising statelessness as a lived experience and exploring their everyday, this chapter completes this thesis by revealing the messy "all-too-human-geographies" of statelessness (Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar, 2019, 158). This chapter will firstly outline existing literature on endurance, highlighting how strategies of endurance and alternative possibilities of living are often hidden throughout the mundane everyday. The second section will then briefly outline literature investigating leisure, before exploring the everyday leisure activities of stateless persons. Initially participants were confused by this topic, stating that they did not have any free time. However, after some further unravelling of the question, participants revealed that they enjoy learning new skills, preparing and sharing food, watching films and television and attending the refugee and asylum seeker drop-in space. Using images from participant's scrapbooks and verbal data collected during each research encounter, each of these activities will be examined in turn, exploring how they are utilised as a strategy of endurance and their limitations. Finally, throughout the examination of leisure enjoyed by stateless participants, being with others was identified as an essential feature of beneficial leisure activities. To conclude this chapter, the development of social connections and relationships will be examined as a principal strategy of endurance for stateless people in the UK.

7.2 Endurance

During fieldwork, throughout discussions on services, home and leisure, participants repeatedly described their stateless situation as a mission of endurance.

"Stateless – I'm still struggling. It's always in the background. I'm enduring it" (W, 2019)

"It's not their fault … they have no control over it but they they endure it … And then you just have to push through the days" (P, 2019)

These quotes from W and P describe statelessness as something you are forced to live with, as inescapable, "always in the background" (W, 2019). To endure is not to solve statelessness or eradicate the status but withstand the harmful effects of statelessness in the UK for an undetermined period of time. This section will explore existing academic literature on endurance; defining the concept, exploring domains where endurance has been previously applied and how endurance has been normalised in the context of forced migration.

In her work, Povinelli addresses "forms of suffering and dying, enduring and expiring, that are ordinary, chronic and cruddy rather than catastrophic, crisis-laden, and sublime" (2011, 13). Through an exploration of aboriginal lives in Australia, Povinelli demonstrates how people subjected to prolonged, biopolitical state abandonment, designed to restrict opportunities, find alternative means of living – of enduring their circumstances (Dawney and Jellis, forthcoming). Povinelli defines endurance as "the ability to suffer and yet persist" (2011, 32), highlighting "the (often problematic) ways in which broken worlds are lived in and through" (Dawney, 2020, 44). Those who endure suffer from existential immobility, unable to perceive any form of future development, "stuck" in their current circumstances (Baraitser, 2017). These experiences of slow suffering are hidden from view, defined as "quasi events"; events which "never quite achieve the status of having occurred or taken place" (Povinelli, 2011, 13). She argues that "endurance provides a way of being something other than utterly defeated by circumstances [one] cannot change" (Feldman, 2015, 433). Povinelli's work encourages us to look beyond the spectacular, and consider alternative possibilities which emerge in the everyday, like the Matsutake mushroom

(Tsing, 2015). In her work "The Mushroom at the end of the world", Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing (2015) encourages us to follow the seemingly unspectacular Matsutake mushroom. Matsutake are wild mushrooms which are found in human-disturbed forests and were the first living thing to emerge after the atomic bomb decimated Hiroshima in 1945 (Tsing, 2015). This ability to survive in ruined landscapes, "blasted" by humans provides a useful analogy for enduring in a highly precarious context (Tsing, 2015, 3). Therefore, to endure is not to lack agency. Ghassan Hage argues that to endure is the "ability to snatch agency in the very midst of its lack" (2009, 101). This is seen in the case of the Matsutake mushroom as it only grows when all possibility for any life seems non-existent (Tsing, 2015). Hage continues: "the notion of endurance implies asserting some agency over the very fact that one has no agency by not succumbing and becoming a mere victim and an object in circumstances that are conspiring to make a total agentless victim and object out of you" (Hage, 2009, 101). Hage states that "a certain nobility of spirit and an assertion of one's "freedom as a human" oozes out of the very notion of "endurance", which comes to negate the dehumanisation implied" (Hage, 2009, 101). Feldman argues that "people's endurance efforts make a claim about the value of their lives" (2015, 433). Therefore, Baraitser argues that endurance is a practice of care (2017), an effort to "manage the meanwhile" (Berlant, 2011).

Strategies of endurance can be individual practices and/or emerge organically from within abandoned communities. Dawney's work exploring ruins of decommissioned nuclear energy sites highlights and explores the everyday practices residents have adopted to "make lives liveable" (2020, 45). This work identifies the shift of responsibility for the town's maintenance and resident's welfare from state-run industry to the residents themselves. Dawney highlights the meaningful material practices of gift giving, teaching, making and being together as practices of endurance in abandonment and ruin. She argues that these practices emerge "from stubborn drives to persist and to retain form in spite of ongoing processes that seek to redefine, erase and let die" (Dawney, 2020, 46).

Endurance strategies can also be offered by external organisations. In her work on Palestinian refugee camps, Feldman identifies endurance as a conscious

"humanitarian aim and outcome" (2015, 429). Working in a protracted refugee situation, Feldman identified humanitarian activities which aimed "to enable people to find different ways of imagining their existence: not changing their conditions, but living differently within them" (2015, 430). Many of these activities are social, such as a youth club. But others are mundane, such as smoking. Feldman's (2015) paper concentrated on a mental health project run by Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) which aimed to de-stigmatise mental health care and offer support for their chronic, everyday living conditions. MSF argued that through providing mental health support, the project offered a humanitarian good, as people with good mental health are more able to deal with everyday barriers, enduring their current, insurmountable chronic conditions and claiming value for their lives. Ong and Rovisco (2019) find similar aims of endurance in their exploration of artistic interventions with refugee communities. Their work reveals how artistic processes and performance create convivial spaces of solidarity, to escape the everyday harsh realities brought about by their legal status. However, the limitations of artistic interventions are recognised. Through bringing people together, the projects empower refugees by "making them feel happier rather than helpless" both during the restricted temporality of the specific project and beyond, but they do not "bring about the social and political change needed to cease the suffering of refugees" in the long term (Ong and Rovisco, 2019, 16). This humanitarian effort of escapism and to alter their outlook on their lives is not a waste, but is it enough? Feldman (2015) concludes by questioning if this acceptance of a strategy of endurance is a recognition and acceptance of failure. She argues if endurance is the only option available to marginalised populations, this implies a failure of other more strategic options.

Linking back to chapter six, in his work on "stuckness", Ghassan Hage argues that situations of crisis and existential immobility have been normalised, transformed into an "endurance test" (2009, 97). Rather than demanding change to prevent or relieve the crisis, one's capacity to be resilient and endure is celebrated (Hage, 2009). This narrative originated from Badiou's work on "courage" (2008). Badiou states "courage … is the virtue which manifests itself through endurance in the impossible" (2008, np). In this narrative, those who "wait it out" are perceived to be worthy and

civilised, signalling those "who know how to endure" (Hage, 2009, 105). This can be seen in the "New Plan for Immigration" currently proposed by the Home Office (2021). Central to this plan is the introduction of an inadmissibility policy. Any asylum seeker who arrives in the UK "illegally . . . will be considered inadmissible to the asylum system" and removed (Home Office, 2021). Those asylum seekers who arrive in the UK "illegally" are frequently portrayed as "queue jumpers" (Rawlinson and Thomas, 2020). Due to their method of arrival in the UK, they are represented as "bogus", lawbreakers, not civilised and therefore not worthy of protection. Those settled in the UK through government-run refugee resettlement schemes are depicted as credible and more worthy, as they waited their turn; they endured and so are rewarded. However, it should also be noted that these proposed plans have removed a previous target to resettle 5,000 refugees a year: further diminishing "legal" routes and opportunities to be a worthy refugee. As seen through this example, elevating "dignity and keeping it together in the face of the unliveable" (Dawney and Jellis, forthcoming, 6) normalises the requirement to endure a specified suffering. Furthermore, this narrative classifies some forms of endurance as acceptable or worthy and others as unacceptable or contemptable, which is deeply morally problematic. Therefore, not all experiences of endurance result in finding an improved otherwise. They might not "find hope in each other, in the small things, in the ashes of their ruined worlds" (Dawney and Jellis, forthcoming, 6). "Cultures of mutual support and kindness" may emerge in the otherwise, but there is no guarantee that they will or that they will last (Dawney and Jellis, forthcoming, 6). The otherwise may lead to "further precarity, violence and dispossession" (Kiely, 2021, 5).

The highly uncertain and complex outcomes of the otherwise are demonstrated in Ed Kiely's research on mental health services in the UK. His recent paper reveals how people endure what he terms the "holding pattern" described as "travel without a destination" (Kiely, 2021, 1). The "holding pattern" occurs as patients wait to receive new mental health support, a "cycle of waiting, reassessment, re-referral and more waiting" (Kiely, 2021, 7). This movement from one support system to another temporarily animates "the limbo of waiting, creating

an optimism that a return to progressive care time is immanent, before the optimism reveals itself to be cruel" (Kiely, 2021, 5). He argues that these practices within the cyclical holding pattern "sustain a fantasy of an otherwise that makes the unbearable affectively bearable, at least for a time" (Kiely, 2021, 5). As has been discussed in previous chapters, this cycle of the "holding pattern" can be seen in all stateless participant's legal journeys in the UK. Participants are placed in a perpetual cycle of waiting and disappointment. They wait for the result of an asylum application, met with disappointment when rejected, wait for the result an appeal, are distraught if rejected and then start the cyclical process all over again with a new asylum application. The Statelessness Determination Procedure (SDP) can offer an end to this cycle, but it can also just add a few more stages in the legal "holding pattern" for stateless persons. Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar argue that these complex, contradictory potentialities of exhaustion and endurance within the "holding pattern" (Kiely, 2021, 1) create an "all-too-human-geography" defined as "a messy paradoxical state, a scene of exhaustion and endurance, diminishment and fortitude, decay and aliveness" (2019, 158). This chapter will explore these contradictory potentialities within statelessness in the UK.

Previous chapters have demonstrated how being stateless affects all aspects of everyday life in the UK. The highly restrictive policy environment and in-accessible legal procedure slowly make stateless lives not liveable in the UK. This slow violence purposely affects all aspects of everyday life, from the public (*Chapter Five*) to the most intimate (*Chapter Six*). Coping with these aggressive policies gradually exhausts those affected, pushing them to the limits of their capacities, revealing the "less-than-human geographies" of statelessness (Philo, 2017, Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar, 2019). As seen in previous studies addressing the everyday affects of austerity (Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar, 2019), it is important to explore the everyday strategies of endurance deployed by stateless persons to fully comprehend how affected populations cope with their severely restricted circumstances. Through an exploration of leisure activities, this chapter will explore how stateless persons endure being stateless in the UK. The following section will briefly outline literature

exploring leisure, before examining the everyday leisure activities of stateless participants.

7.3 Leisure and Agency

Leisure is often defined as a form of escapism; freedom from the mundane where one is "free to be" resulting in an "existential state that involves pleasure and enjoyment" (Crang, 2009, 416, Carr, 2017, 138). Stebbins stresses the free-choice component of leisure, defining leisure as "un-coerced, contextually-framed activity pursued in free-time … which people want to do and, using their abilities and resources, actually enact in either a satisfying or a fulfilling way" (2017, 11). However, Rojek (2000) identifies that this freedom for leisure is always relative. Leisure is therefore highly subjective and contested (Stone, 2017, Mansfield et al, 2020), encompassing numerous activities which an individual finds enjoyable, restful, and beneficial, freely undertaken "in time outside of work or other obligations" (Quirke, 2015, 238). Therefore, leisure is strongly considered to be extremely beneficial for a person's wellbeing (Mansfield et al, 2020, Roberts, 2020). A single agreed definition of wellbeing does not exist, but the concept is strongly associated with "self-esteem, self-efficacy, self-determination, resilience, quality of life, mood enhancement, positive mental health, life satisfaction and worthwhileness" (Mansfield et al, 2020, 1). Leisure is viewed by many as an "antidote" to the many stresses and strains of modern life (Mansfield et al, 2020, 2).

Choice is considered an essential component of leisure, as a person chooses whether to take part in a leisure activity, which suggests a person possesses and uses agency to participate. As explored in chapter two, refugee and stateless populations have continuously been conceptualised and characterised as "bare life" (Agamben, 1998) and therefore without agency. They are portrayed as passive victims, existing at the mercy of others. However, there has been increasing research to challenge this conceptualisation. Scholars have demonstrated that these populations display various forms of agency both within and outside the refugee camp, including working as humanitarian actors for other marginalised groups (Ramadan, 2013), protesting living conditions through "hunger strike[s], lip sewing and self-harm" (Fiske, 2016, 113), adapting their dwellings (Hart et al, 2018) and finding ways to smuggle in and

cook their own food (Vandevoordt, 2017). Ghorashi et al. suggest that asylum seeker's "in-between position makes them more resourceful in thinking and acting outside … given structures" (2018, 385). All these studies demonstrate that despite their enforced liminal position in society, refugees, asylum seekers and stateless people do have and exercise agency in various ways. In their study on drug and alcohol issues amongst asylum seekers in the Netherlands, Dupont et al suggest that these populations need to create strategies to "kill time" (2005, 34), to reduce the stress of their highly uncertain position and persist (Povinelli, 2011). Due to ease of accessibility and the perceived wellbeing benefits, various leisure activities are popular strategies. De Martini Ugolotti and Caudwell argue that the agency used to participate has the power to "momentarily transcend the enforcement of temporal and spatial confinements for people living in the asylum system" (2022, 7). This empowering, escapist feature of leisure can be seen in Quirke's (2015) study with new migrants to Canada which revealed how leisure activities helped to relieve the stress of resettlement through the formation of social networks. Furthermore, in their investigation with refugees in a reception centre in the Netherlands, Waardenburg, Visschers, Deelen and van Liempt (2018) discussed how sport was essential to alleviate boredom and in the construction of friendships with wider society. Hurley (2019) revealed the importance of faith and faith communities to African refugee women in Canada. For them "the church building itself offered a tangible hub for socialising, friendship, belonging and wellbeing grounded in faith" (Hurley, 2019, 7). All of these studies demonstrated refugee's and asylum seeker's agency to undertake leisure activities and how these activities were central to stress management, combating social isolation and overall wellbeing.

However, David Crouch (2014) contends that participating in leisure activities is more than an attempt to temporarily escape current realities, it is to be hopeful. He argues that leisure is "related to a hope that it will fulfil desire … for something else, something better, different or just more – or less" (Crouch, 2014, online). This hope is for an otherwise, an alternative means of living – of enduring their circumstances (Dawney and Jellis, forthcoming). Stone identifies that this hope can "extend into the past and future" (2017, 7). Working with a community football

project for asylum seekers, he noticed how "embodied moments are reflected upon and positively anticipated between sessions, as well as a hope that participation may lead to personal growth" (Stone, 2017, 7). He also identifies how for asylum seekers "these somewhat hopes are realistically achievable in comparison to the grand project of reconstructing a former life, negotiating a new identity and becoming content … with a new home" (Stone, 2017, 7). Therefore, as leisure is associated with many beneficial potentialities, including physical fitness, social connections and a positive mental outlook, these activities have the potential to help stateless people escape their harsh reality of the hostile environment and provide hope for an otherwise, forming an everyday strategy of endurance.

Leisure is an everyday sphere "where social, political and structural issues are lived and addressed" (De Martini Ugolotti et al, 2022, 13). As statelessness is a lived experience, statelessness is also lived through leisure. This approach has the potential to produce alternative insights into statelessness, highlighting mundane harms, ordinary complexities, everyday negotiations and how one endures. Furthermore, a critical exploration of leisure with stateless populations has the potential to challenge "dehumanising or infantilising binaries" (De Martini Ugolotti et al, 2022, 4). As to participate in both leisure and endurance a person needs to utilise their agency: this chapter will directly challenge Agamben's conceptualisation of the stateless as "bare life" (1998). Through conceptualising statelessness as a lived experience, lived in and through the everyday, this section will explore what stateless participants perceived to be leisure. Initially participants were confused by this topic, stating that they did not have any free time. However, after some further unravelling of the question, participants revealed that they enjoy learning new skills, preparing and sharing food, watching films and television and attending the refugee and asylum seeker drop-in space. Using images from participant's scrapbooks and verbal data collected during each research encounter, each of these activities will be examined in turn, exploring how they are utilised as a strategy of endurance and their limitations.

7.3.1 "I don't know what you mean?"

During the data collection process, the themes of leisure, free-time and hobbies were met with confusion. At the beginning of the process, I had explained that the project wanted to explore all aspects of their everyday lives. Despite this explanation, participants seemed to be taken by surprise by this topic of conversation, even those who had taken part in other research projects. When asked the opening question "what do you like to do in your free time?" all participants initially denied that they had any free time, stating "I don't know what you mean? I don't have time" (A, 2020). This seems to contradict what has been described in previous chapters, where participants described being bored, having an excess of time when waiting for a decision on their application. Their initial reaction to this question could be caused by the post-industrial revolution assumption that one needs to work to have free-time. Like those applying for asylum in the UK, those applying for leave to remain due to statelessness cannot work during the application process, despite this process lasting years in some cases.

However, this initial answer might be honest; stateless persons do not feel that they have time for leisure. This could be due to the constant, exhausting emotional labour necessary to persist through the slow violence of their everyday (Hochschild, 1983). They feel they are constantly working to battle the monotonous conditions imposed on them by statelessness to endure and "make their lives liveable" (Dawney, 2020, 46). Harmon (2019), came to a similar conclusion in his study exploring leisure with the homeless. He concluded that "leisure is largely inaccessible to those society has deemed undesirable and chosen to prohibit from public space" as "multiple society-wide *structural* failures … relegated [them] to a position where [their] personal choices, [their] *agency,* had to be streamlined to focus on mere survival" (Harmon, 2019, 10-11). Harmon's (2019) conclusion does not remove agency from his homeless participants, however he emphasises that their liminal position forces them to focus their agency on survival. The initial response of stateless participants, denying the time for leisure, echoes this conclusion.

However, Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar argue that weariness from survival in an oppressive environment is itself a strategy of endurance, "sometimes closing

down is the only way to get by" (2019, 161). They argue that "for some bodies flourishing may only be achieved through withdrawal" (Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar , 2019, 163). Following Povinelli (2011), Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar highlight alternative approaches to living through austerity. From this work, they frame weariness as "a form of determination" (Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar, 2019, 159). They argue that "weariness is about loss, emptiness and deflation, but also about capacity and endurance" (Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar, 2019, 158), highlighting the political potential of this state. Dawney and Jellis clarify this cyclical connection between exhaustion and endurance: "exhaustion is to be endured, and simply to endure within regimes of biopower is itself exhausting" (forthcoming, 2). Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar propose that "slow violence is often met with slow resistance: a form of politics that is not spectacular or public, but instead often hidden, gradual and difficult to detect" (2019, 157). They argue for the "right to be weary … rather than see weariness as simply a closing down, it should instead be thought of as a form of action, a redirection of energy" (Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar, 2019, 161).

Following the initial denial of free-time, during each individual interaction, the question was broken down into individual activities, such as sport and television, which provoked further discussion. Participants revealed a number of activities that they individually chose to do, as they provided "pleasure and enjoyment" (Crang, 2009, 416). The following sections will explore these activities, which involved learning, food, films and the drop-in space, examining how these activities become strategies of everyday endurance.

7.3.2 Learning as Leisure

When further asked what they like to do in their free time, participants enthusiastically discussed activities which involved learning and developing new knowledge and skills. P fondly reminisced the time when he first arrived in the UK and started to learn English.

"I used to go through stuff I learnt in college to help improve language. It shouldn't be fun, but when you have nothing else to do – it's really fun. Accents are really fun"

(P, 2019)

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P described how he used to regularly go into a branch of Tesco early in the morning as the staff were stocking the shelves and repeatedly ask what the items were to learn English.

"I knew the staff, I used to give them a hard time. I used to go in in the morning while the staff were stocking shelves and repeatedly as "what's this? How much?" to learn English … You do anything not to just sit at home. The mental pressures and Home Office start to kick in". (P, 2019)

P laughed as he recounted this story, acknowledging that his constant questioning might have been irritating for the staff. However, this seemingly mundane leisure activity enabled P to form social connections in the UK as he got to recognise and know the staff. However, P also valued these interactions as distractions from his uncertain case with the Home Office. He states how these diversions are essential to prevent "the mental pressures … [from] kick[ing] in" (P, 2019). Through his trips to Tesco, P found an alternative means of living, of enduring his everyday circumstances. P also talked about his time with John, a gentleman who he used to meet on the beach in Brighton. John used to bring P children's books and he took the time to teach P to read English.

"All his stuff was in a hiker backpack and always looked scruffy, didn't really look after himself, but he used to be a professor at the uni. He would always have books on the beach and he used to give me books. I don't know where he used to get them from, but he used to get kids stories and he used to sit next to me and teach me to read. "Repeat after me". And that's how I learnt, by listening trying to mimic what people say, I didn't have an Arabic – English dictionary" (P, 2019)

P really appreciated the time John gave to teach him English. P stated that these learning encounters provided "relief, solace, escape" and at times was the "only thing that kept me going" (P, 2019) enabling him to endure and persist. The importance of these "cerebral leisures" have been highlighted in other literature (Hurley, 2019), enabling people to "explore their interests and personally grow" (Lorek Dattilo et al, 2012, 13). As can be seen through P's experience of learning English, acquiring and developing skills and knowledge is empowering, "important for maintaining social,

cultural, educational, developmental and mental and physical health and facilitating comfort" (Hurley, 2019, 2). P's everyday connections with people in Tesco, the staff at college and John were acts of "quiet politics" (Askins, 2015), small mundane actions in ordinary spaces demonstrating "a political will [and commitment] to engagement" for everyday change (Askins, 2015, 476).

S also revealed pleasure in learning and developing new skills. On arrival in London, S used to regularly go to a swimming pool with a friend where he taught himself to swim (figure 19). Below he describes how he hated it at first and felt extremely self-conscious at his inability to swim. However, he persisted with the activity and his skills improved.
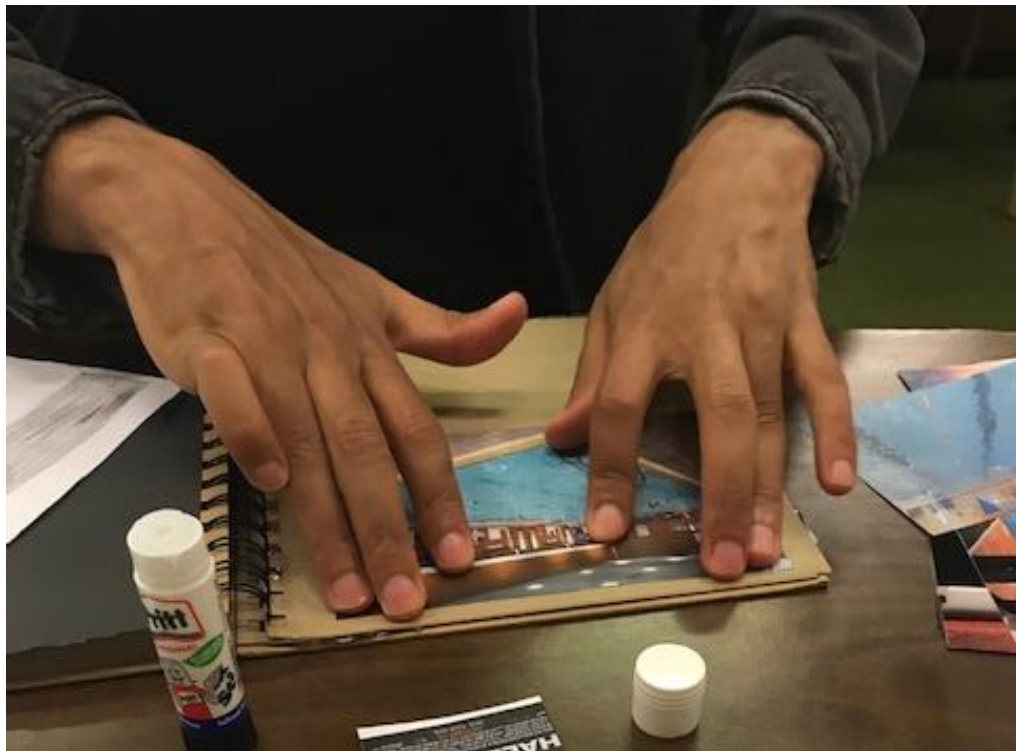

Figure 19 S's Book "Swimming page" (Source: Author, 2019)

"I taught myself to swim. In London, a friend took me to the local leisure centre. It was free to go. I didn't enjoy it. At the beginning it was very hard. I was scared the first few weeks when I couldn't swim. We went 2/3 times a week, at first I just watched and then copied others. Eventually I got better and better. Now I really enjoy it. When you finished you feel really good – relaxing in the sauna. I enjoy learning new skills. I like the feeling of accomplishment and achievement" (S, 2019)

For S, this experience was extremely beneficial. Learning to swim was an empowering experience for S on several levels. Firstly, S learnt a new life-long skill which benefitted his physical health and the feelings "of accomplishment and achievement" (S, 2019) improved his mental health. Secondly, meeting with his friend 2/3 times a week provided a structure to an everyday which lacked a regular routine, as stateless persons (like asylum-seekers) are not allowed to work during their application for leave-to-remain (Stone, 2017). For S, structured swimming sessions provided valuable stability from one week to the next. He positively anticipated each session as the endorphins from the exercise made him "feel really good" (S, 2019). Finally, in deciding when to go swimming, he reasserted a form of control over his time and life in the UK (De Martini Ugolotti et al, 2022). This is significant, as previously discussed in chapter five, the Home Office influences many aspects of the stateless everyday through the hostile environment, removing much agency and choice from those affected. For S, swimming was a strategy of endurance, providing essential, empowering benefits to enable S to persist through the harsh realities of the stateless everyday (Povinelli, 2011).

7.3.3 Food

Food was an important and recurring theme throughout the research process. Food was discussed in relation to home and services but was explored at length during discussions surrounding leisure. Probyn states that "intensely social, boringly mundane, simple or complicated at times eating seemingly connects to the very core of ourselves, at others it is just a drudge activity necessary to keep body and soul together" (2000, 1). Longhurst et al. explain that food "help[s] people feel at home … prompt[s] them to miss home [or] … a bridge to a new home" (2009, 333) as food is saturated with affect (Ahmed, 2014). All of these emotions were evident in discussions about food with participants. This section will explore how the preparation and eating of particular foods were experienced as leisure and a strategy of endurance for participants.

For P, food was a fundamental connection between his past home in Palestine and his new home in South Wales. Below he describes how food is a vital part of

Palestinian culture and social structure, served at any gathering of people, large or small (figure 20).

"It's an essential part of the, of the social structure of the culture in Palestine the food. If you have a guest you make food, if you have um happy occasion you make food, if you have people that you like or like relatives or friends coming to visit you make food. If you have even um something like um when someone dies and and you invite people and you make food, so it's a very essential part of the culture and the social structure that you have the food and its something that brings everyone together." (P, 2019)

Figure 20 P's Book "Palestinian Food" (Source: Author, 2019)

Therefore, for P, cooking Palestinian food was an attempt to establish a sense of normality in his uncertain situation. Palestinian food provided a familiar anchoring point in his imposed liminal, stateless position in UK society. Following his research with Syrian refugees in Belgium, Vandevoordt suggests that "it is the process of leaving behind the objects, routines and persons that once provided a sense of

ontological security to one's lives that turns eating and drinking into a more significant, multi-layered symbolic practice" (2017, 618). Therefore, similar to Longhurst, Johnston and Ho's findings, P did not experience cooking Palestinian food as a "burden, but as an important way of staying viscerally connected with [his] old home" (2009, 333). The sight, smells, sounds, taste and textures of the meals he prepared would bring a small part of Palestine into his kitchen in South Wales (Longhurst et al, 2009). However, again for P cooking was another example of learning as leisure. He would talk at length about how back in his parent's house he was never allowed in the kitchen and his mother would do all the cooking. When he arrived in the UK he had to learn by trial and error where to find ingredients, substitutes for unavailable components and how to cook Palestinian food. He describes this how he enjoyed trying to copy the meals made by his mother in Palestine below.

"I try to emulate my mums food, like you know to the best that I can, some of it worked some of it didn't heh heh but eventually yeah I start cooking when I moved into the UK and it was was really tremendous experience because … Palestinian … food is very known in the region like, its delicious food its very close to the Lebanese, Syrian and Turkish food and all the time I would be the one they asked to prepare the food and I'd say "OK, I'll prepare the food" so I had so much practice" (P, 2019)

As seen in the quote above, for P the skills and knowledge he developed and embodied to prepare the food of his heritage was a great source of pride. His national cuisine was something which distinguished him from other asylum seekers and stateless persons (Vandevoordt, 2017). Vandevoordt contends that a national cuisine is used to demonstrate that "their society has something valuable to offer, something that is of particular high quality that cannot be found elsewhere in the world" (2017, 615). This argument is used to distance themselves from dehumanising state-imposed categories, such as asylum seeker, refugee and stateless person, which imply passivity and victimhood. P also attempts to distance himself from these imposed labels and associated assumptions through hosting others, which he details below:

"I don't like cooking if just for myself. I don't enjoy the food. I enjoy only for other people. Having a dinner party and having friends round. I share food and shout for the whole house to come and join. Atmosphere and the people around you and the experience makes you taste in a different way … It doesn't matter whether they are, especially in Palestine, you know whether they are Arabs, Israelis, Christians, Muslim, Jewish so its something that brought everyone together." (P, 2019)

As previously discussed throughout this thesis, stateless people in the UK are purposely placed in a subordinate position in society by policies of the hostile environment. Throughout the long process to legalise their status, they are forced to live in a state of poverty, entirely dependent on the UK state (Mayblin et al, 2020). Through preparing food and hosting his friends, P refused to be defeated by his stateless status and challenges this position and its associated assumptions of voicelessness and submissiveness (Vandevoordt, 2017). Through preparing the food for everyone, P is refusing his status as a "dependent guest" and actively re-claiming his autonomy through this everyday activity from the UK state. In Home Office accommodation or a detention facility, meals are prepared at a set time and residents do not have any choice in what they eat. Participants have also previously criticised the quality of the food in these state facilities. When cooking for his friends, P chose the menu, bought ingredients at the shops, how he should prepare the food and the time he served the meal to his guests. He was able to guarantee a nourishing meal for his friends. This ordinary leisure activity was empowering for P on many levels, helping to restore a sense of dignity and self-esteem (Vandevoordt, 2017). The sharing of food with "Arabs, Israelis, Christians, Muslim[s], Jew[s]" (P, 2019) also helps to establish multi-cultural social connections. Johnston and Longhurst argue that these embodied "inter-cultural encounters … are moments of reciprocity and mutual recognition between ethnically and culturally different [people]" (2012, 325). Therefore, this meal also has the potential to empower his guests who received a nourishing meal and built social connections, combatting feelings of social isolation, benefitting their overall physical and mental health (Rokach, 2020). These events and social connections enable valuable information sharing, not only about the legal processes but also services available within the community (Johnston et al, 2012,

Bloch et al, 2014, Quirke, 2015). Therefore, these encounters over food benefitted everyone who attended on several levels, helping all of them to endure their precarious everyday situation.

However, leisure, and particularly cooking, should not be overly romanticised as an infallible coping strategy. Below M emphasises how back in Baluchistan she really enjoyed the whole process of baking, researching the recipe, shopping for the ingredients and sharing it with family and friends (figure 21). However, the policies of the hostile environment severely restricts her ability to bake.

"I used to do a lot of baking back at home. I loved the whole process, choosing the recipe, getting the ingredients, cooking and then sharing it with family and friends. I did cakes, bread, cookies, pizza, allsorts! I love trying new recipes, the trial and error. But in the UK I can't afford the ingredients or equipment and as we share a kitchen, there isn't much space to store stuff … You can replicate food, but not the landscape or people" (M, 2020)

Figure 21 M's Book "Baking" (Source: Author, 2020)

M states how she is unable to afford the equipment and the ingredients on the limited support she receives from the Home Office. She also emphasises how she cannot fulfil the final element of the baking process she used to enjoy as her family and friends are not with her in the UK. M's example highlights how leisure can only be a temporary "sticking-plaster" within the hostile environment. The activity may distract and alleviate some stresses caused by the liminal, uncertain stateless status, but this escape is only ever temporary as it does not help resolve their legal situation (Stone, 2017).

7.3.4 Film and Television

Watching television and films was a popular pastime of participants. With online streaming services such as Netflix and Amazon Prime, popular films and television were relatively accessible as participants shared log-in details with friends and family. Participants repeatedly described watching films and TV series as an escape from the slow violence of their uncertain situation as the activity "Puts your head in a different planet" (P, 2019). S (below) particularly enjoyed horror films (figure 22).

"I like horror films like "Evil Dead" and "Halloween". When you are watching its just the movie … Don't think about the outside world" (S, 2019)

Figure 22 S's Book "Horror Films" (Source: Author, 2019)

However, as M highlighted when discussing food, participants acknowledged and emphasised the limits of this strategy of endurance. M enjoyed watching Indian productions as it connected her old life and new life, providing familiarity and comfort to endure her precarious circumstances. However, the high cost of data and limited financial support limited her ability to access this form of leisure.

"I like to watch movies and series, like Marvelous Mrs Maisel and Friends and Indian series, like Delhi crime and small-town Indian films. To escape the situation. To keep busy. It takes your mind off the situation. I have access to Netflix, but data is expensive at £35 per month. It's a big chunk out of our £37.75 per week budget … [and] it gets boring watching back-to-back movies" (M, 2020)

M also acknowledges that one can only gain pleasure from this activity for a limited time, as after a while continuously watching films can become boring. This point is reiterated by P below.

"I don't understand watching soap operas – how can you commit to watching for such a long time?" (P, 2019)

As demonstrated in the previous section, watching films can be an isolating experience. Below, S describes how he enjoys going to the cinema, but enjoys it more with other people.

"I like to go to the cinema, but not by myself. I'd like to go once a week, but I don't have anyone to go with" (S, 2019)

To put this quote in context, S had only recently been moved from London to Cardiff through the state-wide dispersal policy. As discussed in chapter five, the forced mobility of this policy is designed to facilitate long-term immobility. This is achieved through forcibly removing people from familiar, established support networks and placing them in brand new communities, where they are on their own. Through removing S from his established support network in London, the dispersal policy also impacted his endurance strategy of watching films in the cinema with friends. This forced movement had a serious adverse effect on his ability "to suffer and yet persist" (Povinelli, 2011, 32).

7.3.5 The Drop-in Space

All participants expressed how they enjoy attending the local refugee and asylum seeker drop-in centre. The centre runs two open drop-in afternoons a week, where refugees and asylum seekers are welcome to drop-in for coffee, a chat, a free hot meal, play pool or table football with others. The centre also runs a critical advice centre, to assist with ongoing cases or housing or welfare benefits. Other activities and services specifically tailored for refugees and asylum seekers also run in the building on different days of the week, including informal English classes, a food bank, clothes bank, mother and toddler group and craft classes to name a few. M particularly enjoyed a health and beauty session run especially for women (figure 23).

"[The drop-in centre] run[s] a women's health and beauty session for 2 hours every week. Its only for women and women from all over go. They bring samples for nails, do eyebrows and haircuts. I go and enjoy it every week. I like being there with other women. It's great to have a female only, safe space" (M, 2020)

Figure 23 M's Feminist layout (Source: Author, 2020)

As previously discussed in previous chapters, M did not feel comfortable in her accommodation as her female housemates would invite over their male partners and they would take over the communal areas of the house. The health and beauty

session at the drop-in offered an escape to a truly "female only safe space" for M, the importance of which is emphasised in M's scrapbook (figure 23). The session offered a multi-cultural space of familiarity, security, relaxation and solidarity in a "trustworthy and unthreatening space" (Bloch et al, 2014, 111, Ong and Rovisco, 2019, De Martini Ugolotti et al, 2022), as all the women who attended had gone through or were in the process of going through the UK asylum system. The session was an escape from her uncertain circumstances and provided a distraction from the many stresses of her status, helping her to persist (Povinelli, 2011).

All participants stated how they appreciated this open service, primarily because it provided a space where they are "free to be" (Carr, 2017). Participants particularly valued the space as a familiar meeting point, where refugees and asylum seekers are free to gather, socialise and form multi-cultural connections.

"The place takes the stress away, finding something to occupy your mind. You are all in the same situation. You find comfort – you aren't alone" (P, 2019)

"When I come [to the drop-in] I'm not bored – I talk. I enjoy my time here. If these services weren't here I'd be bored, wouldn't be able to find friends" (N, 2020)

"I've been smoking for 10 years. It's relaxing, sociable. I get to stand outside and chat to others" (S, 2019)

Figure 24 S's Book "Smoking Page"
(Source: Author, 2019)

[Talking about the drop-in] "For the last four years, only this place has done anything for me. All experiences have been good and I want to give back" (W, 2019)

As seen in other established groups and services for refugees and asylum seekers, the drop-in space provided the base for a multi-cultural community. The "welcoming environment, organisational support … and implicit knowledge that others are, have been or possibly will be facing similar problems" (Stone, 2017, 6) provided a comfortable environment for stateless participants. For S (figure 24) this was exemplified in his drawing of a cigarette in his scrapbook. For him, the drop-in provided a familiar, comfortable space for him to meet and talk to other similar people over a cigarette. This mundane activity is not only a distraction or a time-filler, but it also enables S to make social connections in the wider community, helping him to imagine an otherwise and endure the everyday. W valued the drop-in so highly that he wanted to contribute and give back to the service. To help the community centre, he regularly tended the front garden. He also viewed participating in this project as a way of giving back and helping others in his situation. W's volunteer work provided a routine and a purpose through his highly uncertain and precarious everyday, providing a valuable distraction from the boredom and benefitting his mental health. A strategy to endure the everyday.

Each of these examples of leisure enjoyed by stateless participants has demonstrated that stateless people do have and exert agency through the everyday, directly contradicting Agamben's (1998) conceptualisation of the stateless as "bare life". The examples explored (learning, cooking, watching films and television and attending the drop-in) have also demonstrated the many physical and emotional benefits of leisure activities, explaining why these activities become valuable strategies of endurance for stateless people in the UK. However, throughout this exploration participants have emphasised the importance of doing these activities with other people, to combat social isolation and form valuable social relationships. The following section will explore why local friendships are fundamental for stateless people to endure the hostile environment in the UK.

7.4 Importance of Friendships

Within each example of leisure activities discussed in this chapter, being with other people was a key component of that activity and therefore strategies to endure statelessness in the UK (Dawney, 2020). Whether that be smoking with others, cooking for others, watching a film with others, playing sport with others, getting beauty treatments with others, or just getting a coffee with others. Being with others through leisure enabled participants to build social connections in their communities in the UK, creating formal and informal support networks. As already previously demonstrated, these connections are practical, facilitating information sharing within communities, and highly affective, helping to form feelings of wider belonging and understanding of a place and community, thus benefiting a person's wellbeing (Bloch et al, 2014). This final section will further explore why local social relationships, particularly friendship, are fundamental for stateless people to endure the hostile environment in the UK.

It has long been recognised that social relationships are fundamental to geographical understanding. To consider space as relational is to recognise that spaces, like identities, are made through interactions with others, ongoing possibilities that are unbounded and ever changing (Massey, 2004, Hall, 2019a). In her recent article, Sarah-Marie Hall encourages geographers to pay "close attention not only to geographies *of* everyday life, by attending to questions of difference through, across and between spaces" but to "geographies *in* everyday life, by addressing the interactions, relationships and spatial practices that configure and are configured by the everyday" (2019a, 31). She argues that family, friendships and other intimate relationships represent the core of significant everyday social relationships. These principal relationships can be clearly identified in the examples included from the stateless participants of this study – particularly local friendship.

Until relatively recently, friendship has been overlooked in geography, remaining in sociology and anthropological circles. As stated in Tim Bunnell's work "friendship is a means through which people … maintain intimate social relations" and "are an important part of what makes us, and our geographies of various kinds, human" (2012, 490). He defines friendships as "an interpersonal relationship

between two or more people that is voluntarily entered into and maybe similarly dissolved" (Bunnell et al, 2012, 490). These relationships can be short lived or long lasting. Friendship is understood as a form of "social glue", providing "social and emotional support and a sense of collectivity" (Edwards and Gillies, 2004, 631). Wilkinson argues that a "sense of 'at homeness' [is] found in doing collective activities with friends" (2014, 2462). It is argued that "the ties that bind friendship are clearly discernible from kinship, based not on consanguinity or law, but choice, entered into voluntarily, and founded upon shared values or experiences" (Hall, 2019b, 775). Therefore, the development of friendships are another example of people exercising their agency in the everyday.

Bunnell et al argue that "geography is important in the making, maintenance and dissolution of friendships, as well as the types of friends that are important in particular space-time settings" (2012, 490). In her work with a refugee and asylum seeker befriending scheme in the north of England, Askins argues that befriending often occurs in everyday, local spaces – homes, neighbourhood, cafes, and local shops. She argues that these "mundane spaces allow for, and demand, shifts in perceptions of self and other, nudging established discourses of alterity and anticipating new social relations" (Askins, 2015, 476). Askins describes them as "prosaic places in which people discover each other as multifaceted, complex and interdependent" (2015, 476). She continues her analysis arguing that the building of friendships in everyday spaces has the potential to be a political act (Askins, 2015, 2016). Askins (2015, 2016) contends that these social connections are political because these relationships show a desire and an effort to re-make society at a local level. She calls the building of these everyday relationships acts of "emotional citizenry" which develop "a broader body politic that exceeds any formal political sphere" (Askins, 2016, 515). Therefore, "emotional citizenry" (Askins, 2016) has the potential to facilitate an otherwise, to create convivial spaces of solidarity, to escape the everyday harsh realities brought about by their legal status (Ong and Rovisco, 2019).

Analysis in this chapter has corresponded with Askins's findings. Stateless participants met and formed valuable connections with people in ordinary, local

spaces, their shared accommodation, refugee and asylum drop-in centres or other community centres and events, doing everyday activities. These connections are not just with others in the same precarious situation or same ethnic background, age or gender, but also with older volunteers, students and others met in public spaces, as "friendships are neither determined … nor reducible to such networks" (Bunnell, 2012, 490). For stateless participants, the building of social relationships in a particular place are acts of creating a sense of security in their highly uncertain everyday. Social networks establish formal and informal support systems, which are essential for legal advice, local knowledge and emotional support in the present and future (Williams, 2006, Bloch et al, 2014, Askins, 2016). These systems therefore offer potential avenues to resolve one's legal status, practical advice and knowledge of available local services and an empathetic ear to support you through a highly uncertain and turbulent everyday, benefitting physical and mental wellbeing (Williams, 2006). Furthermore, social networks also provide recognition at mundane times and ordinary spaces, helping people "make sense of and secure their place in the world" (Askins, 2016, 520). When people are recognised they are validated, seen as "nuanced individuals embedded in complex, liveable lives" (Askins, 2016, 523). These systems facilitate "quasi-events" which enable stateless people "to suffer and persist" through their everyday lives (Povinelli, 2011, 32). These acts of "quiet politics" (Askins, 2015) are subversive as they directly challenge the exclusionary, repressive narrative of the UK hostile environment. However, these acts are also hopeful (Crouch, 2014, Askins, 2016, Stone, 2017), as stateless people are using their everyday agency to search for and create an alternative way of living and endure within their harsh reality.

However, we must be careful not to romanticise the benefits of everyday leisure activities and the social networks they facilitate. Following the call from Dawney and Jellis (forthcoming), this chapter is not an attempt to offer a redemptive account of statelessness in the UK. Leisure activities do not overcome the structural oppression of the hostile environment in the UK (Ong and Rovisco, 2019), but they can manage its effects "in a positive and constructive (developmental) form" (Stone, 2017, 10). Following their study with undocumented young people in the UK, Bloch,

Sigona and Zetter argue that "the range of social activities in which they engage is the result of a continuous negotiation between their social needs and aspirations and the constraints due to their lack of status" (2014, 125). Stateless persons should not have to endure the slow everyday violence inflicted upon them. They should not have to look for an escape from their suffering. The leisure activities documented in this chapter do offer an otherwise, but this otherwise is limited and not permanent. Due to their stateless status, stateless individuals in the UK do not have an infinite choice of leisure activities in which to participate. They are severely limited by the financial support they receive, their lack of a bank account or documentation to set up essential accounts at facilities (such as the gym) and their emotional insecurities instigated by their uncertain legal status (Bloch et al, 2014). It is for this reason, that many of the activities discussed in this chapter are relatively inexpensive and can take place within the relatively safe space of their accommodation, further revealing "a fractured and discontinuous geography" of statelessness (Bloch et al, 2014, 125). Furthermore, these activities only offer a short temporal escape from the everyday harsh realities of being stateless in the UK. They do not offer long term political or legal solutions to change their exhausting circumstances (Ong and Rovisco, 2019). This otherwise is also not necessarily an improvement on their current situation (Kiely, 2021). As revealed through M's example of baking and S's example of watching films, certain activities reminded participants of a time with family and friends who had been left behind. These activities brought happy memories, but also great sadness when one realised these experiences may never be repeated in the future, as it is impossible for any stateless persons to travel legally without international travel documents. Therefore, it is highly unlikely their family could join them in the UK, but also, as discussed in chapter six, equally unlikely for them to travel to visit, being physically and existentially stuck in the UK.

7.5 Summary: Endurance and Ongoingness

Following a conceptualisation of statelessness as an everyday lived experience and looking beyond the spectacular, this chapter has explored and revealed how mundane actions in ordinary spaces directly challenge wider conceptualisations of statelessness. Through an exploration of leisure activities as an

everyday strategy of endurance, this chapter has demonstrated that stateless persons do find and exert agency in the everyday, directly challenging "dehumanising or infantilising binaries" (De Martini Ugolotti et al, 2022, 4) conceptualising stateless people as "bare life" (Agamben, 1998).

This chapter revealed what stateless participants perceived to be leisure. Initially participants were confused by this topic, stating that they did not have any free time. It was argued that this initial answer could be honest; stateless persons do not feel that they have time for leisure, due to the constant, exhausting emotional labour necessary to persist through the slow violence of their everyday (Hochschild, 1983). However, following Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar, this weariness from survival in an oppressive environment was suggested to be a strategy of endurance in itself, as "sometimes closing down is the only way to get by" (2019, 161). After some further unravelling of the question, participants revealed that they enjoy learning new skills, preparing and sharing food, watching films and television and attending the refugee and asylum seeker drop-in space. These activities have all been revealed to provide a sense of normality, enable people to have a degree of control over their lives, empower individuals through new knowledge and skills, distract people from their highly uncertain everyday lives, all of which have the potential to nourish their physical and mental wellbeing. However, the building of social relationships and friendships were considered to be the key components of these everyday leisure activities to facilitate all of these benefits. The construction of social networks provided comfort and security within their local communities, providing legal advice, local knowledge and emotional support (Williams, 2006, Bloch et al, 2014). These relationships also provided recognition within the everyday, which is extremely important for those officially excluded nationally and internationally.

However, a focus on everyday leisure activities has also revealed "a fractured and discontinuous geography" (Bloch et al, 2014, 125) of everyday statelessness, an example of an "all-too-human-geography … a scene of exhaustion and endurance, diminishment and fortitude, decay and aliveness" (Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar, 2019, 158). An exploration of everyday leisure activities has uncovered the empowering and transformative potentialities of the everyday for stateless people,

an opportunity for an otherwise, but these potentialities are limited by the oppressive hostile environment of the UK state. Therefore, statelessness is ongoing.

8. Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis provides new insights and analysis on statelessness. It has demonstrated how examining statelessness through the everyday expands understandings of the condition beyond an abstract legal conundrum or category of non-citizenship. An exploration through the geographical everyday has enabled a conceptualisation of statelessness as a lived experience, emerging through and impacting mundane spaces and encounters in everyday life. This conceptualisation does not discount statelessness as a legal phenomenon, but acknowledges statelessness as a complex political, social, and cultural status which is rooted in lived experience. Focusing on statelessness as a lived experience, lived in and through the everyday, has generated new, alternative insights, making the status identifiable and tangible. Furthermore, this concentration on the geographical everyday has enabled an exploration at more local, grass-roots, personal scales, facilitating deep and vivid accounts of situated, lived, embodied experiences of statelessness. This thesis has asked key questions on where, when and how statelessness emerges in the everyday. How are spaces and encounters constituted by the legal category? How is the status coped with or not? How is statelessness endured in the everyday? To summarise, this thesis has asked the principal question: what does *being* "stateless" mean day-to-day?

This chapter will summarise the key findings of this thesis, before outlining the key theoretical, methodological, and wider practical contributions of this study. The limitations of this project will then be acknowledged and addressed. Finally, this thesis will conclude by outlining potential avenues for future research.

8.2 Statelessness as a Lived Experience

Through a slow, creative, participatory methodology, this thesis has aimed to ground and expand understandings of everyday statelessness in the UK, using scrapbooking techniques. Three objectives emerged from this overarching goal: first, to examine the topic of statelessness in direct conversation with stateless communities in the UK. Second, to use scrapbooking to explore the everyday experiences of statelessness in the UK. And third, to critically examine scrapbooking

as a research method, by completing a personal scrapbook documenting the research process itself. These aims and objectives have been summarised by two principal research questions, which have guided the entire research process:

1. What does *being* "stateless" mean day-to-day in the UK?

2. How does scrapbooking elicit new knowledge and understandings of statelessness?

These questions have been examined and answered throughout the thesis. The first question, "*What does being "stateless" mean day-to-day in the UK?",* has been answered through utilising a creative research methodology and conceptualising statelessness as a lived experience, lived in and through the everyday. Through conceptualising statelessness as a lived experience, this thesis has highlighted the ambiguities and contradictions evident in and through the everyday lives of stateless persons in the UK. These inconsistencies have revealed the extraordinary within the ordinary, the strange within the mundane (Featherstone, 1992, Highmore, 2002). Following similar studies researching everyday austerity (Hitchen, 2019), this thesis acknowledges that statelessness is not a consistent phenomenon, becoming present through multiple forms (embodied, material, atmospheric) as it is lived in and through the everyday (Hitchen, 2019). The multiple banal forms of lived statelessness can make the condition seem everywhere at every-time, making everyday statelessness intangible and elusive. However, creative approaches to research open knowledge production to the more-than-rational; a means "to grasp the messy, unfinished and contingent" (Hawkins, 2015, 248) and to bring to the fore the overlooked and challenge the settled. Through creative research methods, this thesis has made everyday statelessness visible. Each chapter explores how, where and when statelessness becomes present and how it impacts everyday life: through encounters with state institutions and material documentation in both public and "private" spaces, answering the first research question, *"what does being "stateless" mean day-to-day in the UK?"*

Chapter Five, *Statelessness as Everyday Incarceration,* explored how everyday encounters with state institutions created carceral geographies for stateless

individuals residing in the UK. Using Cassidy's conceptualisation of the carceral "existing in and of itself in and around us in everyday life" (2019, 48), this chapter demonstrates how being stateless in the UK fulfils Moran et al's (2018) "carceral conditions" of intention, spatiality and detriment. Firstly, this chapter argues that the UK government demonstrates a purposeful intention to harm stateless individuals through the policies of the Hostile Environment. These policies, and the social environment they construct, inflict a slow physical and psychological violence (Nixon, 2011). The hostile environment prohibits stateless persons from being employed, prevents them from finding accommodation, demands they pay for healthcare and places stateless persons in detention facilities indefinitely. This chapter also argues that an intention to harm is evident throughout legal encounters with the Home Office. The SDP is not a straightforward process, with many procedural obstacles. The SDP is not eligible for Legal Aid, appeal rights are limited, and a high standard of proof is required (ENS, 2018). Furthermore, many participants reported difficulties in finding a lawyer who understood the complexities of their situation and could advise how to regularise their status through the SDP, resulting in legal deserts for expertise in statelessness (Burridge and Gill, 2017). These difficulties in accessing appropriate legal advice can leave stateless persons "within a precarious legal space" (Burridge and Gill, 2017, 23-24) for undetermined, lengthy periods of time. This perpetual precarious legal status and chronic uncertainty leads to further harm by the UK Home Office. During this process the applicant's life is dictated by the Home Office, where one lives, with whom one lives, what they can do with their limited weekly budget and the risk of detention hanging over them at all times. This perpetual precariousness and enforced impoverishment instigated and intended by the lengthy, confusing, inaccessible legal procedure disproportionately affects stateless persons in the UK, causing a lasting harm on one's physical and mental health.

Secondly, this purposeful infliction of harm occurs within a specific space. This chapter demonstrates how the mobility and immobility of stateless persons in the UK is controlled to facilitate this harm. This is achieved through the indefinite detention in detention facilities, the national dispersal system, the lack of any documentation and the international state/citizenship norm. This control practiced by the state over

the lives of the stateless creates a sense of "stuckness", the experience of spatial and temporal confinement (Jefferson et al, 2019). They are unable to perceive any possible futures, they are trapped in the present. The inaccessible, complex legal system and the status of the "unknowable" stateless person making them undeportable creates a perpetual carceral circuit, leaving stateless persons at risk of enduring the intended harmful restrictions of the hostile environment for much longer than any other migrants to the UK. This perpetual "stuckness" has proven to be detrimental for stateless persons, resulting in severe mental health problems, highlighting the "less-than-human geographies" of statelessness (Philo, 2017).

Chapter Six, *"Status affects everything": The role of Documentation in Home (Un)Making,* investigates how statelessness infiltrates and influences the construction of the most "private" of spaces, the home. Through an exploration of documents given to stateless individuals in the UK, this chapter examined how statelessness becomes material and influences affective home making and un-making. Participants in this study conceptualised an ideal home as a place of belonging, comfort and security. For them, key to achieving this ideal, affective home was the receipt of official identity documents. This perspective concurs with the official, international narrative that legal status is essential to access universal human rights, as documents form the critical, physical evidence required to prove stable, legal status and access the "right to have rights" (Arendt, 2017, 388, Birkvad, 2019). However, Brinham identifies that "documents do not merely prevent and reduce statelessness; they also reproduce it in multiple ways" (2019, 168). Using her classification of documents as emancipatory, repressive and destructive (Brinham, 2019), this chapter explores the complex affective home making and unmaking instigated by identity documents given to stateless persons in the UK.

Firstly, these documents are seen as emancipatory, key to proving legal protection and stability. This is emphasised in the materiality of the identification card. The plastic card suggests durability and the royal coat of arms implies authenticity. The legal protection and stability inferred by the card made participants feel secure and comfortable, essential to "feel at home" in the UK. Therefore, the

anticipation and receipt of state issued identity documents form a strong foundation for stateless persons to establish home in the UK.

However, one's relationship with the state greatly depends on how one is seen by the state, as being officially categorised as a citizen, refugee or stateless person has differing consequences for the individual. Therefore, secondly, many participants recognised the repressive qualities of the identification document, recognising that many fundamental rights, including rights to security, mobility and permanent residence remain the privilege of citizens. This is reinforced by the defined temporality of the document. This left many participants feeling ambivalent towards the document (McNevin, 2013). The documents distinguish stateless persons from citizens and therefore judged to be deportable (Birkvad, 2019). Therefore, stateless persons live in a situation of "liminal legality" (Menjivar, 2006), offering "more protection than undocumented status, yet stopping short of the stability offered by permanent residency and citizenship" (Birkvad, 2019, 801). They felt left in limbo and at the mercy of the state in many banal aspects of their lives, causing feelings of inequality and long-term uncertainty leading to severe anxiety (Birkvad, 2019). Quite the opposite to emotions associated with "feeling at home" and therefore preventing stateless persons from making a home in the UK.

Finally, the identity documents offered to stateless persons by the UK government were also seen as destructive and a form of administrative violence. Becoming stateless through an administrative procedure has been described as a form of violence. Participants with experience of the procedure have described the removal of their nationality as erasing their existence. Participants in this study recounted the UK state system imposing the stateless label upon them and the moment of becoming XXA (the code for statelessness) as an extremely distressing event. For many participants, the stateless label is not perceived by recipients as offering protection, instead it is seen to remove existing identity markers, forms of attachments and rights to self determination (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016). Furthermore, these feelings of exclusion are not constricted to the moment a stateless identity document is issued. These feelings occur and persist in mundane times and spaces. Identification documents are constantly scrutinised in everyday,

mundane settings across the UK, far away from the external borders, by non-state officials, in offices, factories, shops, hospitals and schools. These mundane checks in ordinary spaces can cause great distress for stateless individuals. The unawareness of the existence of the stateless status in the UK is creating uncomfortable, everyday encounters for stateless persons. The act of an ordinary citizen questioning one's status after years of fighting for recognition can be degrading and detrimental to one's physical and mental wellbeing. Demonstrating that stateless documentation issued in the UK can have stigmatising and violent effects on the document holder. Therefore, contrary to prior perceptions, the identification documents offered to stateless individuals in the UK do not necessarily offer certainty, comfort and security, key to belonging and feeling "at home". Instead, these documents can produce feelings of uncertainty, anxiety and vulnerability, creating further physical and emotional obstacles to everyday life in the UK.

This exploration of identity documents issued to stateless individuals in the UK demonstrate that state documents heavily influences the personal, affective, "private" practice of homemaking, further demonstrating that the personal and political do not exist in separate spheres. However, this exploration also demonstrates that home making and home unmaking can occur simultaneously, initiated by the same material source.

Through an exploration of leisure activities, Chapter Seven, *"Enduring Statelessness",* explores how stateless persons persist and endure within the political, legal and social circumstances inflicted upon them in the UK. This chapter utilises Povinelli's work on the concept of endurance, defining the act as "the ability to suffer and yet persist" (2011, 32), highlighting "the (often problematic) ways in which broken worlds are lived in and through" (Dawney, 2020, 44). Povinelli's work encourages us to look beyond the spectacular and consider alternative possibilities which emerge in the everyday. Therefore, to endure is not to lack agency. Ghassan Hage argues that to endure is the "ability to snatch agency in the very midst of its lack" (2009, 101). Contradicting Agamben's common characterisation of the stateless person as "bare life" (1998), cast outside society and without agency, this chapter demonstrates stateless persons do find and exert agency through everyday practices

of endurance. This chapter argues that leisure activities are an example of practices of everyday endurance for stateless persons. Unlike other aspects of their lives in the UK, stateless persons choose how they spend their "free time".

Initially participants were confused by this topic, stating that they did not have any free time. It was argued that this initial answer could be honest; stateless persons do not feel that they have time for leisure, due to the constant, exhausting emotional labour necessary to persist through the slow violence of their everyday (Hochschild, 1983). However, following Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar, this weariness from survival in an oppressive environment was suggested to be a strategy of endurance in itself, as "sometimes closing down is the only way to get by" (2019, 161). After some further unravelling of the question, participants revealed that they enjoy learning new skills, preparing and sharing food, watching films and television and attending the refugee and asylum seeker drop-in space. These activities have all been revealed to provide a sense of normality, enable people to have a degree of control over their lives, empower individuals through new knowledge and skills, distract people from their highly uncertain everyday lives, all of which have the potential to nourish their physical and mental wellbeing. However, the building of social relationships and friendships were considered to be the key components of these everyday leisure activities to facilitate all of these benefits. The construction of social networks provided comfort and security within their local communities, providing legal advice, local knowledge and emotional support (Williams, 2006, Bloch et al, 2014). These relationships also provided recognition within the everyday, which is extremely important for those officially excluded nationally and internationally.

Following Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar, in the context of everyday statelessness in the UK, these practices of endurance revealed "a fractured and discontinuous geography" (Bloch et al, 2014, 125) of everyday statelessness, an example of an "all-too-human-geography … a scene of exhaustion and endurance, diminishment and fortitude, decay and aliveness" (Wilkinson and Ortega-Alcázar, 2019, 158). An exploration of everyday leisure activities uncovered the empowering and transformative potentialities of the everyday for stateless people, an opportunity for an otherwise, but these potentialities are limited by the oppressive hostile

environment of the UK state. Therefore, statelessness is ongoing. These ambiguities and contradictions, revealed through a focus on the everyday, are hidden within previous research which treats statelessness as a theoretical, legal conundrum. However, these ambiguities and contradictions are important to fully understanding how statelessness is coped with, resisted, experienced and lived. Therefore, a focus on the everyday has revealed stateless as *being* a complex, contradictory, fluid state. Everyday encounters in mundane spaces are a battle for recognition and can have detrimental affects on a person's physical and mental health. However, using their agency, the everyday also offers a site of hope for the stateless, an opportunity to form an otherwise from the ground up.

The second research question of this thesis, "*how does scrapbooking elicit new knowledge and understandings of statelessness?",* has been answered through a critical, embodied exploration of statelessness in Chapter 4, *Crafting Statelessness: Experience in the Field.* This chapter demonstrated the value of working through the "messiness" of the scrapbooking encounter (Hyndman, 2001), revealing the benefits of employing a slow, creative, gentle, participatory research methodology with vulnerable persons to capture their ambiguous everyday experiences over a long period of time.

As witnessed throughout this research process, scrapbooking provides participants the time and the freedom to choose what, how and when they want to share during the research process. The layering of a variety of materials to form a collage, has demonstrated the ability of this method to reach beyond the rational to capture the everyday. Furthermore, scrapbooking offers the possibility for the researcher to scrapbook alongside participants, creating an embodied research encounter. This facilitated a deeper, subconscious understanding of the practice and participants which remain elusive to conventional methods (Carr et al, 2017, Hawkins et al, 2018, Sjöholm, 2018, Back, 2020, Collins, 2020). Therefore, the slow scrapbooking process not only enables the creation of collages and layouts, they also enable the construction of trusting, research relationships. This slow, participatory approach enabled the negotiation of a shared research space between researcher and participant. This, in turn, facilitated an embodied, reciprocal attunement to

emotions and sensitivity to small (verbal and non-verbal) details (Pottinger, 2020), consequently producing a different narrative compared to a straight-forward interview.

During this project, the material, non-linear and embodied characteristics of the scrapbooking process challenged the defined spatial and temporal boundaries of the research encounters. Fragments travelled from their place of origin, between participant and researcher and, once rearranged, shared with friends and family across the world. This opened the possibilities for future transformation beyond the defined spatial and temporal boundaries of the research project. The transformation of materials enabled the transformation of relationships, self and geographies (Price et al, 2018, Heath et al, 2020). An example of this transformation is participant's development of emotional attachments towards their scrapbooks. Participants had invested significant time, care and emotional effort in the making of their books, developing strong, emotional attachments. As a result, participants kept their books after the project, transforming the book from a current record of the present, to a personal archive. These materialised, tangible thoughts and feelings are now always available for future reflection beyond the spatial and temporal bounds of the research project.

In summary, scrapbooking elicits new knowledge and understandings of statelessness through the construction of a slow, ethical "care-full" research encounters with stateless individuals. The slow, participatory, creative process allowed participants the time and space to consider what they wanted to share during the encounter. This slow process also enabled the construction of trusting research relationships between the researcher and participant, making them comfortable to divulge personal, and sometime distressing, experiences. This process enabled an exploration at more local, grass-roots, personal scales, facilitating deep and vivid accounts of situated, lived, embodied experiences of statelessness.

8.3 Key Contributions to the Geographical Discipline
Geographical scholars have made significant contributions to the study of the everyday state and the everyday lives of refugees and asylum seekers around the world. This work has greatly informed this thesis, providing the conceptual

background to think through statelessness as a complex, lived experience, lived in and through mundane spaces and ordinary encounters. This thesis feeds back into this rich geographical work, being one of the first studies to explore statelessness through the lens of the everyday. As this study has used a creative methodology, this thesis not only offers alternative insights into statelessness, but also new contributions to literatures concentrating on creative geographies. The following sections will outline in detail the theoretical, methodological and practical contributions of this thesis to the study of statelessness and the wider geographical discipline.

8.3.1 Theoretical Contributions

Firstly, a focus on statelessness as a lived experience through the everyday reveals the contradictions and inconsistencies of the state. This thesis contributes to the growing literature disputing the classical definition of the state as an all-powerful, unified, "monolith" (Jones, 2012, 805). Conceptualising the state through the everyday considers the state as embedded within society, rather than being above and beyond society, operating in a completely separate sphere. This focus reveals the splintered, contested nature of the state, challenging the narrative of the state as united and homogenous (Gupta, 1995). Previous literatures have revealed these disputes and contradictions not just between the state and civil society but also shown within state institutions (Mountz, 2003, Askins, 2015). This thesis has revealed inconsistencies between the state and supra-national organisations (the UN) and the state and civil society through everyday friendships (Askins, 2015, 2016), supporting and contributing the conceptualisation of the state as "not a unitary object but … a set of practices enacted through relationships between people, places, and institutions" (Desbiens et al, 2004, 242).

Secondly, this thesis repeatedly challenged Agamben's widely accepted conceptualisation of stateless persons as "bare life" (1998). Conceptualising statelessness as a lived experience, lived in and through the everyday, has revealed the power and agency stateless persons hold over their own everyday lives. This finding directly contradicts the conceptualisation of stateless persons as powerless and completely lacking agency. The agency of stateless people was demonstrated

through an exploration of leisure activities as an everyday strategy of endurance, directly challenging these "dehumanising or infantilising binaries" (De Martini Ugolotti et al, 2022, 4). This thesis provides evidence to change the dehumanising narrative of stateless people as "passive victims" (Bloom et al, 2017, 3). Through an exploration on leisure and endurance, this thesis contributes to studies exploring the everyday negotiation of individual – state relationships.

8.3.2 Methodological Contributions

This thesis contributes to the slow scholarship movement; demonstrating how creative research methods can be used to construct an alternative, non-intrusive, gentle research encounter with vulnerable populations over a long period of time. The entire scrapbooking process, brainstorming, selecting, cutting, placing, altering, fixing materials and further modifying compositions, provided time for research relationships to develop and allowed participants the time and space to contemplate what they wanted to share, resulting in an alternative narrative compared to a straightforward interview. This approach is a stark contrast to the quickening pace demanded by the neoliberal academy for research "outputs". This thesis argues that this slow, flexible, gentle research environment enabled a "care-full" research encounter; practiced by participants in the creation of their books and experienced by both researcher and participants in the development of research relationships. Although not a cut-and-paste blueprint, this thesis contributes a valuable example of how to effectively design and conduct a creative, ethical, longitudinal research project with vulnerable populations.

Due to the nature of the practice, traditional qualitative research methodologies, such as interviews and focus groups, are limited within a specific time and place. Only capturing a snapshot of a participant's life; their thoughts and feelings at that particular moment in that particular place. This can be extended through multiple encounters but is still restricted to a series of finite moments. During this project, the material, non-linear and embodied characteristics of the scrapbooking process challenged the defined spatial and temporal boundaries of the research encounters. Fragments travelled from their place of origin, between participant and researcher and, once rearranged, shared with friends and family across the world.

This opened the possibilities for future transformation beyond the defined spatial and temporal boundaries of the research project. The transformation of materials enabled the transformation of relationships, self and geographies (Price et al, 2018, Heath et al, 2020). An example of this transformation is participant's development of emotional attachments towards their scrapbooks. Participants had invested significant time, care and emotional effort in the making of their books, developing strong, emotional attachments. As a result, many participants kept their books after the project, transforming the book from a current record of the present, to a personal archive. These materialised thoughts and feelings are always available for future reflection beyond the spatial and temporal bounds of the research project.

8.3.4 Practical Contributions

This thesis has exposed the lack of awareness of statelessness in the UK. This lack of knowledge and understanding of the category has been exposed amongst community groups and civil society, state services and amongst the legal profession. This thesis has demonstrated how this lack of awareness can have a detrimental physical and mental impact on affected persons.

Community organisations provide significant assistance to stateless persons, providing help and direct support when stateless persons need it most. However, these organisations also direct people towards appropriate support and legal assistance. This general unawareness of statelessness and the SDP can lead to unintentional and inappropriate advice, setting stateless persons on a difficult, lengthy journey to try and regularise their status in the UK.

This thesis has revealed numerous instances of lack of awareness of statelessness amongst state services, including attempts to charge stateless persons for healthcare procedures on the NHS and questioning one's eligibility for higher education during university enrolment. The unawareness of the existence of the stateless status in the UK creates uncomfortable, everyday encounters for stateless persons. The act of an ordinary citizen questioning ones status after years of fighting for recognition can be degrading and detrimental to one's wellbeing, creating further physical and emotional obstacles to everyday life in the UK.

This research also uncovers a lack of awareness and knowledge of statelessness and the SDP amongst the legal community. Most SDP cases are handled by the Liverpool Law Clinic, attached to Liverpool University, and Asylum Aid, part of the Helen Bamber foundation in London. Despite their best efforts, these two organisations can only support a finite number of cases at any one time. As these organisations are based in Liverpool and London, there is an uneven geography of access to specialised legal advice and representation, creating legal deserts for statelessness (Burridge and Gill, 2017). The SDP needs to be more accessible for stateless persons in the UK. To solve this problem, more solicitors across the UK need to be made aware of statelessness and the relevant procedure to regularise status through dedicated courses. Furthermore, the SDP should be eligible for legal aid. This funding would make the SDP much more accessible, as this would help build a business case for more solicitors to invest in the knowledge and expertise needed to support SDP clients, eventually causing legal deserts to shrink.

8.4 Limitations of the Project

It must be acknowledged that the findings and conclusions of this thesis are very much of their time, situated in a specific time, place and participant demographic (Haraway, 1988). This section will outline the limitations of this project, before exploring directions for future geographical research into statelessness.

Firstly, this study was designed and conducted before the global Covid-19 pandemic. The restrictions put in place to combat the spread of Covid19 in March 2020 put unforeseen limitations on this project. Strict social distancing rules prohibited face-to-face fieldwork. Unfortunately, these rules brought my fieldwork to an abrupt end, preventing the completion the research process with two participants. Therefore, the pandemic directly limited the data for this project. Furthermore, as fieldwork could not be conducted during strict lockdowns, this thesis does not include the impact of strict restrictions or how recovery from the pandemic has affected the lives of stateless people in the UK. For ethical reasons, I did keep in e-mail contact with participants during repeated lockdowns. From these communications I am aware that participants found the restrictions difficult; being bound to unpleasant accommodation and without community facilities to help them

endure their situation. Despite the difficulties of lockdown, participants remained positive:

"I endured it before so I can do it again" (P, 2021)

Secondly, due to restricted finances, this study only worked with stateless people who resided in Cardiff and London. This restriction excluded stateless people who may live in other English dispersal cities, such as Liverpool, Bristol or Sheffield, and other devolved regions, namely Scotland and Northern Ireland. Excluding everyday experiences of other regions in the UK may have impacted the conclusions of this study.

Finally, the gender bias in this study is significant. Only one woman out of eight total participants took part in this study. This vast difference between the genders in statelessness studies in the UK is not unusual. During conversations with other organisations within the sector (UNHCR UK and ENS) I was informed that they too have difficulties in recruiting women to participate in their research. This could be due to a number of factors. Firstly, the stateless population in the UK is intertwined with refugee and asylum seeker populations, as stateless persons travel to the UK to seek protection from the persecution experienced as a result of their lack of citizenship. The refugee and asylum seeker population in the UK is predominantly male, with only 21% of UK asylum applications being made by women in 2020 (AIDA, 2021). This is mainly because men are more mobile than women, who are more likely to have dependents restricting their movement. Statelessness is also a rare, and sometimes unknown, condition within this population, preventing people from coming forward to participate. Secondly, the spaces where I recruited participants catered for men. The refugee and asylum seeker drop-in service where I volunteered had table football and a pool table, attracting groups of men. There was not a specific space or activity tailored especially for women. Furthermore, I was told by female users of the service that the overwhelming presence of men in the space made them feel uncomfortable, many expressing how they cannot relax when they are "continuously stared at" (M, 2020). Therefore, many women avoided the space. Finally, self-selection became a significant factor, as recruitment snowballed and

individuals directly approached myself to participate in the study. This occurred as trust was earned and word spread about the project through organisations and members of refugee and asylum seeker communities. All except one of these individuals were male. This could be because men were more comfortable in the community space in which I operated, but I also suspect the impact of other social and cultural factors. Women are more likely to be responsible for children and during recruitment it was not explicitly stated that children would be welcome during the research process, which could have prevented some women coming forward. Due to childcare commitments, many women are not able to take advantage of English language classes in the UK. Language limitations could have made the prospect of participating in a research project extremely daunting, preventing women from putting themselves forward. Women's experiences of statelessness forms a vast gap in global knowledge on statelessness. This gap needs to be filled to provide evidence for tailored solutions for stateless women. Using the lessons learnt from this project, I hope to address this gap in future research.

8.5 Directions for Future Research

Building on the limitations acknowledged in the previous section, this section will explore the possibilities for future geographical research inspired by this thesis exploring the everyday lives of stateless people in the UK.

As discussed in the previous section, this thesis is situated in a particular time place and with a particular demographic. These remaining gaps offer exciting possibilities for further research. Firstly, research needs to be conducted with stateless people in the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic. Their everyday experiences of life in the UK during the pandemic need to be documented to ensure that practical lessons for policy and practice can be learnt for the future. Secondly, this study offers the possibility to be repeated with other stateless people residing in other dispersal locations in England, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. This would enable a mapping of statelessness in the UK and facilitate a comparison between the experiences of stateless persons in each of the devolved nations. This would be a valuable exercise to update the last "Mapping Statelessness in the United Kingdom" project conducted by Asylum Aid and the UNHCR in 2011. Finally, there remains a

vast gap in the research into the everyday life of a significant proportion of the stateless population in the UK. A study concentrating on the everyday experiences of stateless women is desperately needed to bring their unique perceptions and struggles to the forefront of stateless and geographic studies. Their viewpoints need to be heard in order to develop and implement appropriate policy and practice.

This thesis also demonstrates the benefits of slow scholarship (Mountz et al, 2015); providing a practical example of how to design and conduct creative, non-intrusive, gentle research encounters with vulnerable populations. The lessons learnt during this research project could be used to conduct other slow creative and non-creative research projects to foster ethical and "care-full" research encounters in the field.

8.6 Beyond the Thesis

I would like to end this thesis where it started. This moment from the field occurred during my last face-to-face meeting with P, when we were both reflecting on the last six months of research.

"My crisis has passed, but I can try and make it easier for people in my shoes in the future ... This will hopefully shed light on so many misconceptions and educate people on why people come here, their struggles and feelings" (P, 2019)

This moment emphasises the two principal purposes of this thesis: to amplify stateless voices and to raise awareness of the stateless condition and the everyday crises endured by stateless persons in the UK.

Since starting this thesis in 2017, the issue of statelessness in the UK has hit the news headlines through two dominant stories: the Windrush Scandal in 2018 and the removal of British citizenship from Shamima Begum in 2019. Both instances highlighted to the British public the consequences of a lack of citizenship; the denial of healthcare, rights to work and mobility. However, both situations were constructed as exceptional in the UK context, extremely rare and highly unlikely to occur again. The contributions of P, W, Q, K, S, A, M and N challenge this narrative. This thesis has demonstrated that statelessness is not unusual and is present and ongoing throughout everyday life in the UK. P, W, Q, K, S, A, M and N have risked the

dangers of visibility to show that statelessness is not just a legal category, but a lived experience, impacting all aspects of everyday life; evident in state documents, mundane leisure activities and persisting through everyday encounters, not only with state institutions but also, due to the hostile environment, ordinary members of the British public. This thesis has shown the political potential of these everyday encounters to re-make society at the local level (Askins, 2015), providing an alternative means of living in the UK. Through conceptualising statelessness as a lived experience and analysing the status through the everyday, this thesis has also revealed potential grass-roots solutions to the mundane effects of statelessness in the UK. The onus is on all of us to learn and be aware of statelessness in UK society, to help an otherwise to emerge through the everyday for stateless people. Like P, I hope this thesis has shed light on many misconceptions surrounding statelessness in the UK and will raise awareness of the legal category and its lived, everyday realities.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Information Sheet

Information Sheet

"Experiencing Statelessness in the UK"

The project:

This project aims to understand the everyday experiences of Stateless individuals in the UK. Through Scrapbooking, the project seeks to explore everyday themes, such as home, everyday routines, services and hobbies. In your books, you will be asked to log everyday events, emotions, attitudes and responses - every experience personally significant to you. You have full control over what you include in your books.

Taking part:

You are asked to participate by attending a weekly scrapbooking workshop for 5 weeks.

Details are as follows:

Date	Time	Place	Theme
Wednesday 20th March	2pm – 4pm	Lower Hall, Trinity Centre, Cardiff	Home
Wednesday 27th March	2pm – 4pm	Lower Hall, Trinity Centre, Cardiff	Everyday Routines
Wednesday 3rd April	2pm – 4pm	Lower Hall, Trinity Centre, Cardiff	Services
Wednesday 10th April	2pm – 4pm	Lower Hall, Trinity Centre, Cardiff	Hobbies
Wednesday 17th April	2pm – 4pm	Lower Hall, Trinity Centre, Cardiff	Mop-up

This activity is an opportunity for you to document, in your own personal book, your everyday experiences of the UK. Please feel welcome to bring your own materials to include, e.g. bus tickets, food labels, receipts.

After the workshops, the researcher will organise an individual interview with you at a time most convenient for you. This will be an opportunity to further talk about your book.

You are not required to participate at all and can leave at any time.

Personal data:

- All personal data will be kept securely by the principal investigator and destroyed by 31/12/2024.
- All personal data will be stored anonymously, so no one can be identified through this project.
- At the end of the project (2020), if you would like to keep your scrapbook, the book will be offered back to you. Your words and images will be anonymised and will only be used for academic research (e.g. articles and presentations). These might be used beyond the 5-year period.

The researcher will be available throughout the research process to answer any further questions.

Appendix 2: Consent Form

College of Science
Coleg Gwyddoniaeth

Swansea University
Prifysgol Abertawe

Consent Form

Taking part

I have heard about and understood the nature of the project.

I have had an opportunity to ask questions about the project.

I have agreed to take part voluntarily.

I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving reason.

Using the information

I understand that my personal details will not be shared with anyone outside this project.

I understand that my words and non-identifiable images will be used for academic purposes only, which may include articles and presentations.

I understand that my words and images will be anonymised.

Permission to use the information

I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials related to this project to

Eleanor Cotterill (Swansea University).

_____   _____   _____
Name of participant [printed]   Signature   Date

Contact Number: _____   Email: _____

_____   _____   _____
Eleanor Cotterill
Researcher [printed]   Signature   Date

Principal Investigator: Eleanor Cotterill, ESRC PhD Candidate, Swansea University.

Email: ████████████████████