



!"#\$%&'()*+%, -).*/.01, &2-\$'3)&44.(\$4&%+)&'%)%,.)
*.3&\$)#"'1%05#%&'"6)7&'308)\$,)3&1#501&9.)

\$'\$4+1&1

)

:**\$);&'()

</1%0\$#%

The idea of the Windrush Generation was well established in 1998 as a symbol of postwar migration and successful British multiculturalism

mrgu (t)-2 (w)2 (a)4 (r)i322Wc

=@?D:?DE

F'%0"35#%)"	4
Terminology	7
!&%.0\$%50.);.9&.G	9
Migrant inclusion and exclusion: deconstructing the boundaries of social membership	9
Locating the 'Windrush Myth' in British historical narratives	13
C.%, "3"4"(+	18
Foucauldian Discourse	18
Text Selection and Data Collection	19
Data Analysis	21
Limitations	21
<'\$4+1&1	23
Charting the evolution of windrush	23
Phase 1: absence	24
Phase 2: political crisis	26
Phase 3: another windrush?	30
Discussion	32
Deconstructing the Windrush myth?	32
Defining social membership	34

The project proceeds as follows.

"

)"

attempt to undermine their right to citizenship by cast aspersions on them as 'illegal',
much the opposite. It aims to capture the essence of their predicament being considered an
'illegal immigrant' by the government in spite of their lawful entry and residence.
It also
expose that in this instance 'illegality' was actively created and then sustained through the
documentation demands of the immigration process. Further to this discussion of
terminology, I follow De Genova in using the terms 'irregular', 'unauthorised' or
'undocumented' migrants instead of 'illegal immigrants' to unsettle the assumption
of the existence of this category (2002:421)

!FD:;<DI;:);:JF:7)

This literature review is divided into two parts. The first outlines how migration can be thought to both contest national models of citizenship and elucidate how boundaries of the national community are constructed. The

However, it is worth noting that some scholars of citizenship, such as Christian Joppke, opt out of this dichotomisation (1999). Similarly, Nira Yuval-Davis contends that both sides of the debate invest too much in an unlikely binary, arguing that usually 'people are citizens simultaneously in more than one political community' (2007:562). She also compellingly suggests that important alternative dimensions of inclusion exist: both who is felt to belong, and what is commonly understood as the political meaning of inclusion that Yuval-Davis describes as 'the politics of belonging' (2007).

Considered against this backdrop capturing the processes of inclusion that occur informally as well as formally, social membership is an especially useful concept; it nonetheless again encompasses a number of meanings. Whilst Jacqueline Hagan defines it as 'a set of basic social rights conferred on members of a society, including, for example, the right to work, the right to participate in political life, or the right to education' (2006:631) in her study of migrant claimmaking Zenia Hellgren considers social membership to be 'both a set of formal rights and informal forms of membership', which refers to actual participation in society, for example, into the local neighbourhood and labour market, regardless of legal status (2014:177). Given its emphasis of the opportunities for legitimation presented by local participation, I employ Hellgren's definition of social membership throughout this project. This is because recognising the significance of the informal widens what is understood as citizenship practices, which in turn allows greater recognition of non-citizen and undocumented migrants as political agents who create their own spaces of legitimacy (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010).

It is partly the question of which rights remain truly exclusive for formally determined citizens that animates Bridget Anderson's work on the boundaries of social membership. However, in addition to exploring how the rights endowed by citizenship generate inclusion, her studies of deportation illuminate the exclusion enabled by the state. Drawing on the

idea that deportation is only possible for non-citizens, Anderson et al. exploit this differential to show that, in providing certain protections, formal citizenships indeed draw important legal boundaries of community. However, by interrogating the character judgements implicit in common justifications for deportation, in particular the those of criminality and fraudulence, they also suggest that deportation shows community membership to be normatively defined, stating that expulsion affirms the political community's idealised view of what membership should (or should not) be (Anderson et al. 2011:549). In this model, social membership is an idealised set of values imagined to be commonly held within a national community that controls social inclusion or exclusion, in what Anderson describes as a 'community of values' (2013).

Significantly, normative social membership can again offer informal avenues of inclusion. In fact, the exercising of moral value judgements in ascribing the boundaries of membership potentially enables the entry of non-citizens who conform to the characteristic ideal of a given political community, regardless of legal status. This translates to the idea of earning citizenship, a process that Antoniou and Andersson, in their framework of how states' rights policies determine migrant inclusion, claim is 'less interested in how one becomes a member' and more in how that membership is normatively conceived (2015:1710). Thus, in the model of normative membership, inclusion is determined according to moral value judgements that are mapped onto lifestyles and behaviours. Inscriptions of value coalesce around qualities deemed normatively desirable, including hard work and respect for the law (Anderson, 2013:3). It is this which creates what Jones et al. describe as a 'model migrant' stereotype of hyper-productivity (2017:125) in which migrants seek to distance themselves from characterisations of non-citizens deemed unworthy for entry into the political community (Yukich, 2013) characterisations that

typically internalise xenophobic claims of migrants as simultaneously a burden on public finances and usurping the opportunities of true citizens (Jones et al., 2017)

Thus, the normative character of community can offer opportunities for inclusion to those 'good' or 'deserving' migrants possessing the qualities and values to be shared by society at large. However, it can also facilitate the exclusion of the undesirable the possession of characteristics thought to contravene ideals imagined as commonly held create individuals as unworthy or undeserving of belonging.

The causality implied in this case can also be considered in the opposite direction, wherein those outside the formal boundaries of social membership are assumed to possess undesirable qualities. This stigmatisation is in part because the state of being undeserving of belonging often elicits assumptions of criminality (Jones et al., 2017:126) but De Genova suggests more broadly that 'social ignominy must be understood to be part of a larger sociopolitical production of migrant illegality' (2013:1181). Indeed, within the literature on the social construction of migrant illegality, Anderson finds evidence for this link between social disgrace and social exclusion in the symbolism of deportation, arguing that forced removal 'establishes, in a particularly powerful and definitive way, that an individual is not fit for citizenship or even further residence in the society in question' (Anderson et al. 2011:548)

In addition to analyses of government immigration policy, the idea of 'illegality' as a socially and politically constructed state is greatly expanded through an academic approach that identifies both formal and informal practices as involved in the active creation of groups excluded from social membership (Gonzalez) -10 (a)4 (s)ship

Coutin's work, Nicholas De Genova convincingly reinforces her idea of illegalisation as an

Krishan Kumar as a British 'imperial nationalism' that carries the stamp of its imperial past even when the empire is gone (Kumar, 2000:577). As well as having implications for nascent forms of nationalism, Goulbourne highlights that the collapse of imperial boundaries also created the 'challenge' of a multi-ethnic society that was national-British rather than Imperial-British (1991). He argues that multiple nationalisms have blocked the creation of a British national community that is at once plural and inclusive, suggesting that the recognition of British Africans, Asians and Caribbeans has been 'constructed' such a

newsreel that used to unsettle (Hesse, 2009). Inscribing Windrush as a symbol of national importance does not signal greater engagement with potential previous symbolic incarnations, rather, it invites their erasure. Writing in late 2018, Hammond Perry arguably reformulates Hesse's critique in the contemporary era, suggesting the celebratory aspects of the popular Windrush narrative as 'distortions that are detrimental to those whose non-whiteness prevents them from being perceived as inherently and legitimately British' (2018:np). This would suggest Hesse's assertion of the emptiness of the 1998 Windrush commemoration to be even truer in light of the Windrush Scandal.

Whilst the celebratory story of the Windrush generation has come under considerable criticism from cultural theorists, this reception is far from universal. Often, those approaching the topic in terms of history or memory instead find legitimacy within the Windrush myth, based on the idea that selective memorialisation authenticates its own version of past events. It is this phenomenon that Matthew Mead explores in relation to the Windrush. Mead suggests that the potency of the Windrush symbol as 'the ship that inaugurated postwar commonwealth migration to Britain when it arrived in Tilbury on 22 June 1948 carrying 492 Jamaican men seeking a new life' is a phrase found in countless academic texts not from the accuracy of this statement but from its repeated identical usage both academically and popularly, in what Mead terms 'the cumulative sedimentation of fact' (2009:139). The multiple instances where this ubiquitous story departs from the events suggested by the historical record including the route of the ship, the number of passengers and their gender leads Mead to conclude that symbolic meaning has accrued to the 'Windrush' not in recognition of the ship's arrival as a real event but rather as an imagined moment, a moment which fulfils what Mead identifies as a need to acknowledge 'a

1

! "\$ % & ' (\$) * % , - ' ■

until its 50th anniversary in 1988, and claims that, despite its return to the historical narrative, the resultant historiography is "limited, superficial and largely celebratory" (p. 184). This suggests this relatively shallow reading of events allowed supporters of the Dubs Amendment to invoke British aid to European Jews as a triumph of "past British generosity to the oppressed", even though it was in fact out of touch with the more complex and varied reality of British government policy towards Jews in the 1930s and 1940s (p. 173). It is in this form, as significantly disconnected from the events its memory claims to invoke, that the Kindertransport came to be instrumentalised in contemporary political debates.

C:DN@A@!@BO

Norman Fairclough highlights the extensive influence of Foucault on the treatment of discourse within the social sciences, particularly with regard to the constructive effects of text (2003). Gillian Rose elaborates on these effects, considering how the particular definition of something as a problem implies particular strategies as its solution (2001). Given the pertinence of these discursive dynamics to the representation of migrants and migration, I decided to employ a Foucauldian approach for my research, and therefore sought to unpack how the language and text that acts to inform the public sphere is socially constituted, and uncover this text's constructive potential.

P"5#\$543&\$')A&1#"501.

There is no one 'Foucauldian' definition of discourse; not only did Foucault suggest multiple but his own methods of conducting discourse analysis changed over his lifetime (Rose, 2001). What is clear, however, is that Foucault's interest in 'discourse' was as the process by which one explanation of the world becomes dominant over others (Hills, 1997:19). For this reason, the central idea that underpins the Foucauldian approach to discourse is that knowledge is socially constituted. This implies how certain narratives, ideas and interpretations of events become naturalised as 'truth', in a way that necessarily silences alternative explanations. The result is that reality becomes that which is expressed and reified as reality, a process of stabilisation via texts and language which solidifies the 'categories, subjectivities and particularities' (Waitt, 2010:224) that underpin social life; for this reason Rose crystallises the approach as one in which 'discourse produces the world as it understands it' (2001:137).

Furthermore, the dimensions and contours along which they are constructed are made invisible through this process of naturalisation. The functionality of discourse in

following basis. Through the LexisNexis database I sourced newspaper articles containing the term 'Windrush' in the headline from three newspapers, The Guardian, The Times, and The Mail, from the period 21/11/2017 to 26/03/2020. This interval covered the week before the publication of the first Windrush Scandal story in the Guardian, up to the week after the publication of the Home Office Lessons Learned review into the scandal authored by Wendy Williams. Given the specific importance of the Guardian newspaper to the emergence and sustained public notice of the Windrush Scandal as a news story, I first decided to analyse texts from this newspaper. However, to assess the possible influence of political and ideological attitudes to migration on the reporting of the story, to contrast with the Guardian's left-wing and pro-mobility philosophy I also chose stories from the remaining Times newspaper, and the Daily Mail, a right-wing newspaper with more frequent negative portrayals of immigrants (Rosen and Crafter, 2017). I chose not to compare a local news outlet, both because this might create implicit geographies in my findings, and in light of a study by Andrea Lawlor, which found the reporting on migration issues mostly similar terms of frames and issues across national media and local papers, regardless of the size of the local migrant population (2015). Together, the three papers offer insights into reporting across political and ideological lines, in particular from liberal to strict attitudes to immigration. The initial search returned 533 articles, an unmanageably large number. I nonetheless decided against additional search terms. During my pilot research I realised that specifying the search further through additional constraints such as the inclusion of keywords related to my research questions, or biased my conclusions. I also opted against qualifying a minimum number of references to 'Windrush' in the body of text, given that the focus of this study is the construction and symbolism of the term, its invocation or mobilisation remained relevant even if this was tangential to the article's focus. Thus, in order to introduce an unbiased selection of the 533 texts within the constraints of a master's

dissertation, I decided to use sampling; analysing every seventh article both satisfied the constraints set out above and helped achieve my goal of assessing the development in coverage over time. After removing duplicates and letters to the editor, this returned 75 articles. However, as Foucault emphasised that meaning is created as much by what is unsaid as what is made explicit in text (Fairclough, 2003) I sought to operationalise absence within my research. This involved an additional search using Boolean operators (jamaica OR caribbean) and immigration and hlead(deport* OR detention) over the same period in order to be able to analyse reporting on the same or similar cases, even if the Windrush was not attached. After separating out irrelevant pieces, this search returned 15 articles, in addition to the sample of 75 articles referencing Windrush, total I selected the text from 90 articles.

A\$%\$)<'\$4+)&1)

Following the main features of qualitative analysis of text, I coded text of the articles to identify recurring frames, images, themes and epistemologies, before carrying out a holistic analysis of which noted features of text were socially constitutive and what they achieved.

!&*%\$%&"'1

I encountered both practical and theoretical limitations when considering my research design. To better explore the significance of race and racial identity on the representation and construction of the Windrush Scandal, I initially also aimed to analyse coverage within The Voice, Britain's foremost newspaper dedicated to black voices and perspectives. However,

articles from the Voice were not available on the Lexis archive, and the newspaper's own online archive only included editions published during and after 2019, which made it ultimately incomparable to the other reporting.

The absence of the angle that the Voice could have revealed is also felt in terms of theoretical limitations. It is important to acknowledge the limits of both this selection of newspapers, and the press in general, as a partial rather than total representation of society (Rosen and Crafter, 2018:70). Consequently, it is not my argument that this sample captures all salient aspects of the representation of Windrush that all textual material results in direct and complete causal effects, but that it may suggest ways that existing myths and knowledge were used to build contemporary versions of events.

Furthermore, Erik Bleich et al. point out that the creation of a search to obtain a data set is itself a reification of certain formulations of migrant identities and social groups, giving the example of the different literatures that might be found depending on if a search is told to find stories about 'Muslims', 'Pakistanis' or 'refugees' (2015:85). Accordingly, I have aimed to be awake to, and critically evaluate, any acknowledgement of the intersecting identities of Windrush individuals within the articles.

<?<!OEFJE

=\$0%&'()%.,)3&1#501&9.).9"45%&'")"6)L7&'3051,M

Ôa

Whilst explored in greater detail later in this project, it is worth noting that a significant characteristic of this period of reporting is the use of the language of contribution to construct the biographies of victims. Individuals are characterised in terms of their

range of migrant subjects considered in the articles of this period: Windrush cases were set

fact catchment period of the Windrush Generation is evident in government communications. The Times highlighted the Prime Minister Theresa May saying of Albert Thompson, "the man was not part of the Windrush generation" (19/04/18) as he arrived in mid-1973; later the Guardian reported that the Home Office had refused assistance to a

byword for the consequences of an unjust immigration system, although, crucially, these analogies largely erase issues of race

The use of 'Windrush' in this way also has wider discursive significance. Given that to employ the term, journalists should have had an idea of the meaning they were invoking and an expectation that their audience supply the same understanding (Dittmer, 2005) and given that the articles in question were focused on immigration status and not on migration from Commonwealth nations, it is apparent that by this point 'Windrush' has taken on new cultural meanings and metonymic functions. Whereas before 2018 'Windrush' was a metonym for postwar Caribbean migration, articles from 2018 to 2020 reveal it became a metonym for immigration injustice. This transformation suggests that, whilst the understanding of Windrush as an emblem of postwar migration remained within the term, the overall symbolic content of 'Windrush' was reconstructed from 2017 to 2020 to include the idea of government-induced problems with legal status.

A&1#511&'"

Having established how the representation of the Windrush Scandal and its subjects changed from 2017 to 2020, here I will discuss certain elements of discursive formation that bear deeper analysis. In particular, I will explore the relationship between the Windrush of 1998 and 2018, how this is negotiated through the articles' depiction of the social inclusion of the Windrush Generation, and finally how the depiction both represents and reproduces the boundaries of social membership and migrant illegality.

A.#"1%05#%&'(%.,)7&'3051,)*+% ,V

Taking as a starting point my research question that queries the relationship between the past and present imaginaries of Windrush, I will go on to consider whether the re-deployment of the image of Windrush in 2018 reinforced or contested problematic aspects of the original Windrush symbolism.

In explaining why treating Windrush migrants as 'deportable' was rather than grounding explanations in the idea of events as unlawful, reports leaned towards the construction of the scandal as a transgression not just of rights, but of the taken-for-granted fact of the full social inclusion of the Windrush generation within British society. Whilst this approach was likely intended as non-racist, in reality it refuses to engage with the material realities of discrimination and racism that continually question and prevent the inclusion of black British experiences into the national narrative (Prescod, 2017). In other words, in order to articulate the injustice of the legal challenges levelled at some Windrush migrants, articles represented them as foundational members of British society in a way that ultimately ignored

Thus, whilst the contemporary media construction of Windrush failed to

In the Daily Mail, an account is given of Paulette Wilson who attended primary and secondary school here and has 34 years of National Insurance payments. She also has a British daughter and grandchild (Daily Mail, 02/12/17)

The description of Judy Griffith's years in Britain include the story of when, her mother bought her a pair of woolly slippers to keep out the Bedfordshire cold, and enrolled her in primary school. For 52 years she has studied, worked and paid taxes in the UK, employed variously by the Metropolitan police and Camden council (Guardian, 21/02/18).

In the Guardian, Sarah O'Connor is described as having lived in the UK for more than half a century, attending primary and secondary school here, working continuously, paying taxes and national insurance, holding a driving licence and voting in general elections, having been married for 17 years to someone British and having had four children here (all born in the UK) (Guardian, 21/02/18)

similarities between the personal experiences of the beleaguered members of the Windrush generation and those of newspaper readers in a way that shapes Windrush migrants as fundamentally recognisable. This strategy is notable, as familiarity is opposite to the kind of othering that characterises much of the media reporting of migrants and/or deportable individuals (Eberle et al., 2018) particularly in rightwing papers. Additionally, explicit references to the high number of years lived in the UK by article subjects – 52 years, ‘more than half a century’ – creates them as long established and thus, implicitly, as conversant with the country’s social rules and norms. This successfully evokes the strangeness/wrongness of the social alienation this group on the basis of them not being British.

Indeed, much is revealed about the imagined form of social membership through the construction of Britishness within the articles. For instance, the Guardian quotes the home secretary Sajid Javid, who criticises the hostile environment on the basis that ‘it doesn’t represent our values as a country’ (Guardian, 04/18), whilst another article claims the Conservative party is ‘earning itself a reputation for treating British people of colour as less than British’ (Guardian, 01/05/18). Both quotes imply a set of behaviours and values that British people are expected to uphold and can expect to receive from others, suggesting that the formation of national community within the articles conforms to Anderson’s model of the community of value.

Furthermore, w

Imagine social membership in terms of the distinctive relationship between a person and the state, a conceptualisation that reinforces national interpretations of citizenship (Davis, 2007:562)

However, there is another dimension to the discursive representation of social membership. Ostensibly in contrast to the idea that the boundaries of community are drawn by state policy, the excerpts above evoke the entrenchment of their subjects in the cultural and political life in the UK through depictions of local connections, familial attachments and work commitments. This suggests that being forced to frame peoples' rights to their country of residence without a clear legal status to define that relationship, journalists across all three papers chose to justify the right of Windrush migrants to remain on the basis of their belonging, as expressed through participation in democratic and fiscal processes and their social integration. Accordingly, it could be argued that the media coverage actually paints a picture of alternative, de-nationalised social membership, more adherent to Suarez Navaz's idea of the participative citizen, in which grassroots integration in local communities is the foundation upon which to demand rights (Hargren, 2014:177). And yet, this informal interpretation of social membership is ultimately undermined within the articles, because the overall message of reporting was the need for the Home Office to rectify its mistakes and expedite citizenship for afflicted members of the Windrush generation. Thus, by confirming the centrality of formal means of inclusion that are exclusive to the government, the media representation of the Windrush Scandal also reaffirmed the authority of the state to govern the boundaries of social membership. This suggests that whilst some aspects of reporting contested the idea that de facto membership of a community is legislatively determined, these are undermined by the material authority of legal status, reinforcing

Thus, regardless of which social agents are implied to determine its boundaries, a consistent discursive structure within all the articles is the representation of the Windrush generation as full members of the national community. However, the same descriptions of lifetime of work and tax that construct the belonging of the Windrush generation also create them as normatively 'good' individuals. In other words, depictions of their contribution create portrayals of people who are consistent with the qualities that the community at large have decided indicate value (Bendixsen, 2017:116). This is seen particularly in descriptions of Windrush individuals as productive and financially independent members of society, characteristics that were made explicit in some accounts, such as that of Renford McIntyre. He was described in the Guardian as having 'spent 35 years working and paying taxes as a tool setter, a delivery man in the meat industry and an NHS driver' and quoted saying 'I've been here for almost 50 years, I've worked night and day, I've paid into the kitty - but now no one wants to help me' (Guardian, 21/02/18). This final image is especially evocative of making a claim on the state only after having first contributed to it. It is through discursive manoeuvres such as this that McIntyre is constructed as deserving of assistance and therefore a 'deserving' migrant. However, whilst this strategy may bolster the claim to legitimate membership for victims of the Windrush Scandal, it does so at the expense of other migrants unable to 'earn' status. Furthermore, it reifies the differentiation of migrants into un/deserving categories (Ciulinaru, 2018), a process that also enables the social exclusion of non-ideal migrants, such as those with a criminal record.

However, the sample of newspapers studied here suggests that political affiliation is an important determinant of whether this differentiation is actively accepted and/or reified. When Sajid Javid claimed a flight of individuals, including Jamaican migrants, forcibly removed from the U.K., contained only criminals, most articles from the Guardian

the government's construction of categories of deportable and non-deportable citizens, but articles in the Mail and the Times reproduced them. Nonetheless, mentions of non-Windrush individuals are conspicuously absent from reports until the very end of the period, when there is an acknowledgement that they have been removed from the narrative.

The construction of Windrush migrants as normatively good has yet further significance in light of the work by Bridget Anderson, which suggests the boundaries of social membership to be normatively defined. Indeed, while the press implicitly campaign for the safe, legal, continued residency of Windrush migrants, they do so on the basis of this group as hardworking, productive, family-oriented, law-abiding, and thus 'British' individuals. In other words, the articles make their claim for the rights of the Windrush generation based upon their pre-existing alignment with the normative ideals that bound British social membership. Regardless of the accuracy of this portrayal, constructing the claim to citizenship based on their identity as normatively 'worthy' individuals rather than legally entitled individuals locates their claim as already within the limits of the political community. This is significant, because it means that the discursive campaign to extend rights to undocumented Windrush migrants necessarily fails to 'expand the boundaries of community' (Anderson et al. 2011:560), as it implies said rights should be won on the basis of the existing similarity of their recipients, which is thus, according to this model of inclusion, also their 'Britishness'. It is therefore possible to suggest that this represents a capitulation to the what Yuval-Davis might describe as the conservative 'politics of belonging' (2007) as it nests within socially conservative ideas of social membership based upon conforming to popularly defined ideas of 'Britishness'. This again disadvantages culturally dissimilar migrants, as models of assimilation imply one-sided integration (Ager and Strang, 2008).

The construction of normatively based inclusion reaches its apogee when, in addition to tales of individual contribution, there are references to the intangible cultural contributions of the entire Windrush Generation to society as it is today. Descriptions of the Windrush generation as 'people who came and gave a lifetime of service' (Guardian, 22/02/18) and as people 'whom fought for Britain during the Second World War and therefore should never have been threatened with removal' (Times, 24/04/18) suggest the fate of postwar Caribbean migrants to be crucial not just for their own welfare, but for the soul of the nation as a whole. This also serves to demonstrate how the history and symbolism contained in the Windrush myth of 1998 was used to represent the virtuous character of the contemporary Windrush migrants.

="1%05#%&'()L&44.(\$4&%+M)

A discursive strategy common to the entire period is the bolstering of Windrush legitimacy through descriptions of its members as 'legal'. However, such descriptions depend upon the dichotomisation of legal and illegal, suggesting that the discursive formation of Windrush reified the idea of 'migrant illegality' as something to be found.

Beginning with the legal production of illegality, Coutin suggests the need to critically assess immigration law as something that constitutes and produces illegality through the classification of individuals (2002). Whilst this may appear self-evident, De Genova draws attention to the propensity of academic work to highlight the invisibility of illegal immigrants whilst leaving the laws that created them as such uninvestigated (2002:432). However, in the case of the Windrush Scandal, the name and mechanisms of the 'hostile environment' set of policies that alerted immigration authorities

parts of society and rendering some vulnerable to detention and deportation, are far from

taken to supply the scene of 'exclusion' (2013: 1183). Such spectacles were repeatedly evoked in the sample through depictions of interactions between members of the Windrush generation and the machinery of immigration enforcement.

The accounts of several Windrush victims describe their fears of deportation coalescing around the vision of immigration officials waiting at their front door, ~~report~~ tells us that 'for the past two decades, Glenda Caesar has lived in constant fear that at any moment she could get knocked at the door and be deported' (Guardian, 20/04/18), whilst another describes Anthony Bryan's experience with police and immigration officials arrived early on a Sunday morning with a battering ram, ready to knock down his front door (he opened it) (Guardian, 01/12/17). In describing the collision of Windrush citizens with the practical enactment of immigration enforcement, ~~these~~ accounts supply images of invasive law

=@?=!IEF@)?

citizens has the effect of positioning a different group of undocumented migrants as correctly subject to the immigration controls described in these same articles as 'inhumane'.

The combined effects of these discursive strategies are that whilst the report

of this mobilisation is that rather than deconstructing the parts of the original Windrush myth that erase the racism and exclusion faced by postwar Caribbean migrants, reporting on the Windrush scandal largely hides them further. Thus, ~~with~~ this very

Brubaker, R. (1992) *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany*. Harvard University Press. Available at: https://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674131781#.X190eloD_6o.mendeley (Accessed: 14 September 2020).

Caviedes, A. (2015) 'An Emerging European News Portrayal of Immigration', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41(6), pp. 897-917. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2014.1002199.

Ciulinaru, D. (2018) 'When Inclusion Means Exclusion: Discourses on the Eviction and Repatriations of Roma Migrants, at National and European Union Level', *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 19(4), pp. 1059-1073. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12134-018-0584-y>.

Coutin, S. (2000) *Legalizing Moves*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. doi: 10.3998/mpub.16187.

Dittmer, J. (2005) 'NATO, the EU and Central Europe: Differing Symbolic Shapes in Newspaper Accounts of Enlargement', *Geopolitics* 10(1), pp. 76-98. doi: 10.1080/14650040590907677.

Dittmer, J. (2010) 'Chapter 15 | Textual and Discourse Analysis', in Delley, E. (Eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*. First Edit. 55 City Road, London: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9780857021090.

Eberl, J.M. et al. (2018) 'The European media discourse on immigration and its effects: a literature review' (J)9 (.)-10 ()-10 (()-7 (2005M 0 Td ()Tj -0(e)4 (opo11 ()nnt)-2 (af)-7 ()-10 (E).)-1

De Genova, Nicholas. (2002) "Migrant Illegality and Deportability in Everyday Life", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31(1), pp. 419-447. doi: 10.1146/annurev.anthro.31.040402.085432.

Gentleman, A. (2019) *The Windrush Betrayal: Exposing the Hostile Environment*, Faber.

Gonzales, R. G. and Sigona, N. (eds) (2017) *Within and Beyond Citizenship*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2017. doi: 10.4324/9781315268910.

Goulbourne, H. (1991) *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Postimperial Britain, Ethnicity and Nationalism in Postimperial Britain*. Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/cbo9780511898136.

Hagan, J. (2006) "Negotiating Social Membership in the Contemporary World", *Social Forces* 85(2), pp. 631-642. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4494933>.

Hansen, R. (2009) "The poverty of postnationalism: citizenship, immigration, and the new Europe", *Theory and Society* 38(1), pp. 1-24. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40587484>.

Hellgren, Z. (2014) "Negotiating the Boundaries of Social Membership: Undocumented Migrant Claimsmaking in Sweden and Spain", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40(8), pp. 1175-1191. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2013.858016.

Hesse, B. (2000) "Diasporicity: Black Britain's Colonial Formations", in Hesse, B. (ed.) *Unsettled multiculturalisms: diasporas, entanglements, disruptions*. London: Zed Books, pp. 97-118.

Jasso, G., Massey, B., Rosenzweig, M.R. and Smith, J.P. (2008) "From illegal to legal: estimating previous illegal experience among new legal immigrants to the United States", *International Migration Review* 42(4): 803-843.

Jones, H. et al. (2017) *Go home?: The politics of immigration controversies*. Manchester University Press. doi: 10.26530/OAPEN_625583.

Joppke, C. (1999) *Immigration and the Nation-State: The United States, Germany, and Great Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi: 10.1093/0198295405.001.0001.

Korte, B. and Pirker, E. U. (2011)

Waite, G. (2010) "Doing Foucauldian discourse analysis: revealing social realities", *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography* 217-240.

Yukich, G. (2013) "Constructing the Model Immigrant: Movement Strategy and Immigrant Deservingness in the New Sanctuary Movement", *Social Problems* 60, pp.302-320. doi: 10.1525/sp.2013.60.3.302.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2007) "Intersectionality, Citizenship and Contemporary Politics of Belonging", *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 10(4), pp. 561-574. doi: 10.1080/13698230701660220.

Zimmer, O. (2003) "Boundary mechanisms and symbolic resources: Towards a process oriented approach to national identity", *Nations and Nationalism* 9(2), pp. 173-193. doi: 10.1111/1469-3219.00081.