Locating myth, membership, and illegality in the media construction of Windrush – a discursive analysis

Emma Ring

UCL

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

)

:**$);&'(   )

</1%0$#%

The idea of the ÒWindrush GenerationÓ was well established in 1998 as a symbol of postwar migration and ÒsuccessfulÓ British multiculalispostwic

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

"

%

"

discourses of migrant inclusion, including social membership, in a way that largely failed to deconstuct their more problematic aspects. Finally, it investigates the ramifications of this construction of membership for both naturalising ideas of migrant Òillegality Ó and solidifying the boundaries of normatively defined community.

In order to explore these issues, the study revolves around four main research questions:

(! How does Windrush reporting change over time?

Who and what is ÒWindrush Ó a symbol of? Does this change?

(! What is the relationship between past and present imaginations of Windrush?

Does the Windrush of 2018 replicate the erasure of the Windrush myth?

(! How do the articles structure social membership for migrants?

How is inclusion legitimated? Does citizenship exist in relation to the state or the local community? How are the boundaries of social membership imagined?

(! How is the idea of migrant Òillegality Ó constructed within the articles?

By reassessing the arguments of Barnor Hesse and Kenetta Hammond that the Òmyth Õ of Windrush has erased real histories in light of the return of ÒWindrush Ó to mainstream political narratives, I hope to add to the body of work that critically evaluated the national narratives of belonging created by the Windrush commemoration of 1998. By exploring the constructive effects of the widely broadcasted discourses that in 2018 (666203TdT)-29e(of) 0 (hop

, "

"

The project proceeds as follows.

)"

"

attempt to undermine their right to citizenship or cast aspersions on them as 'illegal'. In fact, much the opposite. It aims to capture the essence of their predicament of being considered an 'illegal immigrant' by the government in spite of their lawful entry and residency, and so 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 immigrant', in order 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 co

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 Ôpeople are citizens simultaneously in more than one political communityÕ (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 Ôthe politics of belongingÕ (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 Ôa 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 educationÕ (2006:631) in her study of migrant claim-making Zenia Hellgren considers social membership to refer to this and more, describing it as Ôboth a set of formal rights and informal forms of ÔmembershipÕ, which refers to actual participation in society, for example integration into the local neighbourhood and labour market, regardless of legal statusÕ (2014: 177). Given its emphasis of the opportunities for legitimation presented by local participation, I employ HellgrenÕs definition of social membership throughout this project. This is because recognising the significance of the informal widens what is understood as citizen-making 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 to formally determined citizens that animates Bridget AndersonÕs 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 its absence. 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 citizenship does 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) mean' (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 value' (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 member's community 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 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 Ògood Ó or Òdeserving Ó migrants possessing the qualities and values considered to be shared by society at large. However, it can also facilitate the exclusion of the undesirable, as 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 this social ignominy must be understood to be part of a larger sociopolitical production of migrant Òillegality Ó (2013:1181). Indeed, within the literature on the social construction of migrant Òillegality Ó, Anderson finds evidence for this link between social disgrace and social exclusion in the symbolism of deportation, arguing that forced removal Òestablishes, in a particularly powerful and definitive way, that an individual is not fit for citizenship or even further residence in the society in question Ó (Anderson et al. 2011:548)

In addition to analyses of government immigration policy, the idea of Òillegality Ó as a socially and politically constructed state is greatly expanded through academic approach that identifies both formal and informal practices as involved in the active creation of groups excluded from social membership (Gonzales and Sigona, 2017:4). The process of illegalisation has been examined in the work of 107 (e)4 0 (f)-o4 (l)-2 ( )-10 (m)tionpanded 4 ( )-10 (a

CoutinÕs 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' in such a

"

newsreel that used to unsettle us' (Hesse, 2009:9). 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 Empire 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 22nd June 1948 carrying

492 Jamaican men seeking a new life" a phrase found in countless academic texts arises

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

_____

!"#$%&'($)*%+,-'

"

!

until its 50th anniversary in 1988, and claims that, despite its return to the historical narrative, the resultant historiography is Ôlimited, superficial and largely celebratoryÕ (p.184). He suggests this relatively shallow reading of events allowed supporters of the Dubs Amendment to invoke British aid to European Jews as a triumph of Ôpast British generosity to the oppressedÕ, even though this 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). Thus 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.

NormanFairclough 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 dynamic 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 ÔFoucauldianÕ 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 FoucaultÕs interest in ÒdiscourseÓ was as the process by which one explanation of the world becomes dominant over others (Mills, 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 ÒtruthÓ, 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 Ôcategories, subjectivities and particularitiesÕ (Waitt, 2010:224) that underpin social life; for this reason Rose crystallises the approach as one in which Ôdiscourse produces the world as it understands itÕ (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 ÔWindrushÕ in the headline from three papers, 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 GuardianÕs left-wing and pro-mobility philosophy I also chose stories from the right-leaning Times newspaper, and the Daily Mail, a right-wing newspaper with more frequent negative portrayals of immigrants (Rosen and Crafter, 2017: 5). 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 in 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 as during my pilot research I realised that specifying the search further through additional constraints, such as the inclusion of keywords related to my research question, pre-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 articleÕs focus. Thus, in order to introduce an unbiased selection of the 533 texts within the constraints of a masterÕs

"

dissertation, I decided to use sampling; analysing every seventh article both satisfied the constraints set out above and helped me 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 Ò(jamaica OR caribbean) and immigration and hlead(deport* OR detention)Ó over the same period, in order to be able to analyse reporting on the same or similar cases, even if the label Windrush was not attached. After separating out irrelevant pieces, this search returned 15 articles. Therefore, in addition to the sample of 75 articles referencing ÒWindrushÓ, in total I selected the text from 90 articles.

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

Following the main features of qualitative analysis of text, I coded the 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, BritainÕs foremost newspaper dedicated to black voices and perspectives. However,

"

articles from the Voice were not available on the Lexis archive, and the newspaperÕs 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 or that all textual material results in direct and complete causal effect, 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 ÒMuslimsÓ, ÒPakistanisÓ or ÒrefugeesÓ (2015:865) Accordingly, I have aimed to be awake to, and critically evaluate, any acknowledgement of the intersecting identities of Windrush individuals within the articles.

"

<?<!OEF}E

=,$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

"

facto catchment period of the Windrush Generation is evident in government communications. The Times highlighted the then Prime Minister Theresa May saying of Albert Thompson, Ôthe man was not part of the Windrush generationÕ (19/04/18) because 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 would have had an idea of the meaning they were invoking and an expectation that the 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 20 reveal it became a metonym for immigration injustice. This transformation suggests that, whilst the understanding of Windrush as an emblem of postwar migration remained contained 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

Having established how the representation of the Windrush Scandal and its subjects changed from 2017 to 2020, here I will discuss certain elements of its discursive formation that bear deeper analysis. In particular, I 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 this depiction both represents and reproduces the boundaries of social membership and migrant Òillegality Ó.

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 redeployment of the image of Windrush in 2018 reinforced or contested problematic aspects of the original Windrush symbolism.

In explaining why treating Windrush migrants as Òdeportable Ó was unjust, 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 (alll()-7 ((nd)-10 ( )T.y,2m)-7 (ar)4 (r)4 (i)-2 (e)4 (6(m)-2 (pl)

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 (Eberl et al., 2018) particularly in right-wing papers. Additionally, explicit references to the high number of years lived in the UK by article subjects Ð '52 years', 'more than half a century' Ð creates them as long-established and thus, implicitly, as conversant with the country's social rules and norms. This successfully evokes the strangeness and 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, 30/04/18), 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

"

Ð imagine social membership in terms of the distinctive relationship between a person and the state, a conceptualisation that reinforces national interpretations of citizenship (Yuval 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, in being forced to frame peoplesÕ right 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, denationalised social membership, one more adherent to Suarez NavazÕs idea of the participative citizen, in which grass roots integration in local communities is the foundation upon which to demand rights (Hellgren, 2014:1177). 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 to 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 reified 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 a 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 NHS driver,' and quoted saying '"I've been here for almost 50 years, I 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 construed 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 (Giulinaru, 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 contested

"

the government's construction of categories of deportable and deportable non-citizens, but articles in the Mail and the Times reproduced them. Nonetheless, mentions of non-Windrush individuals are conspicuously absent from their 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, whilst this press implicitly campaign for the safe, legal, continued residency of Windrush migrants, they do so on the basis of this group as hard-working, 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 pre-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 contributions of the entire Windrush Generation to society as it is today. Descriptions of the Windrush generation as Òpeople who came and gave a lifetime of serviceÓ (Guardian, 22/02/18) and as people Ôwhom fought for Britain during the Second World War, [and therefore] should never have been threatened with removalÕ (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 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 ÒlegalÓ. However, such descriptions depend upon the dichotomisation of legal and illegal, suggesting that the discursive formation of Windrush reified the idea of Òmigrant illegalityÓ 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 once highlight the invisibility of illegal immigrants, whilst leaving the laws that created them as such un-investigated (2002:432). However, in the case of the Windrush Scandal, the name and mechanisms of the Òhostile environmentÓ 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 evoke 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; one report tells us that 'for the past two decades, Glenda Caesar has lived in constant fear that at any moment she could get a knock at the door and be deported' (Guardian, 20/04/18), whilst another describes Anthony Bryan's experience when '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 ÒinhumaneÓ.

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

iuc2 (nhum)(bi)-2 (ne)4 (ne)4un(d)-1tey7 ( )-10 (t)-2 (he)4 vas u (.)-10 (di)-2 (f)-7((t)-2Aupriveurfpor

"

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, 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#.X190eIoD_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 DeLyser, D. et al. (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 review0 (J)9 (.)-10 ( )-10 (()-7 (2005M 0 Td ( )Tj -0(e)4 (opo11 ( )nnt)-2 (af)-7 ( )-10 (E).)-1

‰

"

De Genova, Nicholas. P. (2002) ÔMigrant ÒIllegalityÓ and Deportability in Everyday LifeÕ, Annual Review of Anthropology, 31(1), pp. 419Ð447. 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.: Routledge. doi: 10.4324/9781315268910.

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

Hagan, J. (2006) ÔNegotiating Social Membership in the Contemporary WorldÕ, Social Forces, 85(2), pp. 631Ð642. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4494933.

Hansen, R. (2009) ÔThe poverty of postnationalism: citizenship, immigration, and the new EuropeÕ, Theory and Society, 38(1), pp. 1Ð24. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/40587484.

Hellgren, Z. (2014) ÔNegotiating the Boundaries of Social Membership: Undocumented Migrant Claimsmaking in Sweden and SpainÕ, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 40(8), pp. 1175Ð1191. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2013.858016.

Hesse, B. (2000) ÔDiasporicity: Black BritainÕs Post-Colonial FormationsÕ, in Hesse, B. (ed.) Un/settled multiculturalisms: diasporas, entanglements, transruptions. London: Zed Books, pp. 97Ð118.

Jasso, G., Massey, D. S., Rosenzweig, M. R. and Smith, J. P. (2008) ÔFrom illegal to legal: estimating previous illegal experience among new legal immigrants to the United StatesÕ, International Migration Review, 42(4): 803Ð843.

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)

Waitt, G. (2010) 'Doing Foucauldian discourse analysis: revealing social realities', Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography, pp. 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: 10.1111/1469-8219.00081.