No Longer the 'Exception:' An Unraveling of Global Incarceration Systems

By

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis aims to critique, amend and offer original analysis on the existing theoretical framework that denotes an internment camp. By utilizing Giorgio Agamben's "What is a Camp?" (2000), and analyzing six case studies of specific camps, this thesis combines political theory and empirical research to offer a more comprehensive explanation of what an internment camp is and how it can be categorized. In "What is a Camp?", Agamben examines one case study—Nazi concentration and extermination camps—to support his claims. It is very common among political theorists to study just one camp and apply Agamben's theory to that one example. However, as many scholars have found, Agamben's theory on what a camp is does not perfectly align itself with any one example of an internment camp.

Therefore, this thesis will take a comprehensive approach to analyzing what an internment camp is, and how all camps are connected in essence. The six case studies I will analyze are the Soviet Gulag, Nazi concentration and extermination camps, Chinese re-education camps for Uighur Muslims, Japanese American internment camps, Irish Direct Provision, and Australian mandatory detention for asylum seekers. While these camps have served, or serve, as different purposes to the governments that implemented them, they all share the same characteristics of exclusion, lack of humanity, and brutal leadership, among others. These shared characteristics among camps are oftentimes disregarded by scholars who write about only one camp and how that specific example relates to Agamben's work. This approach is counterproductive to the study of Agamben's camp and makes it easy to disregard what he theorizes. Instead, this thesis will take a comprehensive view to analyze how empirical examples fit together and how they relate to the theoretical camp.

Introduction

> In the eyes of authority—and maybe rightly so—nothing looks more like a terrorist than the ordinary man.
> Giorgio Agamben, *What is an Apparatus?*, 2009

The international community is currently outraged at the internment of Uighur Muslims that the Chinese government has been carrying out over the past three years. The Chinese government has been detaining men, women and children because of their religion and punishing them for what they believe in. By creating a narrative that Uighurs are religious radicals and extremists, the Chinese government has worked to justify the unlawful surveillance, internment, and torture of many of the country's citizens despite them having done nothing wrong. The situation of Uighurs in China today is dire, and the persecution of a group on the basis of religion, ethnicity and identity is not unfamiliar.

The most famous example of this detention, systematic oppression and murder of a minority group is the Holocaust. During the 1930s and 1940s, Adolf Hitler and his Nazi regime persecuted Jews and other minorities by indoctrinating the population to agree with their policies of hatred, exclusion and dehumanization. The use of indoctrination and forced interment or the murder of political opponents is often associated with authoritarian regimes and dictators like Hitler and Joseph Stalin. These two leaders each oversaw the systematic murder and torture of millions of people. However, internment is not only used by authoritarian governments and leaders. Camps have permeated history, and they have been utilized by democratic and authoritarian governments alike. The internment of Japanese Americans during World War II is a prominent example of a camp created and used by a democratic government. There are other examples of democracies using camps and interning those who had done nothing wrong,

including the facilities used for the mandatory detention of unauthorized asylum seekers who arrive in Australia.

These camps, and others, are not as different as one might think. While different in practice and execution, internment camps and detention centers are the same in essence. Camps embody exclusion and dehumanization. Each camp is a different manifestation of this exclusion and dehumanization, but because these are the characteristics at the core of the camp, all camps are connected theoretically. This thesis will aim to prove that because camps are connected theoretically, they exist on an ever-changing continuum. This continuum is a visual representation of the relationships among camps and the degree to which each camp excludes and dehumanizes those incarcerated.

In 2000, Giorgio Agamben published "What is a Camp?" in which he detailed the characteristics of an internment camp. This chapter from *Means without End: Notes on* Politics, will serve as the foundation for my thesis as I aim to critique and offer a unique analysis of what a camp is and how camps are connected on a theoretical level. In the chapter "The Camp, Biopolitics and Bare Life," I will introduce Agamben's arguments from "What is a Camp?" and analyze them through other scholars' critiques of his work. By doing this, I will organize a set of characteristics used to categorize and measure the impact of internment camps. This set of characteristics will also be influenced by the work of Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* and Agamben's book *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*.

After introducing and explaining the existing theoretical framework regarding internment camps, and introducing a set of characteristics to categorize them, the following two chapters will each offer three case studies of camps and how they relate to the theoretical idea of what a camp is. The chapter "Political Prisons: Genocide, Mass Internment and Minority Suppression"

offers original analysis on Nazi concentration and extermination camps, the Soviet Gulag and Re-education camps for Uighur Muslims in China. The other three case studies—Japanese American internment camps during World War II, Irish Direct Provision and Australian Mandatory Detention for asylum seekers—are introduced in "Liberal Democracy: Internment, Nationalism and Seeking Asylum." These two chapters will detail the interaction among the six case studies and the theoretical camp while simultaneously asserting that camps can be used by any government, even those that champion freedom and human rights.

To conclude this thesis, I will offer original tables to portray how each camp connects with the others and the theoretical characteristics of what denotes an internment camp. These visuals reiterate the claims made in the case studies chapters. However, the continuums and visuals are not limited to the six case studies contained in this thesis. Instead, the six case studies used are a sample group of camps. Therefore, the characteristics laid out in this thesis, and how they interact with physical manifestations of the camp, are universal.

The Camp, Biopolitics and Bare Life

> For your benefit, learn from our tragedy. It is not a written law that the next victims must be Jews. It can also be other people. We saw it begin in Germany with Jews, but people from more than twenty other nations were also murdered.
> Simon Weisenthal, *Penthouse Magazine*, 1983

In 2000, Giorgio Agamben made the claim that camps have become the *nomos* of modern politics. While many people will want to deny that camps are still a common tool of governance, camps are still used today by authoritarian and democratic countries alike. However, what can be contested is how Agamben, and other scholars, view these camps, their characteristics and the purposes they serve. In his theoretical chapter, "What is a Camp?" Giorgio Agamben tries to answer the questions: "*What is a camp? What is it's political-juridical structure?*" and "*How could such events have taken place here?*"[1] He does not try to figure out how to define a camp simply by analyzing the atrocities that have happened in them. Agamben wanted to ignore the notion that the camp was merely a historical fact or an anomaly and instead prove that camps permeate modern politics. In order to show that camps are not a historical concept, he explains the characteristics of a theoretical "camp" and how it is manifested. In doing this, his work became the catalyst for a far-reaching debate on what a camp is theoretically, what examples of the theoretical camp are and how these camps are connected in essence.

It is important to note that Agamben's theoretical camp applies to places that both have and do not have "camp" in their names, and it does not apply more to the places named "camp" than those not. While Agamben uses the example of Nazi concentration camps to prove his point in "What is a Camp?", these institutions are only one of many examples of what he means when

[1] "What Is a Camp?" *Means without End: Notes on Politics*, by Giorgio Agamben, University of Minnesota Press, 2000, pp. 36–44: 36.

he discusses a theoretical camp. In this thesis, I will prove that immigration detention centers, the Soviet Gulag, certain refugee camps and re-education camps all fit into this theoretical framework as they all detain people who have done nothing wrong. Many of these examples, as well as others not mentioned, are currently in use today all over the world; they are erected by superpowers like the United States and China as well as in developing regions like Sub-Saharan Africa. While these camps serve different purposes to the states they are located in, they all share the same characteristics of exclusion, lack of humanity, and brutal leadership, among others.

These shared characteristics among camps are often forgotten by scholars who write about only one example of a camp and how that example relates to Agamben's work. This approach is counterproductive to the study of Agamben's theoretical camp and makes it easy to disregard what he theorizes. Instead, a comprehensive view is needed to analyze how empirical examples fit together and how that influences what the theoretical camp is. This does not mean that by analyzing these cases together it will prove that Agamben's argument in "What is a Camp?" is completely correct. On the contrary, this type of study will offer a critique of his work that is supported by a larger quantity of diverse evidence instead of producing a weak criticism stemming from one case study. This thesis aims to provide a thorough critique of Agamben's theoretical camp through a detailed analysis of Agamben's "What is a Camp?", the work of other political theorists like Michel Foucault, and critiques of Agamben by other political scholars.

Agamben begins "What is a Camp?" by briefly describing one of the first examples of a camp, *los campos de concentraciones* that the Spanish erected in Cuba, and then continues detailing other camps throughout history, ending with Nazi concentration camps. He then uses the example of Nazi concentration camps as evidence to support his claims. Agamben's argument flows through the characteristics that comprise what a camp is, as he transitions from

the history of camps to explaining a camp's conception. He writes: "the camp is the space that opens up when the state of exception starts to become the rule."[2] A state of exception, according to Agamben, is a temporary suspension of the laws of the state in question, which allows for martial law and therefore the implementation of an institution like a camp to be created. His argument is cemented in the idea that camps are created only in times of crisis and when the laws of a state are replaced by military rule in order to restore peace. He argues that a camp is the manifestation of this state of exception, and as it becomes more permanent, the camp is a continuation of the state of exception once it has ended.

There is an inherent paradox in this situation. Agamben makes it clear that "the camp is a piece of territory that is placed outside the normal juridical order; for that, however, it is not simply an external space."[3] Therefore, a camp is a location under the control of a government—usually located inside the country's borders but it can be extraterritorial—where the rules of the state do not apply. Agamben states that a camp is "a space in which the law is completely suspended"[4] which is why the camp is the "place in which the most absolute *conditio inhumana* ever to appear on earth"[5] occurs. Despite being "lawless" on the interior, according to Agamben, I have found that most camps are often highly legalized through extensive policy and legislation. The legalization of the camp is then portrayed to the masses as beneficial to the overall well-being of the state. Agamben argues that martial law is a pretext to the creation of a camp, and he doesn't make the distinction between legalization and lawlessness in his argument. By analyzing multiple case studies and the implementation of camps, this thesis will prove that it is the case that camps are highly legalized and often martial law is not a condition needed to create a camp.

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[2] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 38.
[3] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 38.
[4] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 39.
[5] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 36.

However, while these structures are highly legalized, it is often the case that what occurs in these camps would be illegal if they occurred outside of the camp. Agamben acknowledges this when he writes:

> If the essence of the camp consists in the materialization of the state of exception and in the consequent creation of a space for naked life as such, we will then have to admit to be facing a camp virtually every time that such a structure is created, regardless of the nature of the crimes committed in it and regardless of the denomination and specific topography it might have.[6]

It is important to note that although martial law is not a prerequisite to the creation of a camp, it is possible for the implementation of martial law to occur before camps are created. Different types of camps arise in different circumstances, and they can serve different types of purposes for different states, but that does not mean they are theoretically different. It is only in practice that camps can be used in multiple capacities, but they all have the same basic characteristics.

Despite these differences, Agamben makes it clear in "What is a Camp?" that all camps are created in the same manner: as a response to a crisis. Specifically, he writes:

> The birth takes place when the political system of the modern nation-state—founded on the functional nexus between a determinate localization (territory) and a determinate order (the state), which was mediated by automatic regulations for the inscription of life (birth or nation)—enters a period of permanent crisis and the state decides to undertake the management of the biological life of the nation directly as its own task.[7]

However, Agamben's idea of this occurrence of a "crisis" is a loose description of what could be occurring within a state prior to the creation of a camp there. This thesis will portray six case studies that suggest that these "crises" are often created through a narrative produced by the state or the media. For example, Agamben states that Nazi concentration camps, "appeared at the same time that the new laws on citizenship and on the denationalization of citizens were

[6] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 40-41.
[7] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 42.

issued."[8] By just using the example of Nazi concentration camps, and general knowledge about the Holocaust, it is evident that there was no real "crisis" that warranted the denationalization, encampment, and murder of European Jews, Roma, homosexuals, and other minorities. By analyzing other case studies, such as immigration detention centers and the Soviet Gulag, this thesis will show that there are similar circumstances and narratives of the "other" that lead to the creation of other camps, as well.

Agamben explains that since camps are erected to deal with a certain crisis that threatens the state, they should be temporary until the crisis has ended or been resolved. However, Agamben observes that this was not always the case and that many times these camps have become semi-permanent or permanent structures. He writes: "The state of exception, which used to be essentially a temporary suspension of the order, becomes now a new and stable spatial arrangement inhabited by that naked life that increasingly cannot be inscribed into the order."[9] While Agamben uses Nazi Germany as evidence for his theoretical framework, this distinction on the temporary nature of camps does not necessarily apply to the Nazi concentration camps. The purpose of Nazi concentration camps and extermination camps was to carry out the final solution. Allied forces liberated concentration camps and defeated the Nazi regime before the final solution was completed, so it is unknown what would have happened to the camps if they were not liberated and the Allies had not defeated the Axis Powers.

However, by reviewing other case studies, I have come to the conclusion that Agamben was largely correct in stating that these structures take on a spatial arrangement that continues to move towards permanence despite the status of the crises that catalyzed the camps' creations. For example, the Irish system for accommodating asylum seekers, Direct Provision, was

[8] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 42.
[9] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 42.

implemented in 1999 as a response to the high influx of asylum seekers flocking to Ireland. Large scale immigration was not something Ireland had never experienced before, and this phenomenon was in sharp contrast to the Irish cultural norm of emigration.[10] Now, 20 years after its implementation, Direct Provision is still the policy used by the Irish government to accept asylum seekers into Ireland. However, 30 years is arguably enough time to create substantial policy change that would allow for asylum seekers to integrate into Irish society quickly and more efficiently, as more than 1,600 currently have waited in detention centers longer than 5 years. Some asylum seekers have been living in these camps for longer than eight years, with no end in sight to their stay.[11] This is not an isolated incident, as Palestinian refugee camps have also become semi-permanent or permanent. Other case studies will prove the same thing: camps take on a permanent spatial arrangement that is conducive to a worse standard of living and lack of likelihood for detainees to integrate into society.

While the dream for many detainees is to be released and reintegrate, or integrate, into society, when camps are created they are built to prohibit this integration. After extensive analyzation and research on Foucault's theory of panopticism and the special arrangement of the panopticon, I will introduce the antithesis of panopticism and how it is exemplified in the camp. Foucault writes:

> Bentham's *Panopticon* is the architectural figure of this composition. We know the principle on which it was based: at the periphery, an annular building; at the centre, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheral building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other. All that is needed, then, is to place a supervisor in a central tower and to shut up in each cell a madman, a patient, a condemned man, a worker or a schoolboy. They are like so many cages, so many

[10] Gessen, Masha. "Ireland's Strange, Cruel System for Asylum Seekers." The New Yorker, The New Yorker, 14 June 2019.
[11] O'Brien, Carl. "Lives in Limbo." The Irish Times, 10 Aug. 2019.

> small theatres, in which each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible. The panoptic mechanism arranges 11erceiv unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately. In short, it reverses the principle of the dungeon; or rather of its three functions – to enclose, to deprive of light and to hide – it preserves only the first and eliminates the other two. Full lighting and the eye of a supervisor capture better than darkness, which ultimately protected.[12]

This description of the panopticon describes what Foucault believes to be the best way to supervise those being held in institutions that are meant to reform. These types of institutions are prisons, asylums, schools, and sometimes hospitals, among others. This building plan creates an environment that helps to impose social control because the supervisor can see all detainees from the tower in the center, but the detainees can't see the supervisor and they never know when they are being watched. Foucault also describes the influence of the structure when he writes:

> To begin with, this made it possible … to avoid those compact, swarming, howling masses that were to be found in places of confinement, those painted by Goya or described by Howard. Each individual, in his place, is securely confined to a cell from which he is seen from the front by the supervisor; but the side walls prevent him from coming into contact with his companions.[13]

The purpose of the individual cells used in the panopticon is to separate those detained to ensure that power and order influence the detainees to behave in a certain type of way which is in their best interest and the interest of society. Camps do not function this way. Instead, the way that camps are built and where they are located are more similar to the leper colony that Foucault describes in "Panopticism." Foucault writes: "The leper was caught up in a practice of rejection, of exile-enclosure; he was left to his doom in a mass among which it was useless to differentiate" which is very different from those detained in the panoptic institutions. After analyzing six case studies of camps, I would offer the theory that camps, as the opposite of reformatory structures, are built with the purpose of exclusion. In order to exclude, camps are built on the peripheries of

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[12] Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan, Vintage Books, 1995: 200.

[13] Foucault, 200.

cities and towns, or of even on the borders of the country.[14] The physical layout of these camps, unlike the panopticon, will promote large masses of people that are not looked at as individuals but only together as the group which cannot be inscribed into society. These exclusionary functions, whether purposeful or not, worsen the living conditions of the camp and contribute to the ability for the camp to dehumanize and ostracize the people detained there.

Agamben best describes the heinous treatment of detainees and the living conditions they are subject to, and how that situation is possible, when he writes:

> *Inasmuch as its inhabitants have been stripped of every political status and reduced completely to naked life, the camp is also the most absolute biopolitical space that has ever been realized—a space in which power confronts nothing other than pure biological life without any mediation.* The camp is the paradigm itself of political space at the point in which politics becomes biopolitics and the *homo sacer* becomes indistinguishable from the citizen.[15]

This statement makes clear the power dynamic that is evident between detainees and the people that supervise them and their actions. While living standards and how detainees are treated in camps varies from one camp to the next, there is an obvious and present power dynamic that contributes to the lack of humanity these captives are subject to. Agamben furthers his argument when he calls the camp the state's "inability to function without transforming itself into a lethal machine."[16] Agamben makes it clear that in order to analyze this situation, it is not enough to merely ask how this situation is possible. Instead, he states:

> The correct question regarding the horrors committed in the camps, therefore, is not the question that asks hypocritically how it could have been possible to commit such atrocious horrors against other human beings; it would be more honest, and above all more useful to investigate carefully how… human beings could have been so completely deprived of their rights and prerogatives to the point that committing any act toward them would no longer appear as a crime.[17]

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[14] Foucault, 198.
[15] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 40.
[16] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 42.
[17] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 40.

As other scholars analyze Agamben's work, it seems as though they focus on exactly what Agamben warns them not to focus on: explaining how people can be treated so poorly by another human being. Many scholars tackle this question by analyzing one case study, limiting their view to how conditions in a specific camp arise through policy or lack of resources, while a more comprehensive way to approach the topic is to create an exhaustive study of multiple cases, comparing their characteristics through the lens of Agamben's theoretical framework.

While Agamben mentions the treatment of detainees in "What is a Camp?", he does not theorize on this issue of how "human beings could have been so completely deprived of their rights and prerogatives"[18] and instead dedicates a large portion of his book, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, to the topic. Specifically, he continues his analysis of biopower in camps in Part Three of the book. This section begins as Agamben cites and critiques two of the most prominent political theorists in the realms of biopower and camps: Michel Foucault and Hannah Arendt. Agamben first addresses Foucault's body of work, stating that Foucault "never brought his insights to bear on what could well have appeared to be the exemplary place of modern biopolitics: the politics of the great totalitarian states of the twentieth century."[19] Instead, Foucault focused on hospitals, schools and especially prisons, but never analyzed an internment camp. Meanwhile, Agamben explains that Arendt focused heavily on totalitarian states in a post-World War II world, as well as the creation of camps and especially the plight of refugees. However, he states that her work is void of a biopolitical perspective, and therefore it does not accurately represent what occurs in a [concentration] camp.[20] Instead, she focuses on the idea of a state's goal to achieve total domination, and that camps, or "human made hell," are only a

[18] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 40.
[19] Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. G. Einaudi, 1995: 76.
[20] Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 76.

method for achieving that. However, this assertion that Arendt does not interact with biopower at all is not entirely correct, as Arendt, in her book *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, hints at the idea of biopower when she explains:

> The conception of human rights, based upon the assumed existence of a human being as such, broke down at the very moment when those who professed to believe in it were for the first time confronted with people who had indeed lost all other qualities and specific relationships—except that they were still human.[21]

While not directly interacting with the idea of biopower, the condition that the people who "had indeed lost all other qualities and specific relationships" except for that of being still human, is related to Agamben's idea of bare life, even though Arendt's work predates *Homo Sacer*. Despite this, Agamben argues that Foucault studied biopower without integrating the theoretical camp into his studies, and Arendt examined the camp without using biopolitical theories.

Agamben recognizes the complexity of this issue and states that if two of the most prominent political theorists of the time could not intertwine the two ideas, then the issue is not an easy one to try and understand. To remedy this disconnect, however, he proposes using the idea of bare life, which he applies to the condition of those detained within camps. Agamben's bare life, "the reduction of life as lived by individuals or by groups to pure self-identity," stems from the Roman legal idea of *homo sacer*, "a person who can be killed without incurring punishment and whose death cannot be understood as a 'sacrifice.'"[22] For Agamben, this use of bare life acts as a bridge to connect Foucault's theories on biopower and Arendt's research on camps. In order to connect the two ideas, Agamben emphasizes the use of the terms bios, political life, and zoē, biological bare life. However, he goes on to explain that zoē was once neutral in the eyes of the state and that it "belonged to God as creaturely life," but has

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[21] Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Harcourt Brace, 1985: 299.
[22] Weber, Samuel. "Bare Life and Life in General." *Grey Room*, no. 46, 2012, pp. 7–24: 12.

transformed to now be "the structure of the state and even becomes the earthly foundation of the state's legitimacy and sovereignty."[23] This means that the state uses bare biological life and affects it in a way to establish dominance and authority over its population.

Agamben follows this poignant statement in the second section of Part Three, titled "Biopolitics and the Rights of Man," by laying out the history of how human rights have influenced how the state and sovereignty together rely on the idea of humanity, the body and bare life in order to function. He emphasizes that, "only if we understand this essential historical function of the doctrine of rights can we grasp the development and metamorphosis of declarations of rights in our century."[24] This statement connects a different emphasis of Agamben's argument back with the idea of zoē and bios, or biological and political life, that focuses on how historical rights have interacted with the idea of citizenship and nationality. When citizenship and nationality are stripped from a person, that person is stripped of bios, or the ability for political life. Therefore, when a government legalizes the persecution of a group, a foundation is laid for the group's internment.

Agamben states that "natural and civil rights are those rights for whose preservation society is formed," meaning that society, in the Hobbesian sense, is meant to protect zoē. Meanwhile, Agamben addresses the issue of bios when he writes "political rights are those rights by which society is formed."[25] He bridges this idea by referring to them as passive and active rights. Passive rights are the human rights everyone is guaranteed from birth and active rights denote the ability for political participation that people have. Agamben adds that an essential characteristic of modern politics is the difference between "what is inside from what is

[23] Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 81.
[24] Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 82.
[25] Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 83.

outside," or if certain people have both passive and active rights.[26] Specifically, he was referring to the intersection between nationalism and refugees as the "other." He writes:

> If refugees (whose number has continued to grow in our century, to the point of including a significant part of humanity today) represent such a disquieting element in the order of the modern nation-state, this is above all because by breaking the continuity between man and citizen, nativity and nationality, they put the originary fiction of modern sovereignty in crisis.[27]

While this makes a statement about refugees, it also ties back to what Agamben argues in "What is a Camp?" and supports the idea that refugees, or any type of forcibly displaced persons, who are detained in a camp have been put there as a reaction to a "crisis" that relates to a perceived threat to the state. Agamben again turns to the example of the Nazi final solution, concentration camps and extermination camps. He writes that only once German Jews were fully denationalized—stripped from bios to zoē—could they be sent to a concentration or extermination camp.

After having laid out the theoretical explanation for what bare life is and how that condition is created in camps, Agamben comes to three conclusions in "Threshold," the last chapter of *Homo Sacer*. He concludes:

1. The original political relation is the ban (the state of exception as zone of indistinction between outside and inside, exclusion and inclusion.)
2. The fundamental activity of sovereign power is the production of bare life as originary political element and as threshold of articulation between nature and culture, zoē and bios.
3. Today it is not the city but rather the camp that is the fundamental biopolitical paradigm of the West.[28]

Both points one and three are central to, and the purpose of, "What is a Camp?" However, the second thesis seems to be an argument unique to *Homo Sacer*, while also complementing the

[26] Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 84.
[27] Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 84.
[28] Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 117.

ideas that are developed in "What is a Camp?" This thesis point supports the idea that those detained inside a camp are viewed as the most stripped form of life, devoid of political participation, possessions and social mobility. These people are the result of the acts of the sovereign state interfering with how to define the identity of a person. Historically, as in Agamben's use of the Nazi camp example, this is done through denationalization and discrimination through a narrative of "otherness" during a time of perceived crisis.

The condition of bare life is also explained by Primo Levi's examination of the concentration camp slang-term *Muselmann*. The *Muselmann* is "a being from whom humiliation, horror, and fear had so taken away all consciousness and all personality as to make him absolutely apathetic."[29] It is the condition of pure zoē, inflicted upon a body after it is stripped of its ability to participate in society as a political entity and the following treatment it endures due to its status as an outsider to the state. This condition of zoē is unique to the situation of a state of exception in the form of a camp, and by examining examples of camps from the last 100 years, this thesis will prove that this situation is not isolated. The Soviet Gulag, Nazi concentration camps, Irish Direct Provision, refugee camps and immigration detention centers are only a few examples of the countless forms that the theoretical camp can take, and that alone is evidence to support Agamben's bold claim that the camp is the *nomos* of modern politics.

This thesis will act as the bridge between the theoretical camp and case studies in order to prove that Agamben's theory that the camp defines modern politics is true. However, like stated earlier, many academics have tried to tackle this issue by applying Agamben's theories to one example of a camp, or have criticized him for only using the Nazi example as evidence for his work. For example, Alison Ross, in her article "Agamben's Political Paradigm of the Camp: Its

[29] Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 119.

Features and Reasons," draws on both "What is a Camp?" and *Homo Sacer*, to criticize Agamben's claim that the camp is the "fundamental paradigm of the west." She argues that Agamben's claim is not strong enough because he only uses one case study as evidence. Ross argues that Agamben's use of an extreme example, Nazi concentration camps, to explain the general—or overall—theoretical camp is an inefficient way to support his argument. [30] The thesis of Ross's argument is that "the virtues of offering a perspective from the outside, as it were, are not sufficient to make his [Agamben's] a useful perspective for the kinds of problems political theory deals with."[31] This quotation by Ross poignantly makes the point that using the most extreme example of a camp to support the thesis of what a theoretical camp is would create an insufficient set of characteristics to describe the essence of a camp.

While Ross is not incorrect in stating that only one example of a camp—especially an exceptionally brutal one—is insufficient evidence to support a theory of this magnitude, it is incorrect to disregard Agamben's work solely based on that argument. While Agamben's argument is not perfect, and it does need revision, it is a solid foundation for the large body of work that has been published about camps, refugees and their connection with sovereignty and biopolitics. Samuel Weber, in his article "Bare Life and Life in General," emphasizes this idea and makes the argument that a comprehensive analysis of multiple case studies is needed to understand the idea of the theoretical camp. While most authors have struggled to do this, and instead try and apply one example of a camp to Agamben's work unsuccessfully, Weber is able to see past this and view the theoretical camp in regard to the various types of camps. He compares the singularity of *the* camp that Agamben uses against how Agamben uses that to

[30] Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 181.
[31] Ross, Alison. "Agamben's Political Paradigm of the Camp: Its Features and Reasons." *Constellations*, vol. 19, no. 3, 2012, pp. 421–434: 423.

describe the core idea of what a camp is. Because of this irregularity in using a singularity to describe the overall idea, Weber concludes:

> The singularity of "the camps," for Agamben, is not anomalous but bound into a historical continuity—one that affects not only the past but the present and the future. This in turn presupposes that despite the vase variety of camps, a single structure—and a single condition of possibility—unifies and underlies them all and therefore allows us to see them, in their unitary singularity, as the "secret matrix" of politics today.[32]

Many critics have overlooked this aspect of Agamben's work and haven't studied the similarities and connections between various types of camps that support Agamben's thesis. Instead, they try to prove that Agamben's argument is not applicable to any camp but Nazi concentration camps by only analyzing one example of a camp that does not exactly align with the conclusions of "What is a Camp?" and *Homo Sacer*. Weber, however, has more accurately examined the rhetoric of Agamben's piece to find that, in reality, Agamben knew that his theoretical camp was a continuous idea that links various examples of camps.

Despite this recognition by Weber, he also states that he defended Agamben's piece when it was originally published despite being largely received with criticism while simultaneously recognizing that it needed "considerable elaboration if not revision."[33] Through the process of reworking Agamben's core ideas, Weber points out that it is important to remember the original questions Agamben was raising in the piece, and it is necessary to keep them central to any further analysis on the topic, specifically how Agamben recognizes the camps' "connection to a larger historical context and tradition."[34] This thesis will aim to do that. By analyzing multiple case studies and other theoretical arguments, this thesis will work to form a continuum of camps as evidence to show that there is a central essence to Agamben's theoretical camp that connects

[32] Weber, 8.
[33] Weber, 7.
[34] Weber, 8.

various types of detention facilities and settlements, despite what type of government created them. This thesis will also offer a critique of the characteristics that Agamben uses to categorize camps. While all erected to serve different purposes, Nazi concentration camps, the Soviet Gulag, Direct Provision, immigration detention centers, re-education camps and other examples of camps are all connected under the umbrella of Agamben's theoretical camp.

Political Prisons: Genocide, Mass Internment and Minority Suppression

> "The line separating good and evil passes not through states, nor between classes, nor between political parties either – but right through every human heart…even within hearts overwhelmed by evil, one small bridgehead of good is retained. And even in the best of all hearts, there remains…an uprooted small corner of evil. Thanks to ideology the twentieth century was fated to experience evildoing calculated on a scale in the millions. Alas, all the evil of the twentieth century is possible everywhere on earth. Yet, I have not given up all hope that human beings and nations may be able, in spite of all, to learn from the experience of other people without having to go through it personally."
> Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*, 1918-1965

This chapter, and the one that follows it, will aim to bridge the gap between political theory and empirical research by examining and analyzing six case studies through the lens of Agamben's theoretical framework outlined in "What is a Camp?". This chapter analyzes two of the most heinous examples of concentration camps that the world has seen, including the Soviet Gulag and Nazi concentration camps, while also examining the current state of re-education camps for Uighur Muslims in China. This chapter, and the next, will utilize multiple case studies to critique, but overall support, Agamben's thesis and the theoretical framework he has laid out to characterize what a camp is. There does not seem to be a consensus among political science scholars regarding Agamben's argument about what a theoretical camp is, but I believe this is due to scholars examining Agamben's characterization of a camp within the context of only one case study. For example, Ross criticizes Agamben for using such an extreme example – Nazi concentration and extermination camps – to support his thesis, which she claims does not encompass the general essence of what a camp is.[35] These chapters will challenge what Ross argues, as even when describing one camp, Agamben's theory largely can be applied to other

[35] Ross, 423.

examples as well. The six case studies, as well as an original analysis on Agamben's chosen case study, will support my argument that camps are all connected theoretically.

The Soviet Gulag

The Soviet Gulag, while not as heinous an example of a camp as Nazi concentration camps, could arguably be categorized as one of the most prominent examples of brutality in internment camps in history. Gulag stands for *Glavnoe Upravlenie Lagerei*, or the Main Camp Administration, which was formally created in 1929.[36] Earlier in the 1920s, however, other labor camps existed in Russia. In 1920, for example, a labor camp at Solovetsky, in North Eastern Russia, was the first of its kind to house political prisoners, becoming the model for the Gulag system after state prisons were overflowing with people newly incarcerated due to the laws that Stalin put in place to criminalize those labeled as resisting collectivization, even though they had done nothing wrong.[37] Because of this overcrowding, in 1929, the Politburo, the policy making body of the Communist Party, made the decision to create a system of self-supporting labor camps to replace part of the prison system. This self-supporting system was meant to house prisoners who received sentences meant to last longer than three years, and the previously used state prison system would be maintained for those who received sentences of three years or less.[38] This meant that many political prisoners, who were tried during Stalin's show trials and victims of his Great Terror, would be sent to the Gulag to live out what was largely understood

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[36] Gheith, Jehanne M., and Katherine R. Jolluck. *Gulag Voices: Oral Histories of Soviet Incarceration and Exile*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011: 2.

[37] Applebaum, Anne. *Gulag: A History*. Anchor Books, 2004: 44-49.

[38] Khlevniuk, Oleg V. *History of the Gulag: from Collectivization to the Great Terror*. Edited by David J. Nordlander. Translated by Vadim A. Staklo, Yale University Press, 2013: 9.

as a life sentence. Even though this camp system was created in 1929, it was not used as the central method of punishment for large amounts of the population until Stalin began his campaign against anyone he considered a threat to him or the Soviet Union, including those who had done nothing wrong but were labeled as resisting collectivization or political opponents.

This intensification of the use of the Gulag started in the mid-1930s, as the average number of people incarcerated in the Gulag was at 190,000 in 1930 and steadily rose to about 620,000 people by 1934.[39] As Agamben argues, camps are used as a response to a national crisis. In this case, however, there were multiple exaggerated crises that helped propel the use of the Gulag further into the 20th century. Stalin originally needed the Gulag to house those who he claimed were resisting collectivization, which was the process of joining multiple individual farms and households into one large, collaborating farm known as the *kolkhoz.* Any peasants who resisted collectivization were eventually known as *kulaks*, however, the term kulak evolved over time. Originally, *kulak* was meant to describe the "village bourgeoisie,"[40] or landowning peasants who would have the most to lose by collectivization. Their large-scale incarceration, along with others from the peasant class who resisted collectivization, arguably led to the creation of the Gulag.

A few years later, the assassination of Sergei Kirov in 1934 was used as another crisis that the use of the Gulag could help mitigate the effects of. Kirov was the secretary of the Leningrad All-Union Communist Party, as well as a provincial committee member and Politburo member. Kirov was often portrayed as a close friend and ally of Stalin until the early 1930s when it became more apparent that Kirov had reservations about some of Stalin's policies and

[39] Khlevniuk, Oleg V., 307.
[40] Tucker, Robert C. *Stalin in Power: The Revolution from above, 1928-1941*. Norton, 1992: 28.

implemented collectivization at a slower rate in Leningrad. As Kirov's resistance to Stalin grew, Stalin feared that Kirov was a threat to Stalin's policies and his hold on party leadership.

In his book, *Stalin in Power*, Robert Tucker explains the widely accepted theory that Stalin was behind the assassination of Kirov. He highlights that Stalin was looking for an excuse—or a crisis—to use as justification to initiate "a cycle of official terror," and Stalin decided that "no other leading Communist's death by violence would have so great a shock effect and serve so well to justify the unleashing of terror."[41] In addition, by choosing Kirov as the target of an assassination, Stalin was removing someone he viewed as a political threat. However, in order to use Kirov's death as justification for state sponsored terror, Stalin and other leading Communist Party officials had to create a narrative to ensure the public's support.

It is essential to Agamben's argument that a crisis occur so as to influence the government to create a state of exception that justifies internment. He writes that the creation of the camp is what happens when "the state decides to undertake the management of the biological life of the nation directly as its own task."[42] Stalin exemplified this when he portrayed the assassination of Kirov as a direct threat to the government and his network of officials. He then introduced a law, in honor of Kirov, that ensured that investigations for terrorist attacks would be concluded within ten days of the incident, and that defendants would be indicted only one day before their trial was supposed to occur. In addition, the defendants would not be able to present their cases during the trial, which would then culminate in guilty pleas and defendants receiving death sentences or sentences to the Gulag.[43] Stalin utilized the assassination of Kirov as justification to exile and murder his political enemies, and at a less extreme level, to brutally

[41] Tucker, 275-276.
[42] Agamben, "What is a Camp?" 42.
[43] Khlevniuk, Oleg V., 87-88.

incarcerate *kulaks* and other groups who resisted his policies. This law that he put in place in honor of Kirov also acted as the foundation for Stalin's infamous show trials that were used during the Great Terror and throughout his reign to facilitate the quick accusation and incarceration of anyone he saw as his enemy.

When a government incarcerates people within camps, there is usually a narrative that accompanies their incarceration that the government creates and dispels to gain support. This case is no different. The denunciation of political opponents as traitors and enemies of the state has a long history in Russia. Stalin especially cultivated a culture of denunciation and informing that led to citizens turning on friends, family and anybody else they came in contact with. Soviets were encouraged to turn in their neighbors, friends, family and anyone else they knew who they suspected of being *kulaks*, *kulak*-accomplices, spies or political enemies of the state.[44] *Pravda*, the official Communist party newspaper, was used as a propaganda tool to perpetuate this informant-based justice system. The newspaper released a statement that advised Soviets that it was "a crime against the party and people for a Communist not to see through the enemy in good time and expose him in only in some small matter, for a larger hostile action can be concealed behind a small one."[45] *Pravda* spun the story so as to convince Soviets that actively participating in this type of denunciation secured one's status as a patriot who was committed to defending the Motherland. The newspaper also published articles that detailed how to quickly identify and turn in those suspected of being enemies of the state.[46] There was a well-known name for those who were seen as enemies of Stalin, the Soviet Union and the policies of the Communist Party. These people were known as a *dvurushnik*, meaning "double-dealer," or someone who was disguised

[44] Tucker, 457.
[45] Tucker, 454.
[46] Tucker, 454.

by a fake devotion to the Soviet Union so as to further their mission against the government.[47] *Pravda* and the Soviet government made it evident that there should be a clear division between patriotic citizens and accused political enemies who were considered the "other." Agamben

Another important aspect of the narrative that Stalin created to raise support against his enemies was his use of the courtroom as a "theater of revenge."[48] Under Stalin, public trials were used to shame and condemn the defendant, usually someone deemed a political enemy even if they had done nothing wrong. The judges, prosecutor and defendant in each trial all had prearranged dialogues that culminated in a dramatic confession by the defendant. These show trials were an important propaganda tool for Stalin, and they helped sway public opinion to support the harshness of sentences that "political enemies" would receive. The trials were used to help paint the defendants as detrimental to, or "wreckers" of, the Soviet economy even though they had done nothing wrong.[49]

This type of state terror was never executed on a small scale, but during the Great Terror there was an increase in how fervently Stalin persecuted political opponents. Especially in 1937 and 1938, anyone could be labeled as opponents to the government, even if they were actually staunch Stalin supporters. Those deemed to be against the government were targeted and labeled as political enemies of the Communist Party and its cause, and then they were brutally persecuted. These groups were *kulaks* and other peasants, escapees of the Gulag, members and former members of anti-Bolshevik parties, surviving tsarist officials, accused terrorists and spies, current prisoners of the Gulag and major criminals. These categories were then separated into two distinctions: those to be immediately arrested and killed or those who were sentenced to

[47] Tucker, 165.
[48] Tucker, 165.
[49] Tucker, 165.

eight to ten years in the Gulag. Families of both groups of people could also be sentenced to between five and ten years in the Gulag.

This type of persecution was prevalent throughout the Soviet Union. Each Soviet republic, country that bordered the USSR, and ally of the USSR had their own program similar to that of Stalin's to persecute those chosen as political enemies and against communist policies. Poland served as a template for many other locations as one of the first places to introduce a Stalin-like show trial and campaign of terror against political opponents. Afghanistan, Bulgaria, China, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Iran, Latvia and Macedonia all implemented systems like in Poland and Russia. Each distinct government had their own quotas of people to kill, to incarcerate and people to kill who were already incarcerated.[50]

This type of narrative and campaign against a group labeled as the "other" is easy to identify in this case study. However, as my thesis aims to prove, not every case study enthusiastically fulfills each characteristic that Agamben lays out when describing a camp. This does not mean that a case study is any less of a camp than another example if one meets a criterion that another doesn't; they both still exist on a continuum and are theoretically connected. In this case, it is difficult to pinpoint and analyze the temporary nature of the Gulag. Although the Gulag was created in response to an exaggerated crisis, and the Communist Party actively used propaganda to influence the public's opinion on the Gulag and those detained there, it is difficult to argue that the Gulag was meant to be temporary. The instances of creation as a response to a crisis and the existence of a narrative act as a pretext to the temporary nature of the camp in Agamben's argument. He argues that when a camp is created as a response to a crisis, the camp should only be used until the crisis is under control. Therefore, the camp should

[50] Khlevniuk, Oleg V., 307.

never be a permanent structure and instead is always meant to be temporary. However, Agamben found, and in this thesis the case studies will prove, that camps take on a more permanent special arrangement and outlast the response to a crisis. In this case of the Gulag, the intense use of the Gulag to exile and kill political prisoners would have ended when the number of political "enemies" in the Soviet Union was brought down to a manageable number that didn't severely threaten communist rule. However, the Gulag was originally created to be a self-sustaining labor camp system that would complement the Soviet prison system. Despite this slight irregularity, the Gulag did take on a permanent special arrangement as a central part of the prison system in the Soviet Union, and permanence is a common characteristic of camps.

These camps were scattered throughout Russia and beyond into the borders of many other Soviet Republics, as the picture below shows.

[51] Map of the Gulag system throughout the Soviet Union

[51] "Map of Gulag Camp Administrations and Stories from Central Europe." *Gulag Online*.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, famous author, outspoken critic of communist rule in the USSR, and former Gulag prisoner, used the phrase “Gulag Archipelago” to describe the camps throughout the Soviet Union. The “Gulag Archipelago” served as a metaphor for the way that the camps were scattered throughout the country, linked together as a chain of camps like islands in the sea. The camps were mostly located in the peripheries of the Union, or in the Ural Mountains, as they were meant to separate prisoners from the population and exclude them from normal civilian life. As the opposite of panoptic institutions that are meant to reform, the Gulag was meant to exile and kill, and its physical location and layout were a tool used to perpetuate that exclusion.

These camps were also often placed so that the labor that was done in the camps could be used to benefit the economy. Many camps had served specific purposes, such as to improve the logging or mining industries or to advance state infrastructure. During World War II, many camps were also used to make and provide resources, like clothes, for the Red Army. However, while the work that prisoners in the Gulag were doing was meant to better the lives of many Soviets, their living environment and situation was dire. The harsh climates of Siberia and the North were particularly unforgiving to prisoners, and it didn’t help that camps had horrible housing conditions. Some barracks were only made of log frames with no insulation. Often times, windows were broken and not replaced, and the heat didn’t always work or was not turned on during the winter months. For these reasons, it is understandable why in December and other winter months the death rate for Gulag prisoners sharply rose each year.

The physical living conditions were not the only dangerously inhumane treatment that prisoners had to endure while in the Gulag. During and after the Great Terror, the Gulag saw a large increase in the number of prisoners and overcrowding plagued every camp. This overcrowding, which can be seen in all six case studies of camps that this thesis will analyze,

only worsened camp conditions, increasing irritability, taking away a person's right to what little privacy one might have previously had and creating an even more unhygienic environment for people to live. For example, overcrowding often worsened the spread of diseases and parasites like lice throughout the camp.

In addition to this, prisoners of the Gulag were also subjected to forced labor, torture and murder.[52] Originally, the policy was to only send those who were healthy and strong enough to work to a "labor camp" for punishment. However, many people sent to the Gulag were weak, sick and tortured, which is further evidence that the purpose of the labor camp was not to rehabilitate or reintroduce people back into society as functional communists. The idea that the Gulag was meant to reform was a narrative that the government tried to perpetuate. In reality, the Gulag was meant to exile and kill anyone who Stalin claimed to oppose the government of the USSR and its policies. Most of the people sent to the Gulag were loyal communists and Stalin supporters who had not committed acts of treason against the state and didn't need to learn how to be a good communist.

Many of the people sent to the Gulag arrived with no clothes, carrying diseases and would not survive the harsh climate or living conditions of the camp.[53] People who were prisoners of the Gulag were physically exhausted and often emaciated, which was only worsened by overcrowding and the scarce availability of food and clothing. In addition, there was a hierarchy within the camp among prisoners themselves which saw gang members and major criminals emerge as terrorizers of the rest of the population. In the eyes of Stalin, political prisoners—usually those who had done nothing wrong—were the same type of person as major criminals, and they all were incarcerated in the Gulag together.

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[52] Khlevniuk, Oleg V., 179.
[53] Khlevniuk, Oleg V., 172.

Worse than being subject to the wrath of a gang member was being subject to punishment at the hands of a camp administrator. In Volume Two of *The Gulag Archipelago*, in the chapter titled "Punishments," Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn details the types of punishments that were given to prisoners and why they were used. He explained that one could be given punishment for:

> …whatever they [camp administrators] felt like: You didn't please your chief; you didn't say hello the way you should have; you didn't get up on time; you didn't go to bed on time; you were late for roll call; you took the wrong path; you were wrongly dressed; you smoked where it was forbidden; you kept extra things in your barracks.[54]

Prisoners could also be targeted for other things, but Solzhenitsyn explains that the reasoning for punishment could be menial. He further explains that the targets of punishments were often practicing religious believers, stubborn detainees and camp thieves.

When someone was to be punished, he or she would either be put into the *ShIzo* or the *BUR*s. The *ShIzo* was referred to as the prison within the prison. It was an isolated cell that separated the prisoner from the rest of the camp. Prisoners would be put in the *ShIzo* for a few days or weeks at a time, however, sentences there could potentially last months or even up to a year if they lived that long. The *ShIzo* was dark, wet and extremely cold, as there was no heat in the building even during the harsh winter months. When prisoners were in the *ShIzo* they also received less food than the normal ration that was given to the other prisoners.[55]

Alternatively, the *BUR*s, or "Strict Regimen Barracks," were meant for longer sentences that were to last months or years.[56] The *BUR* was built like a prison with concrete or brick walls, and bars and locks on doors. The rooms had poor ventilation and natural light. Prisoners in *BUR* were not allowed to go outside or to use the toilet in private. Instead, they were forced to use the

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[54] Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. *The Gulag Archipelago*. Vol. 1-3, Harper & Row, 1975: 415.
[55] Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 415.

[56] Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 417.

communal latrine barrel from their cells, and it was considered a privileged to dispose of the waste outside because it meant that one could see sunshine and get fresh air.[57] In the *BUR*s, physical punishment and torture were more common, as well. A favorite method of punishment that the guards and camp administrators used was filling a felt boot with a brick and using it to hit a prisoner because it didn't leave scratches or marks that other prisoners could immediately recognize on the bodies of their peers.[58]

Torture, inhumanity and neglect, as seen in the other case studies as well, severely impacts the mental state of the people imprisoned there. Agamben, in, *Homo Sacer*, discusses the idea of bare life and how that is manifested in the prisoners of camps. Those in the *BUR*s are examples of this type of manifestation of bare life. Many prisoners of the *BUR*s would swallow the spoons that they were given to eat their food with so as to escape the prison: they would need emergency surgery to remove them and would have to go to the hospital. Other prisoners would collaborate to fake suicides so that they were brought to the hospital for psychological evaluation and treatment. Other types of self-harm were common so prisoners could escape the *BUR*s and end up in the hospital.[59] The *BUR* prisoner, a living example of bare life and the *Muselmann*, someone who can inflict self-harm because it is not as horrible as what he experiences and will continue to experience in these camps, is a manifestation of the desperation and psychological torment that people endured in the Gulag because they were labeled as bodies whose mistreatment and murder didn't incur consequences.

The effects of the treatments people endured in the Gulag are far reaching. There is serious generational trauma in Russia because of how many people lost family members, friends

[57] Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 418.
[58] Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 417.
[59] Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 418.

and neighbors in the Gulag. There is a psychophysical theory in Russia named *Rodologia*, which aims to explain how this generational trauma impacts the children and grandchildren of those who lived through the Great Terror and even incarceration in the Gulag. Inna Leykin explains *Rodologia* when she writes:

> This Lamarckian-informed logic argues that coping with political violence and social cataclysms, such as in the Russian case, gulags, Soviet collectivization campaigns, displacements, deportations, World War II, and the fall of the Soviet Union, "scar" or leave marks on individual genes. These inflicted genes are then passed onto future generations, affecting the psychological and behavioral patterns of one's descendants.[60]

The explanation behind *Rodologia* is that responses to events create specific behaviors that are imprinted on genes and then passed from one generation to the next. Leyken makes the clear distinction that while the memory itself may not be present, the imprinted genes that have been passed down will influence the behavior and emotions of future generations. While this isn't a biology thesis and the purpose of this work is to not prove that this theory is correct, it is important to note that generational trauma caused by the Gulag is so prevalent in Russia that people have looked for answers to explain the lasting effects of Gulag internment.

It is hard to know how many people were sentenced to the Gulag and how many of those people exited it alive. This is due to state repression of documents and the ability for the government of the Soviet Union, and later Russia, to censor evidence that has only come out since the fall of the Soviet Union. However, estimates can be made on how many people were incarcerated in the Gulag throughout the time it was in operation. In 1930, the average number of people in the Gulag was almost 200,000, and four years later that number had steadily rose to 620,000. By the end of the 1930s the estimate was that over 1,300,000 people were imprisoned

[60] Leykin, Inna. "Rodologia: Genealogy as Therapy in Post-Soviet Russia." *AnthroSource*, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 25 May 2015.

and by the early 1940s that number had increased to over 1,500,000. By the time World War II had started over 4,000,000 people were held in the camps.[61] This number, however, does not account for those who were immediately killed instead of being sentenced to the Gulag; the effects of Stalin's Great Terror extended far past the number of people incarcerated in the Gulag. In 1937-1938 alone, the NKVD arrested over 1.5 million people, almost 90% of which were because each person was deemed a political enemy despite lack of evidence and absence of a fair trial. Of this 1.5 million, over 600,000 of them were immediately killed instead of incarcerated, meaning the reach of Stalin's persecution was much larger than and cannot be accurately described by just the number of people that were imprisoned in the Gulag.[62] The total of people sentenced to the Gulag is estimated at around 18 million people, but the number who were affected by the Great Terror is much larger.

Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camps

The Holocaust is the most heinous example of institutionalized persecution that the world has ever seen, and it is the example that Agamben writes about in "What is a Camp?" to try and describe what a camp, in essence, is. The Holocaust is used to describe every act of persecution and hatred that the Third Reich, led by Hitler, committed against the Jews, including the use of concentration and extermination camps to carry out the Final Solution. The Final Solution was a plan to systematically and efficiently kill all of the Jews of Europe so as to ensure the dominance and purity of the Aryan race. Through the legalization of discrimination and persecution, Hitler and the Nazi regime were able to indoctrinate the public to support their campaign of hatred and

[61] Khlevniuk, Oleg V., 328.
[62] Khlevniuk, Oleg V., 169.

persecution towards the Jews of Germany, Western Europe, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

In order to carry out the systematic oppression and concurrent extermination of the Jews of Europe, perception and narrative were essential to the Nazi's Final Solution. Hitler had a charismatic personality and was able to sway an entire population into demonizing and dehumanizing Jewish people. He helped perpetuate the use of the Jews as a scapegoat for the tremendous losses that Germany endured in World War I and in the years following, what they saw as, the detrimental Treaty of Versailles. Before Hitler came to power, public sentiment was moving in a more conservative direction, as the extremely liberal Weimar Republic pushed conservatives farther right and in line with the ideals of the Third Reich. This helped Hitler consolidate a base of support that he eventually was able to spread throughout Germany. In addition, the perception of Jews by Catholics has historically been extremely poor, with Catholics blaming the death of Jesus Christ on Jews, and many Catholics believing other false perceptions about Jews. Hitler used these feelings of resentment and capitalized on them to garner support and propel himself into a position of political power.

When Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in 1933, he quickly acted to persecute Jews and other minorities in Germany with plans to continue this persecution across Europe. To celebrate Hitler's election to Chancellor of Germany, the head of the Schutzstaffel, Heinrich Himmler, commissioned the first concentration camp at Dachau in Hitler's honor.[63] From 1933 to 1939, over 400 pieces of legislation were implemented that limited the rights of Jews in their public and private lives, making the use of concentration camps a state sponsored and curated

[63] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 38.

operation.[64] This case study is an exceptional example of how camps are extremely legalized structures.

The first major law that affected German Jews was implemented on April 7, 1933. The Law of the Restoration for the Professional Civil Service prohibited Jews and political opponents of the Third Reich from working in public office, law enforcement, the military and at universities. It also included the Aryan Paragraph, which excluded Jews and other non-Aryans from certain organization, professions and other aspects of public life.[65] The following year, Hitler took on the position as *Führer*, the absolute ruler of Germany, consolidating the power of the government into an authoritarian dictatorship. He continued his persecution against the Jews, and in 1935 the government passed the Nuremberg Race Laws to define Jews not by their religious affiliation but by their ancestry. The Nuremberg Race Laws defined a person as legally Jewish if he or she had at least one grandparent who was Jewish. This legislation served as the foundation for all of the racist legislation that the Third Reich would go on to implement to the detriment of the Jews. Two years later, in 1937 and up until 1939, the laws on Jewish public life were even more restricted. Jews were forced to stop working, sell their businesses to non-Jews, constantly carry identification cards, wear the Star of David and change their first names to Israel or Sara, if their given names weren't traditionally Jewish. As Agamben explains, the camp arises when the "state decides to undertake the management of the biological life of the nation directly as its own task," and in this case that was done through the prompt denationalization and ostracization of Jews.

While legalizing the persecution of minority groups, the Third Reich was constantly perpetuating racist narratives about the Jews. In 1938, the Nazis were able to use the attempted

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[64] "Timeline of Events." *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.
[65] "Timeline of Events".

assassination of the German Ambassador to France by a Jewish man, who was upset about the treatment of his family in Germany, as propaganda to prove that Jews were not good or decent people. This incident, and the way that the Nazi regime was able to portray it, served as a pretext for *Kristallnacht*. *Kristallnacht*, the Night of Broken Glass, was a pogrom against the Jews of Germany and the first acts of severe physical violence towards the Jews. It occurred in November of 1938. During the pogrom, Germans destroyed Jewish businesses, synagogues and properties. Over 300 women and girls were raped and almost 20,000 men were transported to concentration camps and many others were killed. In September of 1939, Germany invaded Poland, signaling the beginning of World War II and the beginning of the systematic attack against German Jewry and all of the Jews of Europe. Throughout the 1940s and WWII, the use of concentration and extermination camps were central to this attack on Jews and the completion of the Final Solution to the Jewish Question.

Agamben uses these Nazi concentration camps as the example and manifestation of his thesis in "What is a Camp?" He writes:

> The state of exception, which used to be essentially a temporary suspension of the order, becomes now a new and stable spatial arrangement inhabited by that naked life that increasingly cannot be inscribed into the order.[66]

The Nazi camp is the quintessential example of this. Although the camp was meant to serve a purpose in response to a crisis—in this case, the threat that Jews posed to the success of Germany—these camps took on a normalized and permanent role in the law of the Third Reich and how the German government functioned under Hitler. However, like the case of the Gulag, this case is slightly more complex when examining its permanence. The use of ghettos and concentrations camps were officially supposed to be temporary and would have only been used

[66] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 42.

until the Final Solution to the Jewish Question was carried out. The Final Solution, the plan to murder the Jews of Europe, was decided in January 1942 at the Wannsee Conference when Hitler made it clear that other campaigns like Operation Barbarossa, the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union to kill Soviet Jews, needed to be carried out throughout Europe. Hitler and the Nazis committed horrible atrocities against Jews, Roma and other minorities; however, the Final Solution, as Hitler imagined it, was never officially carried out.

However, the Nazis attempted to carry out the Final Solution throughout Europe and erected concentration camps around the entire continent.

[67] Map of Nazi Concentration Camps throughout Europe in 1943-1944

[67] "Major Nazi Camps in Europe, January 1944." *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Of the over 20,000 camps that the Nazis had in Europe, six of them were extermination camps. The six extermination camps were all located in Poland. These camps were Auschwitz-Birkenau, Belzec, Chełmno, Majdanek, Sobibor and Treblinka. The most famous of the extermination camps is Auschwitz-Birkenau, and it will be the subject of analysis within this case study. However, it is important to note that every camp, including the extermination camps were different and varied in their methods of and ability to torture, dehumanize and kill. For example, Belzec, Chełmno, and Sobibor were strictly camps for the murder of Jews and Roma, while the other three extermination camps also persecuted other minorities and political prisoners. Each camp had a different physical layout and different means for torture and murder. Chełmno was the first extermination camp to be used, and there the Nazis experimented with using three mobile vans as gas chambers. Meanwhile, at Auschwitz-Birkenau, the Nazis utilized multiple large gas chambers and crematoria to systematically murder Jews and other prisoners.

The crimes of the Holocaust, specifically the actions committed in Nazi camps, are too large in volume and wide in scope to analyze all of them. However, this case study will detail the experience of Jews living in Auschwitz-Birkenau, as Agamben also focused on the extermination camp in "What is a Camp?" Auschwitz-Birkenau was an extremely large compound that included hundreds of buildings that served different purposes. In the prisoners' barracks, overcrowding wasn't just common, it was the policy. Multiple people shared cramped wooden bunk-style beds in poorly insulated buildings with no heat or running water. The overcrowding worsened the poor hygiene of the camp, and often times the Nazis running the camp would induce the prisoners—who didn't already suffer from it—with dysentery. This was in order to worsen their physical environment, but also to damage their psychological state, as the side effects of the sickness inhibited relationships between prisoners and increased feelings of

isolation and dehumanization among the population. Every action, piece of legislation, and propaganda the Nazis used or took, even before the mass use of camps, was meant to isolate and dehumanize Jews from the population.

While it was absolutely dreaded by prisoners in Auschwitz, twice daily roll call could potentially be considered one of the less brutal treatments that prisoners had to endure. Every morning and night, prisoners would stand in the *appell*, the line formation used during roll call, until the Nazi soldiers counted the prisoners and the count matched the number from the previous roll call, minus those who had died or been killed. If the numbers didn't match, then prisoners had to stand in the *appell*, no matter the weather, until the camp administration could account for why there was a different number of prisoners.

Prisoners were also subject to extreme torture and punishment. Block 11, or the "Block of Death," was the building that was used solely for torture and punishment. The building had tiny, bare, concrete rooms where prisoners lived in-between punishments. Punishments were usually severe beatings that included strategic torture to induce the most pain while prolonging death. This physical torture included rape for many women and girls. If these physical beatings didn't kill the prisoners, they would also be starved. If starvation was taking too long, the prisoners being housed in Block 11 would be shot.

Other prisoners were subject to human experiments at the hands of Josef Mengele. Mengele was the Nazi doctor known as the "Angel of Death" because of his role in selecting prisoners upon their arrival to Auschwitz for either labor, experimentation or extermination. In his lab at Auschwitz, Mengele conducted experiments on how to efficiently sterilize mass amounts of Jewish people. He also conducted experiments on twins and performed dissections. As the war intensified, his research led to experiments on how to mitigate conditions that plague

German soldiers so as to make them more effective and resistant to harm. Specifically, Mengele conducted tests on prisoners to figure out how to combat the bends and fight frostbite. Every subject of human experimentation was a prisoner of Auschwitz.

The Nazis never fell short of finding ways to torture and murder camp prisoners. The impact that these types of torture and conditions can have on a person is incomprehensible. However, psychologists, political scientists and other scholars have tried to analyze the effects that living in Auschwitz had on people's mental states. The prisoners of Nazi concentration camps are the best example of Agamben's bare life as seen in Primo Levi's *Muselmann*, which is a "being from whom humiliation, horror, and fear had so taken away all consciousness and all personality as to make him absolutely apathetic."[68] Primo Levi, a prisoner of Auschwitz himself, describes the *Muselmann* in his book *Survival in Auschwitz*. In the chapter "The Drowned and the Saved," Levi states that in Auschwitz there are two very different categories of men: the drowned and the saved. The drowned is the *Muselmann*, a term used by older prisoners to describe the "weak, the inept, and those doomed to selection."[69] He argues that the foundation of the camps is these *Muselmann*. Levi describes the *Muselmänner* together, as the camp foundation, as an "anonymous mass, continually renewed and always identical, of non-men who march and labour in silence, the divine spark dead within them, already too empty to really suffer."[70] He emphasizes that one cannot describe this type of person as living, and one cannot call the prisoner's death a death because the prisoner is already devoid of what makes a human soul active due to the treatment he or she experienced in Auschwitz. These people became bare life because they were treated as bare life. In the eyes of the Third Reich, as Agamben states in

[68] Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 119.
[69] Levi, Primo. *Survival in Auschwitz.* Touchstone, 1996: 90.
[70] Levi, 90.

Homo Sacer, Jews and other minorities were looked at as *homo sacer*, which means that they can be "killed without incurring punishment and whose death cannot be understood as a 'sacrifice.'" [71] This type of rational, and the idea that life is expendable, contributed to the worst genocide in human history. The public acceptance of this viewpoint of the masses enabled Hitler and the Third Reich to systematically carry out the murder of over 6 million Jews and 5 million other minorities during the Holocaust.

The impact that the Holocaust has had on those who were forced into concentration camps, or on the families of those who were prisoners or who died at the hands of the Nazis cannot be accurately described. The loss is so significant that it is difficult to quantify. In a study done in 2000, researchers found that Holocaust survivors experience Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) into old age.[72] The study found that 50 years after the systematic persecution of Jews ended, survivors continued to list their experiences during the Holocaust as the most significant stressor in their life. These stressors include:

> …being outlawed, discrimination, defamation, total absence of rights, loss of individuality, life-threatening ewer a long period of time, torture, physical hardships, ill health, being uprooted, few or no survivors in the family and elsewhere, lack of graves for victims, and the realization at the end of WWII that language, culture, and home are lost forever.[73]

The conclusions of the studied showed that the memory of these events contribute to a lifelong debilitating illness for survivors. However, the emotional, psychological and physical effects of the Holocaust are not limited to only survivors. The children and grandchildren of survivors are

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[71] Weber, Samuel. "Bare Life and Life in General." *Grey Room*, no. 46, 2012, pp. 7–24: 12.
[72] Barak, Y, and H Szor. "Lifelong Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: Evidence from Aging Holocaust Survivors." *Dialogues in Clinical Neuroscience*, Les Laboratoires Servier, Mar. 2000.
[73] Barak and Szor, "Lifelong Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: Evidence from Aging Holocaust Survivors."

also more likely to suffer from a stress-related illness.[74] More than 70 years later, the effects of Nazi concentration camps, just like the Gulag, are prevalent today and continue to affect people.

Re-education Camps for Uighur Muslims

Within the past three years, China has started and carried out a campaign of ethnic oppression and persecution against its Uighur Muslim population. The Uighurs are a minority ethnic group of Turkic Muslims who identify as culturally and ethnically close to Central Asians. About 11 million Uighurs live in the autonomous region of Xinjiang in the west of China, accounting for half of the province's population. Since April 2017, the Chinese government has been detaining them and other ethnic minorities in "re-education camps" and "vocational schools" because of their potential to threaten the Chinese interest with their extremist tendencies—according to the Chinese government. The Chinese government has classified extremist tendencies as anything from praying daily, growing a long beard, or contacting relatives overseas to participating in riots or physical acts of terror against the state. Without trial or sentencing, over the past three years Uighurs have been rounded up by authorities, turned in to authorities by neighbors and friends and subject to detention and punishment without having done anything wrong.

The Chinese government has been systematically criminalizing a culture without cause, but this issue goes back farther than the beginning of detention in 2017. In 2009, Uighurs and other minorities in Xinjiang's capital, Urumqi, rioted in response to a police crackdown on a previous, smaller protest. The riot lead to the death of almost 200 people and injured over 2,000 more when citizens of Xinjiang lit buildings and businesses on fire and beat many Han Chinese

[74] Rodriguez, Tori. "Descendants of Holocaust Survivors Have Altered Stress Hormones." *Scientific American*, Scientific American, 1 Mar. 2015.

men, women and children. It took over 20,000 paramilitary troopers and members of the People's Liberation Army to end the riot. Since then, security measures have been taken by the government that have led to the current detention of Uighur Muslims on the basis of ethnicity and religion, while the crisis that this detention was in response to was politically, not ethnically or religiously, based.

The current Chinese government, however, has always been suspicious of non-Han populations which has resulted in the oppression of minority ethnicities and religions. For example, a more well-known example of this oppression is the ongoing struggle between the Chinese government and Tibet and how the government of China has continued to try and take away rights from the autonomous region, including causing the exile of the Dalai Lama. This situation is no different; the government continues to perpetuate Islamophobia within the Chinese population. Specifically, the government created a narrative after the September 11, 2001 attacks on the Twin Towers that China was a target of Islamic extremism by Uighur Muslims and ethnic Kazakhs and Kyrgyz. While this is not true, the government has been able to spread the idea that normal Islamic practices, such as growing a longer beard or praying daily, are extremist tendencies which signify a greater threat of terrorism to China, and continue the sentiments of Islamophobia within the population to present day.[75] The government has also made the case that China will turn into a state like Syria, with a terrorist organization like the Islamic State operating within its borders, if it does not restrict Islamic practices and promote the securitization of the region.[76] In doing so, the Chinese government has garnered support for the

[75] Griffiths, James. "China's Paranoia and Oppression in Xinjiang Has a Long History." *CNN*, Cable News Network, 13 Oct. 2018.
[76] Griffiths, "China's Paranoia and Oppression in Xinjiang Has a Long History."

crackdown and securitization of Xinjiang over the past ten years, and also for the detention of Uighur Muslims.

The Chinese government is marketing these detention centers as "vocational training schools" and "government-organized occupational education programs" meant to help reform those with extremist tendencies and therefore maintain stability for everyone in the Xinjiang region and all of China.[77] This case is an excellent, and unique example of the narrative that is used as a method of increasing support for the use of the camp. In China, government media and censorship heavily influence the information that citizens receive. Because of this censorship and limitation on free press, the majority of citizens in China only know and believe the narrative that the government has perpetuated about Uighurs. The Chinese government has also tried to extend this narrative overseas by staging tours of the re-education camps for foreign journalists. The government has tried to create the appearance that these camps are a humane and lively place to live that is enjoyable for the people detained there. For example, journalist John Sudworth visited a re-education camp and reported that prisoners stated they had been infected by extremism and that they volunteered to have their "thoughts transformed" to be a better Chinese citizen.[78] The Chinese government is saying the same thing: Uighurs are volunteering to go to re-education camps. Their official position, that Sudworth reports, is:

> These people, we were urged to recognize, were reborn. Once dangerously radicalised and full of hatred for the Chinse government, they were now safely back on the road to reform thanks to the timely, benevolent intervention of that same government.[79]

[77] Raza, Zainab. "China's 'Political Re-Education' Camps of Xinjiang's Uyghur Muslims." *Asian Affairs*, vol. 50, no. 4, 2019, pp. 488–501: 496.
[78] Sudworth, John. "Searching for Truth in China's Uighur 'Re-Education' Camps." *BBC News*, BBC, 21 June 2019.
[79] Sudworth, "Searching for Truth in China's Uighur 'Re-Education' Camps."

Upon his tour of the detention center, Sudworth also recognized the likely staged posters and comfortable dormitory living conditions that many Uighurs who have spoken out about the detention centers do not describe.

These camps, however, are the culmination of a more permanent security state that the government has created to control and oppress Uighur Muslims. This securitization was done in stages, beginning after the 2009 riots in Urumqi. First there were more cameras in the province, then facial recognition was introduced. Armed policemen manned checkpoints throughout the cities and travel continued to be limited in and out of the region.[80] DNA identification is being introduced for all Uighurs in Xinjiang, and on top of detention centers, public events have been held to try and force Uighurs to denounce their religion and pledge support to the Communist Party.[81] According to a report in *Foreign Policy* that included an interview with a previous detainee of a re-education camp:

> Every resident of the region has been affixed with the label "safe," "normal," or "unsafe," based on metrics such as age, faith, religious practices, foreign contacts, and experience abroad. Those deemed unsafe, whether or not they are guilty of wrongdoing, are regularly detained and imprisoned without due process.[82]

The process of detention is affecting the entire population of Uighur Muslims in Xinjiang, and the Chinese government has admitted that even those who have done nothing wrong can be detained because they might have the ability to commit an act against the state. These camps are being used right now and are relatively new. Therefore, it is difficult to characterize their temporary nature. However, it is evident that these camps are not actually meant to serve the

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[80] Thum, Rian. "What Really Happens in China's 'Re-Education' Camps." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 15 May 2018.
[81] "China: Free Xinjiang 'Political Education' Detainees." *Human Rights Watch*, 19 Sept. 2011.
[82] Special Correspondent. "A Summer Vacation in China's Muslim Gulag." *Foreign Policy*, 28 Feb. 2018.

purpose of re-education or reform, and instead are internment camps meant to persecute and punish an ethnic minority that has done nothing wrong.

The over 40 re-education camps that the Chinese government is using are located throughout Xinjiang. They have cost the government over $100 million, but currently more are being built around the province.[83] Because of Chinese censorship, and the recent nature of the policy implementation, it is hard to know the exact living conditions in all of these camps. However, the Chinese government has reported that it has converted some schools and office buildings to camps, and other camps were built for the purpose of re-education for Uighurs. In an interview with *Foreign Policy*, titled "A Summer Vacation in China's Gulag," one previous detainee of the re-education camps, Iman, spoke out about the things that he endured while imprisoned there without cause. Iman comes from a middle-class Uighur family and he has a degree from a Chinese university. In 2018 he was attending graduate school in the United States when he flew home for summer vacation and was detained at the airport, searched, then taken to a local Beijing jail for nine days before being transferred to Xinjiang by police from the province. When he arrived at the re-education camp in Xinjiang, he noticed that there were large walls and fences surrounding the camp, and armed guards patrolled the perimeter and controlled the interior of the camp. He shared a room with 19 other Uighur men who shared one *supa*, a large platform style bed that was covered by two large blankets for them to share. He explained his day as:

> We were awoken every morning at 5 a.m. and given 20 minutes to wash. The guards only provided three thermoses of hot water each day for 20 men, though. I had to vie with the others for hot water. I didn't properly bathe for a week. We were then required to tidy the bed. The guards inspected our work: The corners had to be crisp and the two blankets, which covered the entire platform, wrinkle-free. Breakfast was served at 6 a.m. The menu did not change: *moma* or steamed bread. After breakfast, we marched inside our cell, calling out cadences in Chinese: 'Train hard,

[83] Thum, "What Really Happens in China's 'Re-Education' Camps."

> study diligently.' Huh, I can't remember the rest of the verse. I bet it's on Baidu [Chinese search engine]. Anyway, we marched for several hours. We then viewed 're-education' films until lunch.[84]

He described that the videos they were forced to watch explained legal state religious practices and compared them with the dangers of practicing illegal religious practices. After lunch they would be allowed to rest for a short time, but they were never allowed to lie down and could only sit. Once they were done with their afternoon schedule, they were forced to go to bed but the lights were never shut off in their cell.[85] After 17 days of detention, Iman was released, but he was told by authorities, "I'm sure you may have some ideological changes because of your unpleasant experiences, but remember: whatever you say or do in North America, your family is still here and so are we."[86] While Iman was allowed to return to the United States, he doesn't know why, and he wasn't certain he would be able to return to China. At the time the article was written, his mother was imprisoned in a re-education camp, and he could not have any contact with his family in China because of the consequences they might face for speaking with him.

While Iman didn't recount experiences of physical violence or psychological torture towards himself or other people imprisoned in the camps, there have been accounts of torture and physical punishment within Chinese re-education camps. The Chinese government has actively been recruiting people to work in the camps who would be able to effectively torture, such as police officers, ex-military personnel, and those with a background in criminal psychology.[87]

This case study of Chinese re-education camps for Uighur Muslims is an active example of a government using camps to repress and harm their own citizens. The Chinese government has admitted that those in the camps were not, or were "almost," criminals, whom they viewed as

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[84] "A Summer Vacation in China's Muslim Gulag."
[85] "A Summer Vacation in China's Muslim Gulag."
[86] "A Summer Vacation in China's Muslim Gulag."
[87] Thum, "What Really Happens in China's 're-Education' Camps."

a threat not because of criminal history, but because they might have the potential to commit alleged acts of terror against China. The Chinese government is actively detaining people for having done nothing wrong. The Chinese government, like Hitler did in Nazi Germany, is deeming people political enemies not for their actions or because they have done anything wrong, but for their religious beliefs. They have justified this encampment and securitization as promoting stabilization in the region. However this process of re-education and interment is a self-fulfilling cycle because as the government systematically oppresses the population of Xinjiang, more people will resist which then can cause the government to have a sincere fear of rebellion, to which the response will be a crackdown followed by more rebellion against this continual repression.

Conclusion

These three case studies are all camps that have been erected by authoritarian countries. While the Gulag and Nazi camps were operating at the same time, and the Chinese re-education camps for Uighur Muslims is a current case study, there is an evident similarity among the three: the people that these camps were for, and whom the government targeted, had not done anything wrong. In the case of the Gulag, Stalin hand selected individuals and groups of people to incarcerate and kill. In Nazi Germany, people were targeted for their religion, ethnicity, and sexuality—not actions, but all identities that posed no threat to the government or the security of the country. In China, Uighurs are being portrayed as terrorists and their detention is painted as a positive transformation when it is truly a system of torture, exclusion and dehumanization. However, it is hard to know the extent of what happens inside these camps because of the Chinese government's censorship and restriction on free press. It is extremely troubling to notice

the similarities between what is occurring in China today and how the Nazi persecution of the Jews started, and the overall similarities between camps used by authoritarian governments. As the use of re-education camps in China continues, the analysis that should be done to characterize re-education camps by the characteristics of the theoretical camp will change. The relationship that re-education camps have with the other case studies on the continuum and the theoretical camp will change, as well. These are three of the worst examples that will be analyzed in this thesis. In the next chapter, I will investigate camps utilized by democratic governments and how they connect to Agamben's theoretical camp.

Liberal Democracy: Internment, Nationalism and Seeking Asylum

> Patriotism is when love of your own people comes first; nationalism, when hate for people other than your own comes first.
> Charles de Gaulle

The idea that camps are the *nomos* of modern politics is central to Agamben's argument, and is one of the very first claims he makes in "What is a Camp?" Is it true that camps define modern politics? This chapter will analyze three case studies of camps that have been erected in democratic, advanced, capitalist countries within the last 100 years. These countries claim to champion freedom, diversity, inclusion, and morality to the rest of the world, but do they actually integrate these ideals into their policies and practices? These three examples of camps are only a small sample of the types of camps used by democratic governments to try and suppress an issue that is deemed to threaten the national interest. However, what might be surprising is how similar in essence they are to the camps discussed in the previous chapter that were created by fascists, dictators and authoritarians. While there will often be differences in the level of brutality among the six camps discussed in these two chapters, and how the camps are manifested, there will be similarities among them that speak to the essence of what a camp is and how camps are all theoretically connected.

In these three case studies—Japanese American internment camps during WWII, Irish Direct Provision, and Australian mandatory detention for asylum seekers—one will see that nationalism and a deep-rooted narrative of a group of people labeled and treated as "other" are prevalent. Olga Zeveleva explains that states exercise sovereign power over their members, as well as create a hierarchy of non-members of the state by pedaling narratives that taint the

reputation of certain groups of people.[88] This hierarchy of non-members, and the ability for governments to create narratives that rationalize internment are central to the idea of the theoretical camp. Japanese American internment camps erected during World War II are one of the best examples of this.

Japanese American Internment During World War II

In February of 1942, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 that authorized the removal of people from military zones, if necessary. This order was the first step in the legalization and codification of relocating Japanese Americans from the West Coast and interning them in concentration camps after the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Over the course of the war, about 120,000 people were interned in these camps. Of this number, over 70,000 people were American citizens. The internment applied to all persons of Japanese descent regardless of citizenship: the *Issei* were Japanese citizens and the first generation of their family to be in America and the *Nisei* were American citizens and second generation.[89] The government quickly enacted this internment process and relocated all Japanese Americans from military zones to assembly centers and then internment camps. This is where they would remain until the end of the war.[90]

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[88] Zeveleva, Olga. "Biopolitics, borders, and refugee camps: exercising sovereign power over nonmembers of the state." *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 45, no. 1, 2017, pp. 41–60.

[89] "Japanese Relocation During World War II." *National Archives and Records Administration*, National Archives and Records Administration.

[90] "Japanese Relocation During World War II."

The attack on Pearl Harbor signified the official American entrance into World War II, and it was a time of immediate threat for Americans. Agamben reminds us that camps are always erected as a response to a type of crisis that threatens the national interest. He writes:

> The birth takes place when the political system of the modern nation-state—founded on the functional nexus between a determinate localization (territory) and a determinate order (the state), which was mediated by automatic regulations for the inscription of life (birth or nation)—enters a period of permanent crisis and the state decides to undertake the management of the biological life of the nation directly as its own task.[91]

While the attack on Pearl Harbor was tragic for the United States, Japanese Americans were not the perpetrators of the crime. The attack did not create a need to intern Japanese Americans in concentration camps. However, the government perpetuated a narrative about Japanese Americans that increased public support for internment as a way of mitigating wartime threat to the state.

While many Japanese Americans had never been to Japan, had no contacts there, and did not have Japanese citizenship, many Americans were distrustful of them and believed that they might commit acts of treason, like espionage, against the US government to help Japan's war effort. This sentiment was only multiplied when the US government published racist propaganda that depicted Japanese Americans as inferior to Americans.[92] The distrust of Japanese Americans was so strong that some Americans claimed that Japanese Americans were planting flowers and crops in patterns such as arrows so as to point to strategic military assets and bases to make it easier for the Japanese military to find them and destroy them.[93] Other common stereotypes of Japanese Americans were that they were un-American, sexually aggressive, animal-like and

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[91] Agamben, Giorgio. "What Is a Camp?", 42.
[92] Renteln, Alison Dundes. "A Psychohistorical Analysis of the Japanese American Internment. *Human Rights Quarterly, The Johns Hopkins University Press*, 17(4), Nov. 1995, pp. 618-648: 620.
[93] Renteln, 625.

"part of an international menace."[94] This narrative of Americans versus Japanese Americans worsened over the ten-week period after the attack on Pearl Harbor. As hate for Japanese Americans became more prominent and outspoken over that timeframe, drive by shootings, stabbings and other hate crimes towards Japanese Americans became more common.[95] In this case, like the case of Nazi concentration camps, before Japanese Americans were interned they were viewed as bodies whose torture and murders would not incur punishment or consequence.

This led Japanese Americans to think that by complying with the United States government and military they would be safe in the internment camps. The United States government marketed relocation to camps as an "evacuation" for Japanese Americans to escape hate crimes. Japanese Americans believed that being secluded in a camp meant that they were protected from hate crimes and racially charged attacks. Japanese Americans also felt that if they relocated to camps willingly it would increase their chances of family reunification after the war, especially if family members had been arrested for "disloyalty" or as an "enemy alien." This process of internment, however, was not as safe or temporary as some Japanese Americans had hoped for.

This detention didn't happen at once; like many other cases, it happened in stages. According to Brian Hayashi, these stages started with "the impounding of assets, then individual removal and internment, voluntary relocation, and, finally, coerced, mass removal and internment."[96] The process of mass removal and internment began with the removal of Japanese Americans from their homes and placing them in nearby assembly centers. There were 16

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[94] Renteln, 632.

[95] "Establishing the Structures of Internment, from Limited to Mass Internment, 1942-1943." *Democratizing the Enemy: the Japanese American Internment*, by Brian Masaru Hayashi, Princeton University Press, 2008, pp. 76–106: 86.

[96] Hayashi, 76.

assembly centers across the West Coast. 12 of these centers were fairgrounds and racetracks, as they already had running water, electricity and enough space to accommodate thousands of people. The largest of the assembly centers were Santa Anita, outside of Los Angeles, which held 20,000 people, and Tanforan, outside of San Francisco, which housed 10,000 people.[97] These racetracks, fairgrounds, and sometimes even livestock pavilions, however, were not adequate for human accommodation. Instead, detainees would be moved into them with only weeks, or sometimes days, notice and the facilities were neither clean nor accommodating.[98] These assembly centers served as temporary housing until the internment camps were opened.

Over the course of the war, there were 10 Japanese American internment camps spread out between California, Idaho, Utah, Arkansas, Wyoming, Arizona, Oregon, Washington and Colorado. The government often chose Native American reservations as locations for the internment camps. The government rationalized this decision by explaining that the land could hold large amounts of people and were usually situated near large bodies of water. However, what is interesting about this decision is that Native Americans are one of the most marginalized and mistreated groups in America throughout history, and the amount of land they have been given often cannot provide for their own population. The Southern Reserve of the Colorado River Indian Tribes' reservation and the Hopi reservation were both chosen as locations for internment camps.[99] Like in every other case study in this thesis, these camps were spread out and disconnected from each other. Families were split up and friends and neighbors could not communicate with each other. This divisiveness and dispersion served one purpose: to exclude.

[97] Hayashi, 76.
[98] Renteln, 620.
[99] Hayashi, 88.

These internment camps were not only exclusionary, but they were poorly constructed and maintained, as well; this is similar to the previous three camps analyzed in Chapter 2. The Army engineers built the camps hastily and with cheap materials. Even those who guarded the camp complained about the quality of the construction. Watchtowers were flimsily built and often didn't have electricity, among other issues. Despite the guards' discontent with their facilities, Japanese American internees were subjected to much worse conditions. The camps were surrounded by walls with barbed wire, and in order to enter the camp one would have to enter through a checkpoint and show the correct permit. The Military Police controlled who entered and exited the internment camps.

On the inside of the internment camp walls, the Interior Police patrolled the facility. Originally, General John DeWitt, who oversaw the entirety of Japanese American internment, planned how the camps would be organized. He envisioned:

> Barracks are to be T/O [Theater of Operation] type construction modified to include partitions for family groups, asphaltic roofing weighing more than 45 lbs. per square, interior lining where warranted by climatic conditions, concrete or wooden floors, and electrical service to include one drop outlet in each apartment, with circuit capacity to permit future installation of one convenience outlet in each apartment.[100]

In addition to these requirements, special exceptions were supposed to be made in women's bathrooms to provide hot water and privacy when showering and using the toilet. The internment camps were also supposed to be built with schools, hospitals and other amenities. This did not happen. At one camp, for example, the Army engineers didn't secure the barrack floorboards and snakes easily infested the rooms. These barracks were not insulated well, if at all, which left those living in them susceptible to extreme cold and heat during the desert winters and

[100] Hayashi, 91.

summers.[101] Most camps didn't have the planned partitions that would provide privacy in the bathrooms or for families in their bedrooms, either. Bedrooms meant to accommodate five or more people were measured at 20 by 24 feet, while rooms meant for smaller families were 16 by 20 feet. Japanese Americans in these camps saw serious overcrowding, lack of hygiene and suppression of culture and identity because of how they were forced to live in internment camps.

While these living conditions played a role in the loss of identity and self-determination that many felt while interned in these camps, the way that guards and military personal treated detainees was a major factor that caused mass depression among Japanese Americans. Internees were not allowed to speak Japanese, talk about American domestic politics or the war with Japan, sing Japanese songs, or read uncensored versions of their newspapers and mail. If anyone disobeyed or blatantly went against guard's directives, he or she was punished or could even be killed by the Interior Police. If detainees dared to try and escape, Military Police stationed in watchtowers were given the directive to shoot them, as well as those who tried to enter the camp illegally.[102] Those who were deemed fit for labor were forced to work for white employers whose businesses were "essential" to the war effort. Detainees who could work were subject to unfair treatment, low wages, long hours, and emotional abuse at the hands of the white employers. In order to claim that this was not slave labor, Japanese Americans were paid for their work, but their wages were very little. Depending on the job, they were paid between $8-16 per month. When not at work, employed detainees and all others in the camp were to be accounted for at all times and were subjected to roll call twice a day, similar to the *appell* in Nazi concentration camps.

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[101] Renteln, 620.
[102] Hayashi, 92.

These camps were meant to be temporary, but Japanese Americans endured this type of treatment for years. Some camps were meant to be used for a few months while others were supposed to be used for the entire duration of the war. Each person detained in these camps was specified to be there for a certain amount of time, but in reality, most people were kept in internment camps until the end of the war or even longer. How long a camp is used is essential to the argument that Agamben makes in "What is a Camp?", and many scholars have also studied the more permanent special arrangement that camps take on after their conception. Agamben explains that these camps are a response to a crisis, so they must be temporary until the crisis has passed or been resolved. He writes: "The state of exception, which used to be essentially a temporary suspension of the order, becomes now a new and stable spatial arrangement."[103] Of the six case studies examined in this thesis, this case study is one of the least extreme examples of how a camp can take on a state of permanence. Even still, many of the internment camps were open past the end of the war and past the time that the "threat" of Japanese American espionage and treason would have occurred.

This type of permanence and prolonged internment has lasting effects on detainees, and in this case, especially on the 50% of prisoners who were under the age of 21.[104] In the summer of 1996, 300 Japanese Americans who were detained, and the family members of those who were detained in the Tule Lake camp in California, took a pilgrimage back to the sight and reflected on their experiences there. Tule Lake was one of the worst Japanese internment camps, and today in many memorials and dedications to those who were detained there, it is referred to as a concentration camp. Over 20,000 people labeled as "disloyal" to the US government were interned here. To be designated as disloyal, one had to fail the Loyalty Questionnaire that the

[103] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 42.
[104] Renteln, 620.

government sent to Japanese Americans. The questionnaire consisted of a list of questions, but two stood out to Japanese Americans. One asked if the person would be willing to serve in the US military and the other asked if the person would declare loyalty to the US government and disavow the Emperor of Japan.[105] Many people found these two questions extremely insulting and answered the way they did to maintain their dignity. Many Japanese Americans couldn't serve in the military because they were too old, were female, or could not get their American citizenship even if they served. Others were appalled that as citizens, they were required to make it known they didn't support a foreign government. Many people ended up at Tule Lake because of their answers to these two questions.

George Takei was detained in the Tule Lake camp as a child. During the July 4th weekend in 1996, he and 300 other *Nisei* made the trip back to visit the place of their internment. In his article, "Barbed wire memories: the healing pilgrimage to a painful past," Takei details the differences in the landscape from when he lived there. He remembered the bare, arid desert landscape, but all he could see on his return pilgrimage was a lush grassy meadow. Upon arrival at the camp, Takei realized that the only structures still standing were the concrete walls and iron barred windows of the stockade, the prison that he described as the "jail within a prison."[106] He and the others visited mass graves. He described them as:

> With no first name other than "baby" in front of the surname. Others had all-American first names linked to their Japanese family names. Still others had the full aspect of Old Japan. These were the people who had paid the ultimate price of the injustice. And they had been buried here in the soil of America.[107]

[105] Takei, George. "Barbed wire memories: the healing pilgrimage to a painful past." *Transpacific Media, Inc.*, 1996, pp. 1-4: 2

[106] Takei, 3.
[107] Takei, 4.

Takei details that the pilgrimage brought back feelings of desperation and hopelessness that he felt while living there.

Shinyu Yamagata, also a detainee of the Tule Lake camp, made a trip back to the site when a plaque was erected there to commemorate what happened to Japanese Americans during World War II. Upon reflecting on his time there and the dark time that it was in American history, he made a statement to the *Los Angeles Times* that spoke to the central identity of what a camp is. He said: "Some people have said that instead of calling it a concentration camp it should be called a prison, but that wouldn't be right. That would imply all those held in the camp had done something wrong, and they hadn't."[108]

While this profound statement by Yamagata is accurate, it is important to note that this is not the only reason why Japanese American internment camps were not prisons. The characteristics of Japanese American internment camps during WWII directly speak to the characteristics of the theoretical camp and they exist on a continuum, connected to other camps by creation stories, physical geography, living conditions, and the treatment of detainees, among other things. Certain characteristics that are central to Japanese Internment camps are also seen often in other cases, such as the mob mentality that fuels a narrative of hate towards the group in question.[109] Nobody spoke out against these camps. Even some of the most liberal organizations and the most prominent civil rights advocacy groups did not oppose Japanese American interment. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) did very little to try and protect the

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[108] Hillinger, Charles. "What Makes a Concentration Camp? Tule Lake Memorial Sparks Objections." *Los Angeles Times*, 1923-1995.

[109] Renteln, 642.

rights of Japanese Americans, and just like in Nazi Germany, almost an entire country allowed this to happen.[110]

Irish Direct Provision

Direct Provision is the Irish system for accepting and relocating asylum seekers. The need for asylum policy in Ireland is fairly new compared to that of many other countries, as Direct Provision was implemented in 2000.[111] Prior to 2000, asylum seekers and refugees had access to Ireland's social welfare offerings; social welfare was need based and not impacted by nationality at that time. Today, however, asylum seekers don't fall into the category of those who need social welfare because of the change in policy in 2000 that created Direct Provision. The policy has been criticized by many European countries and is part of the reason why Ireland hesitated to comment on the Trump Administration's immigration and asylum policies. Because of this policy change in 2000, and the effects it has had, Direct Provision is critiqued for providing a standard of living below that of what is mandated by the United Nations and European community, as well as being discriminatory and imposing sentiments of inhumanity on those who need dignity and comfort most.

In 2008, when Claire Breen published her article, "The Policy of Direct Provision in Ireland: A violation of Asylum Seekers' Right to an Adequate Standard of Housing," there were about 6,800 asylum seekers in the Direct Provision system. However, in the eight years since the system's creation, 49,000 people passed through the system.[112] Meanwhile, today, 20 years after

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[110] Renteln, 623.

[111] Breen, Claire. "The Policy of Direct Provision in Ireland: A Violation of Asylum Seekers' Right to an Adequate Standard of Housing." *International Journal of Refugee Law,* vol. 20, no. 4, 2008, pp. 611–636: 611.

[112] Breen, 623.

the policy's inception, over 65,000 people have gone through the Direct Provision system. At the end of 2019, there were over 6,000 people living in Direct Provision housing and over 2,000 are in the Direct Provision system awaiting a decision on their refugee status.[113] These numbers are significant, as they represent a consistent need for accommodation and assistance for asylum seekers that doesn't seem to be dwindling. However, Direct Provision was never meant to be permanent; the policy was meant to be temporary, yet it continues to grow and evolve as there are more and more people who are seeking asylum across Europe and need support.

Direct Provision was created as a solution to the burden that the large influx of asylum seekers was placing on Ireland's social welfare system. Historically, people have never come to Ireland for refuge. Throughout history, Irish citizens have left the country to find stability and prosperity. However, after Ireland joined the EU and experienced the economic boom of the Celtic Tiger, the country became a more desirable place for those seeking protection. Because of this history of emigration, the country didn't have the process or resources to provide for an efficient or sufficient way to help asylum seekers. The government turned to the idea of Direct Provision: a way to directly give asylum seekers accommodation, food and monetary assistance while their refugee status is being decided.[114] Direct Provision was a hastily created policy that severely limits what resources Ireland offers asylum seekers when they arrive. While, in theory, the system seems like a financially practical way to help those coming to Ireland in need, the system has under produced and fallen short, putting asylum seekers in desperate conditions and taking away the security and dignity they came to Ireland for.

The process of entering into Direct Provision is fairly simple. One declares that he or she is seeking asylum to an immigration officer at an international entry to Ireland or by alerting

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[113] Pollak, Sorcha, et al. "Direct Provision: The Controversial System Turns 20." The Irish Times. 16 Nov. 2019.
[114] Pollak, Sorcha, et al. "Direct Provision: The Controversial System Turns 20."

Irish officials before his or her arrival. Then, the person is fingerprinted, answers a questionnaire, gets his or her picture taken and retires to a reception center for the night.[115] While this seems fairly efficient and simple, once the day of arrival is over, Direct Provision gets much worse.

One of the largest complaints about Direct Provision is the amount of time people are kept waiting in Direct Provision accommodations while their cases are processed. Time spent at the original reception center can last for days, weeks or months before the asylum seeker is transferred to Direct Provision housing. Once there, however, the waiting continues. In late 2019, *The Irish Times* published an article that stated close to 2,000 people living in Direct Provision at the time had been for over five years and that over 600 had been living there for over seven years. In Agamben's "What is a Camp?", he explains that while camps are meant to be temporary until the crisis can be resolved, camps tend to take on a more permanent special arrangement and outlast the crisis they were erected in response to.[116] In this case, the crisis was the extreme influx of asylum seekers never before experienced by Ireland. At the time, Ireland did not have a sufficient system to accommodate the large numbers of people seeking protection there. As I stated in the first chapter, while this type of policy is extremely difficult to make and execute successfully, it can be done, and 20 years is sufficient time to try and improve Direct Provision. This inadvertent permanency is in line with Agamben's claim that the camp comes to take on a more stable permanent form long after the "crisis" has passed.

What was this crisis for Ireland? The simple answer is that it was a large influx of people entering the country when the existing system could not support them. But is that all? Agamben makes the argument that the camp is created in response to a crisis, whether true or fabricated, that threatens the modern nation-state, or "the functional nexus between a determinate

[115] Pollak, Sorcha, et al. "Direct Provision: The Controversial System Turns 20."
[116] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 42.

localization (territory) and a determinate order (the state), which was mediated by automatic regulations for the inscription of life (birth or nation)."[117] Simply put, this crisis relates to the national identity of a state.

Today, nationalist sentiment against asylum seekers isn't a significant issue for Irish people. The majority of the country's population is against Direct Provision and is welcoming of asylum seekers and immigrants. However, there are parts of the country that have been hostile towards those in Direct Provision, specifically in County Donegal and parts of County Roscommon.[118] There have even been incidents of arson against Direct Provision accommodation centers and buildings that were designated as being turned into Direct Provision centers. In addition, this case study is unique because of the way that asylum seekers have been viewed in an economic context. In the early 2000s after the implementation of Direct Provision, anti-immigration sentiment was almost completely directed towards asylum seekers. Meanwhile, the Irish welcomed skilled economic immigrants who had moved to Ireland to fill labor shortages. At the time, many media outlets warned of "floods" of refugees and asylum seekers and the burden they would put on the economy. Meanwhile, Tánaiste, or Deputy Prime Minister, Mary Harney made the announcement that from 2000-2010, Ireland needed an influx of 100,000 skilled immigrants to sustain the economy.[119] This case is an example of how in a modernizing world, neoliberal ideologies and globalization influence how countries view asylum seekers and immigrants, and how economics often influence people to view accommodating asylum seekers in a negative way.

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[117] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 42.

[118] Pollak, Sorcha, et al. "Direct Provision: The Controversial System Turns 20."

[119] Hewson, Dominic. "Pregnant with Risk: Biopolitics, Neoliberalism and the 2004 Irish Citizenship Referendum." *Irish Political Studies*, vol. 33, no. 4, 2018, pp. 569–588: 579.

Critics of this thesis would argue that because there is not significant pushback to asylum seekers in Ireland based on nationality or identity politics, like in Nazi Germany or China currently, this case cannot align with Agamben's thesis. That is incorrect. The purpose of using case studies like Direct Provision, which are considered mild compared to Gulags or Nazi concentration camps, is to prove that at their core, they have the same characteristics of camps that vary by degree. In this case, the narrative of the "other" is rarely in regard to race, but instead is portrayed in an economic context that views large numbers of asylum seekers as a collective burden on the economy and state infrastructure.

However, more similarly to other, more extreme, camps, Direct Provision accommodation centers are scattered and separated all over the country, actively excluding those detained there from society. A report posted on the Asylum Information Database by the European Council on Refugees and Exiles in 2018 explained that there were around 35 Direct Provision accommodations spread throughout 16 of the 26 counties in Ireland.[120] As explained in the previous chapter when discussing the Gulags of the Soviet Union, the geographic location of these camps—and their physical layout—is important to the function of how the camp excludes the people detained there from the rest of the population. This phenomenon is the antithesis of Michel Foucault's panopticism, which aims to contain and rehabilitate. Instead, camps are meant to exclude and dehumanize, and by separating those deemed as not able to enter society from the society, the camp effectively excludes. Agamben doesn't mention this as a characteristic in "What is a Camp?", but there is a pattern throughout these case studies that shows that exclusion and division, combined with the treatment and living conditions these detainees are subject to, are detrimental to detainees' mental health and wellbeing.

[120] O'Brien, Carl. "Lives in Limbo." The Irish Times, 10 Aug. 2019.

The accommodation centers in the Direct Provision system are all different; they are hotels, prefabricated homes, hostels, mobile homes, converted stadiums and other converted buildings.[121] Their living conditions, however, are the same. They are overcrowded, often unsanitary, and can't provide a healthy environment for the people living there, especially for children and families. Up to five people will live in one small bedroom, or if there are more than five members to a family, they may all live together.[122] This can be extremely detrimental to family dynamics as it limits parents' and partners' abilities to have healthy, intimate relationships, which can put further stress on their already stressful situation. This overcrowding can also be intensified when asylum seekers who are not from the same country, and therefore do not speak the same language and are used to different living arrangements, are roommates. For example, one mother stated this about her living situation and her roommate:

> [She] has mental problem or is depressed, and is always screaming at her child and my child. My baby cannot sleep, because she is playing loud music and cannot even mind her child; she may even have post-natal depression but no one cares, and I and my baby are suffering, When I complain to the management, they do nothing. It is affecting me and I am becoming paranoid and this is not making me a good parent."[123]

This type of toxic living condition is common among Direct Provision accommodation centers, and it is a main cause of the widespread poor mental health that plagues asylum seekers in them.

One study suggested that over 48% of immigrants from 35 different countries in the group tested were found to have poor mental health. One asylum seeker who had attempted to commit suicide stated:

> I thought, 'this is the end of the world. What am I doing here? I can't go back to my country and I'm not even allowed to stay here. What do I do? The best solution is to kill myself and just get out of this cruel world'.[124]

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[121] Pollak, Sorcha, et al. "Direct Provision: The Controversial System Turns 20."
[122] Breen, 624.
[123] Ogbu, et al., 261.
[124] Breen, 624.

Depression is five times more likely to affect asylum seekers living in Direct Provision than people living freely in Ireland.[125] This is partially due to the inability for self-determination and the monotony of doing the same thing every day with no foreseeable end to this situation. In 2008, the weekly allowance that asylum seekers received to provide for themselves was €19.10 and had been at that rate since the creation of Direct Provision in 2000.[126] In 2019, the amount that asylum seekers received was raised to €38.80 for adults and €29.80 for children, but that is barely enough to cover a monthly cell phone plan with Three, one of the most popular and accessible mobile phone companies, who currently offers a monthly payment plan for unlimited talk, text, and data for €25. Plus, asylum seekers are not allowed to work while in Direct Provision. Many asylum seekers comment on this, as years without work cause a loss of skill, knowledge and confidence for many people. Because of this, Ireland has one of the worst success rates for asylum seekers in Western Europe.[127]

Many parents find this especially difficult because they feel like they can't provide for their children and that they are setting a bad example for them. Their children are allowed to attend school, but that was not always the case. However, with the passing of legislation, children in Direct Provision have "access to primary and post-primary education in the like manner and to the like extent in all respects as a minor who is an Irish citizen."[128] Despite this, asylum seekers still do not have access to free tertiary level education like Irish citizens do, and with the money they are given as a weekly stipend it is almost impossible to afford attending

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[125] O'Brien, "Lives in Limbo."

[126] Pollak, Sorcha. "Asylum Seeker Weekly Allowance Rises for Adults and Children." *The Irish Times*, The Irish Times, 25 Mar. 2019.

[127] O'Brien, "Lives in Limbo."

[128] "S.I. No. 230/2018 - European Communities (Reception Conditions) Regulations 2018." *Irish Statute Book*, 2018.

university. This type of restriction and oppression has been labeled as "state sponsored poverty" by asylum seekers who are currently living or have lived in Direct Provision.[129]

Asylum seekers who go through Direct Provision are ten times more likely than Irish citizens and those living freely in Ireland to have post-traumatic stress disorder.[130] Asylum seekers' time living in Direct Provision almost always has lasting effects. Breen details in her article that "according to one consultant psychiatrist who has worked with asylum seekers, in some ways the system of Direct Provision could do as much long-term damage to asylum seekers' mental health as the trauma from which they had fled."[131] Another study, carried out by the Royal College of Surgeons, found that the length of time someone was in Direct Provision was directly associated with the status of their mental health. Dr. Joan Giller, a general practitioner that works with those in Direct Provision, also detailed the changes she has seen in people over their time spent in Direct Provision. She explains: "I have witnessed the change in the past five years in many people: from hope, to anger, to despair. And when people stop struggling to try to improve their conditions, then we should become very worried about them."[132] This widespread depression has created a large population of *Muselmänner*, and the instances of post-traumatic stress disorder associated with time spent in Direct Provision is a continuation of the biopolitics that occur within the camp. Like in many other instances of the camp, these lasting effects of oppression seem to elongate the permanence and effects of the camp, changing it from a physical entity into a metaphysical manifestation.

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[129] Wall, Bryan, et al. "Asylum Seekers Tell Irish Committee Chilling Stories and Ask Government to 'Treat Them as Human Beings'." *The Canary*, 31 May 2019.

[130] O'Brien, "Lives in Limbo."
[131] Breen, 624.
[132] O'Brien, "Lives in Limbo."

Despite these abuses, it is obvious that Irish Direct Provision is the least brutal camp examined in this thesis. The system does not act as a systematic killing machine like Auschwitz did, and the people in Direct Provision are not subject to hard labor and harsh weather conditions like in the Gulag. However, this does not make it any less of a camp. It has characteristics of the theoretical camp, just like the other camps examined in this thesis. Direct Provision will occupy its own space on the continuum of camps, defining another area of internment that varies in practice and purpose from the more brutal manifestations of the camp.

Australian Mandatory Detention for Unauthorized Asylum Seekers

Despite Australia's status as a signatory to a multitude of international human rights conventions and treaties, including the Universal Declaration for Human Rights, the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the Convention of the Rights of the Child, the country's policy of mandatory detention for unauthorized asylum seekers goes against much of the regulations laid out in international human rights law. Australian mandatory detention is defined by critics of the system as: "the application of penal detention applied in ways that by-pass principles of international human rights, requirements of natural justice and the normal mechanisms of the criminal justice system."[133] Mandatory detention was implemented in 1992, making Australia one of the first Western nations to implement a policy of the sort. Mandatory detention was created in response to large numbers of unauthorized Indo-Chinese asylum seekers known as boat people arriving in Australia. Specifically, the policy was implemented when the Commonwealth Parliament hurriedly passed legislation that amended the Migration Act of 1958 as a response to the Federal Court Case *Lim v Minister for Immigration and Local Government*

[133] Bessant, Judith. "The Camps, A Site of Exceptionality: Australia's Detention Of Asylum Seekers." *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2002, pp. 1–29:6

and Ethnic Affairs that could have ended in the favor of two Cambodian boat people who had spent over two years in mandatory detention.[134] This could suggest that the Australian government knows, and has known, that the practice of extended mandatory detention for unauthorized asylum seekers is unconstitutional and that it goes against international human rights laws.

Two years after mandatory dentation was implemented, in 1994, the Commonwealth Joint Standing Committee on Migration recommended limiting the "availability of judicial review for refugee applicants," which took away more rights of asylum seekers who wished to challenge their imprisonment or treatment while imprisoned. Six months after this recommendation, there were changes made to the laws concerning the judicial review of refugee applications and decisions that prohibited courts from ordering the release of an asylum seeker, among other things.[135] Seven years after this change, in 2001, the Australian government introduced the "Pacific Solution," which used offshore processing on Nauru and other islands in the Australian Migration Zone as a deterrent to the relatively small numbers of people who chose to seek asylum in Australia.[136] The use of mandatory detention for unauthorized asylum seekers is highly legalized in Australia.

Philip Ruddock, who in 2002 was serving as the Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, stated that the mandatory "preventative" detention of asylum seekers safeguarded the Australian national interest and that it helped uphold the rule of law. Ruddock, with the support of the Australian government, claimed that mandatory detention discourages

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[134] Bessant, 9.

[135] Bessant, 10.

[136] Essex, Ryan. "Health, Social Movements, and Australian Immigration Detention." *American Journal of Public Health Forum*, 3 Feb. 2018.

more people from coming to Australia and therefore has the national interest of Australia in mind because detention helps prevent a large influx of people that would overwhelm Australian infrastructure.[137] This classic us versus them ideology helped to facilitate the idea that the relatively low numbers of unauthorized asylum seekers arriving in Australia was a threat to the government's ability to provide for its citizens. This crisis, and narrative, that sparked and promoted the use of internment is an exceptional example of a perceived threat to the national interest that is created by the government. Ruddock, on October 4, 2000 manipulated this situation more when he said:

> If I was able to remove them and put them back in a refugee camp where they could wait, I'd do so. But our obligation under the refugee convention that we've signed is not to refoul; not to return them to a situation of persecution.[138]

With this comment, Ruddock created the illusion that despite it being an inconvenience for Australia to accommodate asylum seekers, the country would do so instead of being cruel and sending these people back to the place of their persecution. Because of that comment and ideology, mandatory detention then seemed like a system that would suffice in accommodating unauthorized asylum seekers. In a study done in 2015, researchers analyzed how the media's and government's portrayal influenced public opinion on asylum seekers. The study concluded that the "media representations of asylum seekers are compatible with both neoliberal and nationalist discourses, with both ultimately aimed at protecting the sovereignty of the (White) Australian nation-state" because of the perceived economic benefits of excluding asylum seekers instead of allowing them to enter society.[139] As Agamben makes clear, camps are created when the nation-

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[137] Bessant, 2.
[138] Bessant, 2.
[139] Lueck, Kerstin, et al. "Neoliberalism and Nationalism: Representations of Asylum Seekers in the Australian Mainstream News Media." *SAGE Journals*, 12 May 2015.

state faces a period of crisis.[140] In the Australian case, white nationalism is being threatened by the emergence of a growing number of boat people that come from Indochina. Specifically, economics and politics have been woven together in order to create a rationale as to why asylum seekers need to be excluded from Australian society.

Comments made by the Australian government about unauthorized asylum seekers, specifically by Ruddock, and the narrative that the media has portrayed about them, do not overshadow that, according to Bessant:

> It [mandatory detention] involves an exercise of state power which in tandem with the suspension of normal legal protections, bring Australia uncomfortably close to historical and contemporary examples of what happens when authoritarian, even totalitarian state regimes extinguish fundamental legal and constitutional rights understood to constitute the rule of law.[141]

This state of exception is central to Agamben's description of what a camp is, and it highlights the ability for a state to exert the suspension of the rule of law over whomever it chooses to as soon as the person arrives within the jurisdiction of the state.

To be considered an authorized asylum seeker, one must arrive in Australia without prior paperwork or approval to enter the country. From this moment, people who seek asylum in Australia are treated as inferior citizens not worthy of their inherent rights protected by the rule of law. For example, during the entrance interview, if one does not ask for legal counsel, it will not be offered, nor will anyone alert the person that it is a right to have legal counsel. This interview is to determine if an asylum seeker is worthy of receiving Australia's protection obligations. If the person is not, he or she will be removed from Australia immediately, but if the person is, then he or she is taken into detention.[142] For those that make it to detention, however,

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[140] Agamben, "What is a Camp?", 42.
[141] Bessant, 1.
[142] Bessant, 12.

they are still devoid of legal counsel, and mandatory detention is prolonged for most of them. This fact in itself proves that these policies are motivated by xenophobia, racism and hate, as a more efficient process that correctly processes asylum seekers would decrease the number of people dependent on the Australian government.

Despite blatantly breaking international human rights law, and providing a harsh system for asylum processing, Australia continues to place blame on asylum seekers for the burden that they put on Australian infrastructure. The Australian government, particularly the labor party, has described asylum seekers as "illegals, queue jumpers, hordes of aliens, and desperate" to take advantage of what Australia has to offer. The term "queue jumper" is extremely misleading and creates the idea that there is a fair, orderly queue to jump, when in reality, each person's case varies from another in the time it takes to be processed. This phrase also implies that asylum seekers have resources that give them access to this queue and that instead they chose to cheat the system. Meanwhile, the reason these people are unauthorized asylum seekers is because they didn't have the resources to legally apply for refugee status with the Australian government before arriving in Australia.[143] This narrative is used as a method of swaying the Australian population to view unauthorized asylum seekers as taking advantage of what Australia will offer them, causing the public to more likely approve of the policy of mandatory detention.

These detention centers, like the other case studies, are located on the peripheries of cities and of the country. Those on the Australian mainland are located outside of large cities and are in the middle of desert regions with harsh and extreme conditions. Offshore processing further isolates asylum seekers and spreads them out across vast land masses in an attempt to exclude

[143] Bessant, 7.

them from society. The living conditions in, and physical characteristics of, these detention centers only perpetuate this exclusion and isolation of asylum seekers.

Like the other cases of camps, mandatory detention accommodations are overcrowded and offer little privacy for the people detained there. People are massed together in small, often feeble structures. Some detention centers utilize tents as long-term shelters for detainees in which they are susceptible to severe weather and terrain. In places where there are more accommodating living conditions than a tent, the structures don't offer other basic conditions like natural light and ventilation. On top of this, most detention centers don't provide recreation time or interpreters, both of which severely limit the ability for the people living there to do anything but wait as their mental state deteriorates.[144]

While the living conditions in mandatory detention are less than adequate, the most concerning aspect of detention is the treatment that asylum seekers are subject to. In the Perth detention center, which is designated as a medium security facility, there are unannounced room searches, and the use of chemical and physical restraints, force feeding, assaults, threats and isolation are common practices.[145] It is telling that these detention centers are designated as minimum, medium and maximum security facilities the way that prisons are; seeking asylum is not a crime, yet unauthorized asylum seekers who arrive in Australia are categorized the way criminals are into different types of facilities. In 2017, the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) noted that the Melbourne Immigration Detention Center and Melbourne Immigration Detention Accommodation also used physical restraints like in Perth. In Melbourne, asylum

[144] Bessant, 15.
[145] Bessant, 16.

seekers' space and privacy were purposefully limited, as well as their access to fresh air, outdoor recreation time and the ability to use technology.[146]

This treatment is far worse for children growing up in mandatory detention. At least 2,000 children have been detained in Australian detention centers since 1997.[147] The welfare of children in mandatory detention is severely at risk. The "Nauru Files" uncovered instances of child abuse in one detention center on Nauru that had been covered up.[148] The 2016 leak contained over 2,000 files and documents detailing seven sexual assaults, almost 60 assaults and 30 self-harm incidents induced by inhumane treatment and living conditions.[149]

These children, and adults, are subject to this type of treatment for months, and sometimes years, at a time. Like other case studies, asylum seekers in mandatory detention find themselves in an extended period of waiting while their cases are determined. People have been detained for as little as 24 hours to as long as seven years. However, the purpose of mandatory detention is supposed to be temporary while cases are being processed. Instead, as Agamben theorized, the camp begins to take on a more permanent special arrangement. Custody in mandatory detention is supposed to be limited to 273 days, with possible extension at the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs' (DIMA) discretion to suspend the counting of days during "any period of tribunal or court proceedings."[150] This prolonged exposure to traumatic treatment only furthers the trauma that many asylum seekers have already endured, as large numbers of asylum seekers have been victims of war, torture and other types of

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[146] Peterie, Michelle. "Deprivation, Frustration, and Trauma: Immigration Detention Centres as Prisons." *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 3, 2018, pp. 279–306: 285.

[147] Zannattino, Lana. "From Auschwitz to mandatory detention: Biopolitics, race, and human rights in the Australian refugee camp." *The International Journal of Human Rights*, Mar. 2012, pp. 1-26:13.

[148] Peterie, 287.

[149] Peterie, 287.

[150] Bessant, 15.

violence.[151] Many scholars agree that this extended detention and inhumane treatment has caused severely deteriorated mental health in detainees, especially children.[152] This treatment, imposed on asylum seekers by the government, is a primary example of biopolitical control and the situation of Agamben's bare life.

In her article, "From Auschwitz to mandatory detention: Biopolitics, race, and human rights in the Australian refugee camp," Lana Zannettino theorizes that internment camps, specifically Australian mandatory detention centers, are a "continuation of the biopolitical paradigm that both created and supported the atrocity of Auschwitz."[153] Zannettino does not try to argue that these case studies are the same in practice, but rather, she attempts to prove that the essence of each of these camps is the same, just as my thesis aims to do. To do this, Zannettino examines:

> …the ways that the spatial figuration of the camp, regardless of its various manifestations – as a space to kill (as in Auschwitz) or as a space to seclude and contain (as in Australian detention centres), is that which effectively disqualifies those lives deemed either dangerous, undesirable or superfluous to the normal functioning of political communities.[154]

This analysis, which defines the camp as a space to exclude and potentially eradicate, acts as a connection between politics and biological life that Agamben details in *Homo Sacer*. In a more intense version of Agamben's bare life, Zannettinno analyzes the *Muselmänner*, who are broken down prisoners that are indistinguishable between life and death. They are the most extreme form of a camp inhabitant. The *Muselmann* was the term used to describe the camp inhabitants

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[151] Bessant, 17.
[152] Peterie, 279-281.
[153] Zannattino, Lana. "From Auschwitz to mandatory detention: Biopolitics, race, and human rights in the Australian refugee camp." *The International Journal of Human Rights*, Mar. 2012, pp. 1-26: 2.

[154] Zannattino, Lana. "From Auschwitz to mandatory detention: Biopolitics, race, and human rights in the Australian refugee camp." *The International Journal of Human Rights*, Mar. 2012, pp. 1-26: 2.

of Auschwitz who, because of the treatment they endured, had lost all characteristics and personality that defined them as human. Because they were often seen praying, they were called *Muselman*, meaning Muslim.[155] The *Muselman* is the most prevalent symbol of the atrocities committed at Auschwitz which have never been produced again. However, the production of bare life in Australian detention centers shows that the camp has the ability to mimic the situation of bare life as seen in the most brutal camps like Auschwitz. In 2002, relatively towards the beginning of mandatory detention, and at the very beginning of offshore detention, hundreds of detainees at the Woomera detention facility, located in Southern Australia, went on a hunger strike; some even stitched their mouths shut. A psychologist remarked that this was the most intense example of despair and hopelessness as it was the only form of control that detainees had over their bodies.[156] However, even if people don't involve themselves in these forms of resistance, they are still witness to it, and especially children are subject to the severe trauma that witnessing these types of acts causes. This suffering continues today, especially in offshore detention centers which have been deemed illegal by multiple judicial bodies, including the Supreme Court of Papau New Guinea in 2016.[157]

The atrocities that have occurred in Australian mandatory detention centers make DIMA, as Bessant describes it, a leader in the "policy-driven process of abusing fundamental human rights."[158] The process completely disregards the rule of law and criminal law as it is the process of imprisonment without the normal pre-conditions to incarceration. This is part of the reason why Michelle Peterie, and other scholars, are incorrect in claiming that Australian detention centers should be described as prisons, not camps. Australian detention centers meet the criteria

[155] Zannattino, 7.
[156] Zannettino, 13.
[157] Essex, "Health, Social Movements, and Australian Immigration Detention."
[158] Bessant, 3.

that Agamben has theorized to designate a camp, and they are in line with the critiques that this thesis has made to his argument. Peterie argues that camps provide "a grounding and vocabulary for understanding outcomes such as trauma and mental illness not as failures of immigration detention systems, but as some of their core functions" and that these outcomes are defining factors of prisons.[159] However, the purpose of prisons—whether they are actually reformatory or not—is to rehabilitate, not to exclude and torture. Prisons are also included in Foucault's theory of panopticism, while camps are not, which is why I inquired into what the antithesis of Foucault's panopticism would be and how it applies to the camp. Australian detention centers, as well as other camps, make no effort to rehabilitate or facilitate entrance into society and instead are created with the purpose to exclude. Prisons are meant for people who have committed a crime, and like Yamagata stated, to imply that these centers are prisons would be to "imply all those held in the camp had done something wrong, and they hadn't."[160]

Conclusion

Each of the cases discussed in this chapter were used or are being used by democratic governments, and in practice offer alternative examples of internment that vary from the cases of camps used by authoritarian regimes. The treatment that prisoners have to endure in Direct Provision and mandatory detention centers is less brutal than that of detainees in the Gulag, Nazi concentration camps and Chinese re-education camps for Uighur Muslims, but that does not mean that these types of detention centers are not camps. In the cases of Nazi concentration camps and Chinese re-education camps for Uighur Muslims, it is obvious that the governments targeted distinct ethnic and religious groups for persecution. Meanwhile, in Australia, asylum

[159] Peterie, 281, 287-289.
[160] Hillinger, "What Makes a Concentration Camp? Tule Lake Memorial Sparks Objections."

seekers face dangerous nationalistic sentiment that threatens their existence in the Australian Migration Zone. In Ireland, on the other hand, asylum seekers are at the mercy of neoliberal policies that use finances as a means of oppression. This diversity among camps is an excellent illustration of what my thesis aims to prove: camps can appear differently and function differently while simultaneously being the same in essence. Camps can be used by any government, and they have been, far beyond the reach of these six case studies. However, these case studies encompass the core characteristics of what a theoretical camp is and show that the camp can take on different forms while still maintaining inherent qualities.

Conclusion

> We must take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented. Sometimes we must interfere. When human lives are endangered, when human dignity is in jeopardy, national borders and sensitivities become irrelevant. Wherever men and women are persecuted because of their race, religion, or political views, that place must – at that moment – become the center of the universe.
> Elie Wiesel, Nobel Prize Speech, December 10, 1986

In this thesis, I aimed to do three things: critique Agamben's "What is a Camp?", prove that internment camps are the same in essence and therefore connected, and show that internment camps are used by all types of governments, including liberal democracies. In my literature review, I thoroughly examined "What is a Camp?" and *Homo Sacer*, Agamben's 1995 book on biopolitics, as well as other political theories, in order to create a set of characteristics that define what a camp is. In the two chapters following this literature review, I detailed six case studies of camps to support my claim that these camps are the same in essence and are all connected to each other and other types of camps. I split these six case studies into two groups of three case studies and divided the two groups between two chapters. By splitting these six case studies into two groups based on type of government—authoritarian or democratic—I was able to highlight that camps are used by all types of governments, including liberal democracies that preach inclusion, human rights and the rule of law. In addition, these two chapters highlight the set of characteristics laid out in my literature review and how they apply to the six case studies. Finally, in this conclusion, I will explain how these six case studies are connected on a continuum by applying the set of characteristics that were outlined in the literature review.

The case studies I analyzed were the Soviet Gulag, Nazi concentration and extermination camps, Chinese re-education camps for Uighur Muslims, Japanese American internment camps during World War II, Irish Direct Provision and Australia's policy of mandatory detention for

unauthorized asylum seekers. I do not try to argue that these camps are all exactly the same. It would be misguided to make the claim that Nazi concentration camps are the same in practice as Irish Direct Provision centers. That's simply not the case. However, when each case study is examined using the set of characteristics that is laid out in the literature review, one sees that these camps all share similar characteristics to varying degrees. For example, in regard to the narrative that the government creates against those being incarcerated in these camps, Hitler and his Nazi regime were able to indoctrinate an entire population into hating Jews. However, in Ireland, for example, the hatred that people show towards asylum seekers is on a much smaller scale and is often in the context of economic policy and neoliberalism. The other four case studies fall somewhere in between these two.

Throughout this thesis I have continually made the claim that internment camps fall on a continuum that can act as a sliding scale. The following visuals, which include a chart and multiple representations of the continuum based on characteristics, will act as evidence to support the idea that a continuum of camps exists. Table 1 details the characteristics used to describe an internment camp and shows which of the six case studies fulfill each characteristic. The continuums, labeled as tables two through ten, are sliding scales of internment camps, each determined by the intensity of how each characteristic applies to the cases. Based on these cases, the sliding scales will culminate in a final continuum that represents a comprehensive analysis of all characteristics to show how camps vary in the intensity of how they exclude and dehumanize the people incarcerated in them.

Table 1: Characteristics of Internment Camps

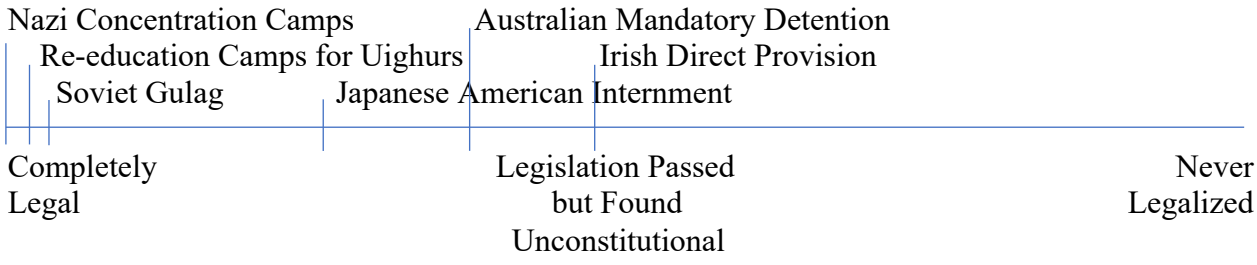
	Legalization of Internment	Crisis	Narrative of the "Other"	Permanent Spatial Arrangement	Exclusionary Locations and Physical Layouts of Camps	Poor Living Conditions	Poor Treatment of Detainees	Lasting Effects of Incarceration
Soviet Gulag	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**
Nazi Camps	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**
Re-education Camps for Uighurs	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**
Japanese American Internment During WWII	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**
Irish Direct Provision	**X**	**X**		**X**	**X**	**X**		**X**
Australian Mandatory Detention	**X**	**X**		**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**	**X**

The foundation of this chart is based on the research conducted on the six case studies outlined in this thesis. These six camps are different in practice, and it would be wrong to suggest that the

Irish Direct Provision system functions the same way that Nazi camps or the Gulag did. However, this chart shows that theoretically, they contain very similar features that show that they are all camps, despite their very distinct differences. For example, in all six case studies the living conditions of the camps were analyzed. In Irish Direct Provision, detainees live in accommodations that are overcrowded, unsanitary and don't allow for self-determination. Detainees are not exposed to harsh weather or severe hunger, but they are extremely discouraged by the poor conditions of their confinement. At the opposite end of the continuum, those who were forced to endure Nazi concentration and extermination camps were subject to purposeful severe overcrowding, inadequate shelter that left them exposed to harsh weather and extremely unsanitary living conditions. While the atrocities that occurred in Nazi concentration camps are blatantly much more severe than what Irish Direct Provision detainees are subject to, that doesn't negate the fact that those in the Direct Provision system are living in poor conditions. Instead, this proves that all internment camps are connected by the underlying characteristics that they share. The following continuums will support the idea that all internment camps are connected, despite serving different purposes and being different in practice.

Continuums of Camps[161]

Table 2: Legalization of Internment



[161] Camps close together on the continuums mean very little to no difference but are separated and ordered for formatting reasons.

Table 3: Crisis

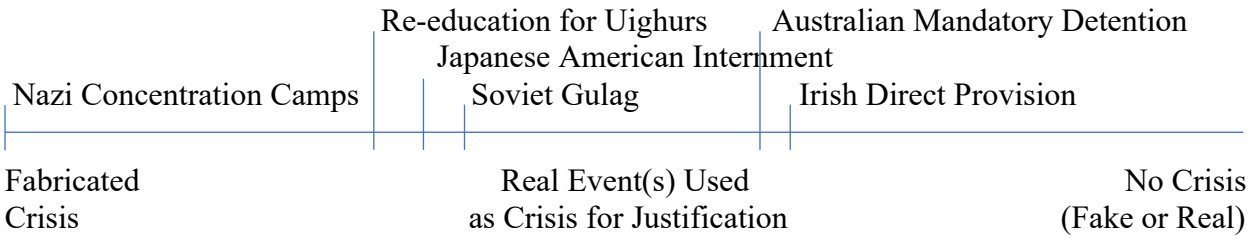


Table 4: Narrative of the "Other"

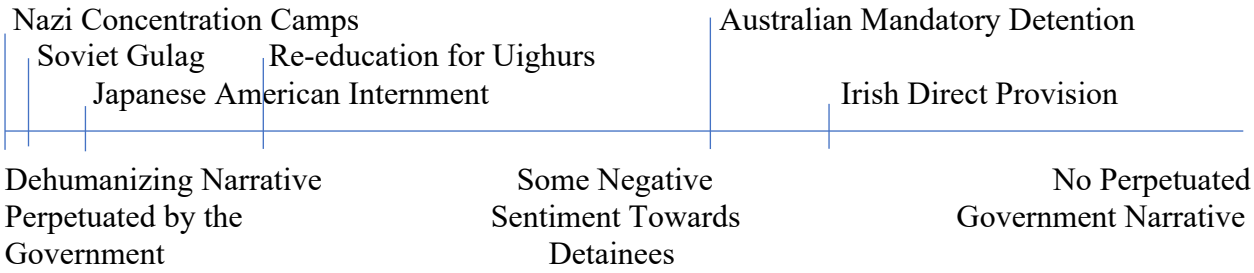


Table 5: Permanent Spatial Arrangement

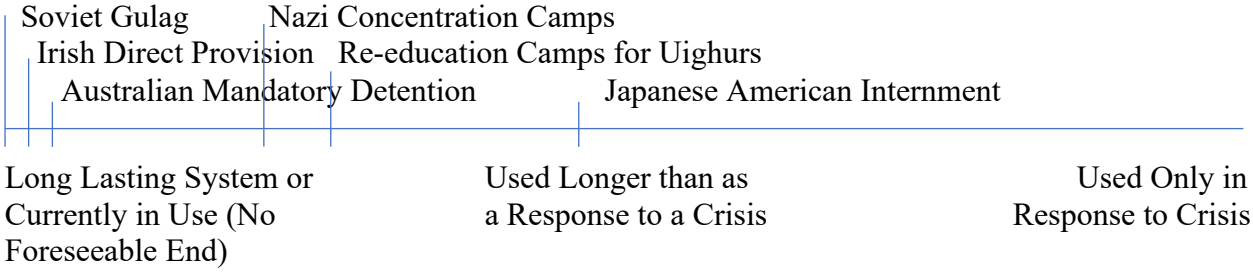


Table 6: Exclusionary Physical Location and Layout

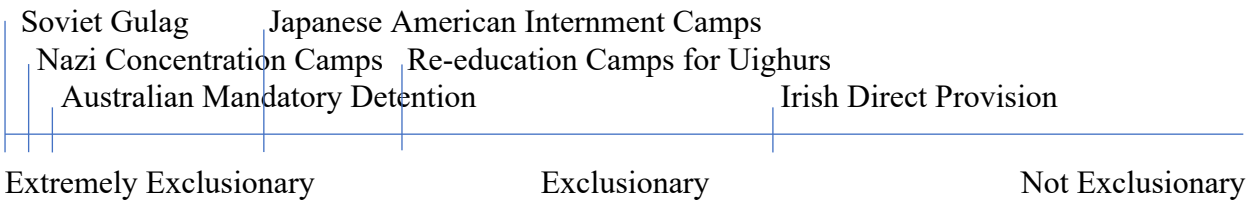


Table 7: Living Conditions

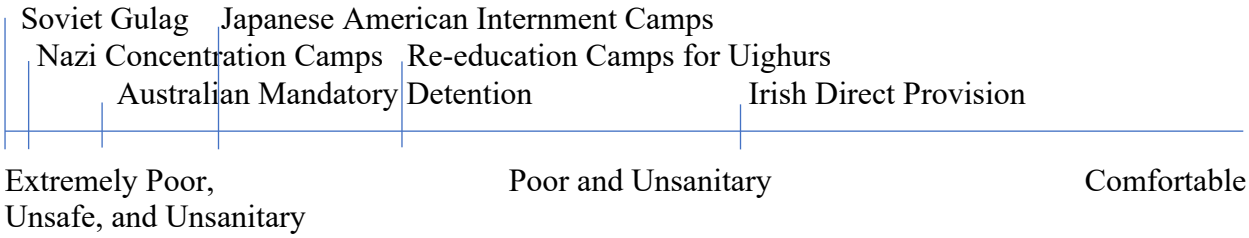


Table 8: Treatment of Detainees

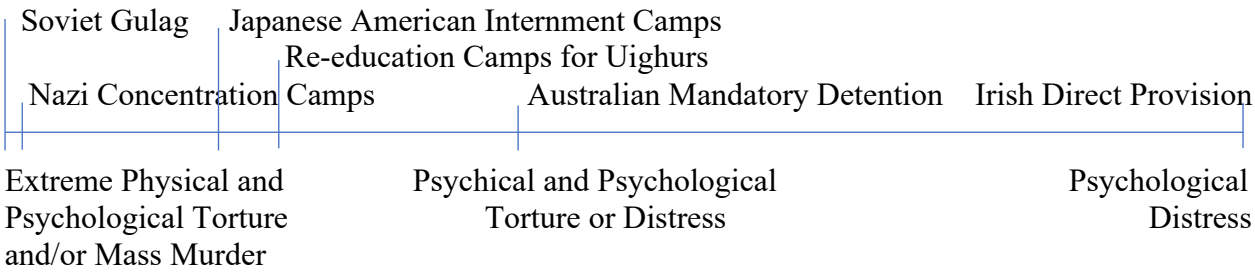
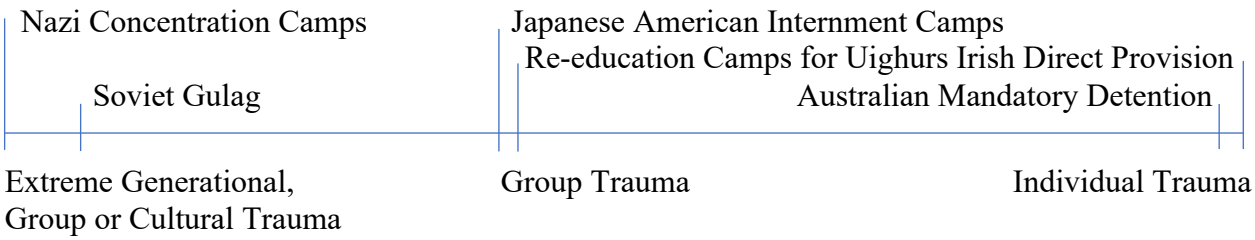
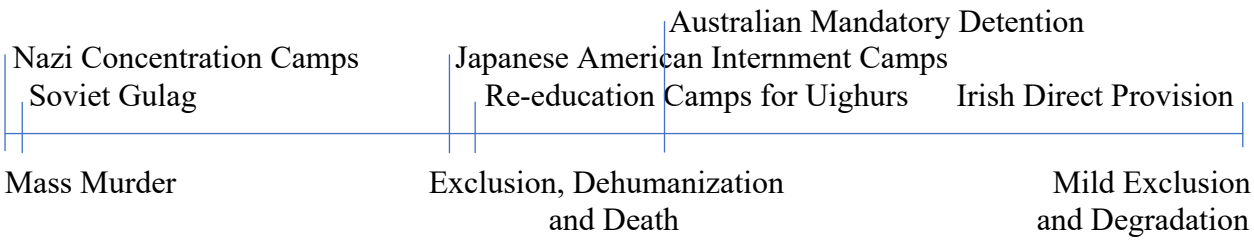


Table 9: Lasting Effects of Internment



These continuums are all determined by the characteristics laid out in Table 1 labeled "Characteristics of Internment Camps" and the empirical research portrayed in my case studies. After comparing these continuums and analyzing where each camp lies according to specific characteristics, the final continuum, Table 10, depicts a comprehensive view of the overall ability of each camp to exclude and dehumanize.

Table 10: Exclusion and Dehumanization



While the above continuum—and the seven before it-–is limited to include the six case studies contained in this thesis, it could be expanded to include any other example of a camp. In addition, three of the camps that I examined are currently in use, which means that these

continuums and the analysis of each camp is subject to change. Expanding the number of case studies of and research done on detention centers, refugee camps, and other types of carceral systems, based on the set of characteristics of a camp, will support the idea that these types of structures are all theoretically connected upon a continuum. Despite tangible differences in practice among camps, all camps aim to exclude and dehumanize a population deemed unworthy of participating in society.

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