MOBILITY & POLITICS

Series Editors: Martin Geiger, Parvati Raghuram and William Walters

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SANCTUARY CITY

A Suspended State

Jennifer J. Bagelman

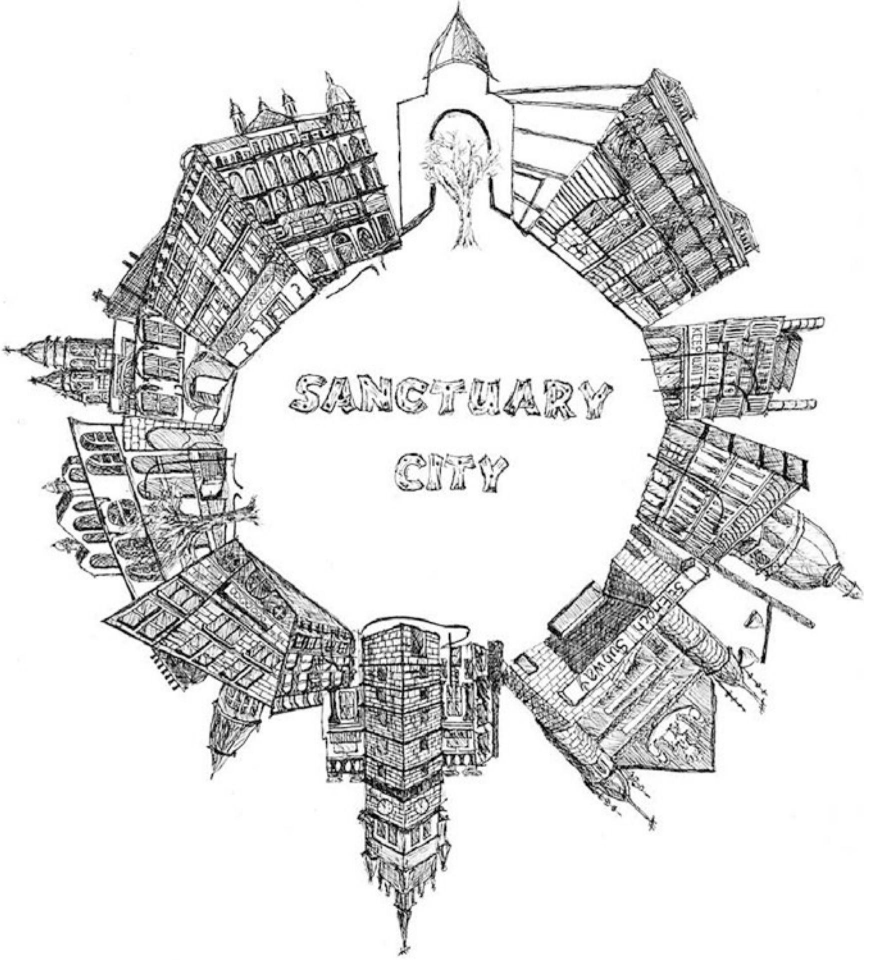

Illustration by 'no-mad,' artist and asylum seeker

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0001

Mobility & Politics

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Human mobility, whatever its scale, is often controversial. Hence it carries with it the potential for politics. A core feature of mobility politics is the tension between the desire to maximize the social and economic benefits of migration, and pressures to restrict movement. Transnational communities, global instability, advances in transportation and communication, and concepts of 'smart borders' and 'migration management' are just a few of the phenomena transforming the landscape of migration today. The tension between openness and restriction raises important questions about how different types of policies and politics come to life and influence mobility.

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Sanctuary City: A Suspended State

Jennifer J. Bagelman

Temporary Assistant Professor, University of Victoria, Canada

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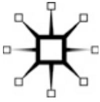
DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0001



SANCTUARY CITY

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Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2016 978-1-137-48037-8

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First published in 2016 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN®
in the United States—a division of St. Martin's Press LLC,
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

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ISBN 978–1–349–69392–4
ISBN: 978–1–137–48038–5 PDF

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available from the Library of Congress.

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

First edition: 2016

www.palgrave.com/pivot

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385

Sanctuary

Every day I sleep,
Every day I wake,
I don't know when I will be out.
I am in limbo…
It is not easy.

You wake up, you don't know.
You go to sleep, you don't know.

3 years 9 months—I wait.
No idea which day I will put my feet outside.
It was a stress.
No, it was much more than stress.
Some ask: is sanctuary a prison?
The criminal knows what day he gets out.
I do not know.
I make no crime.

Poem by Abdelkader
(Kader, for friends) Belaouni

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0001

For Mom

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0001

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Series Editors' Foreword

The politics of sanctuary is obviously all about space. In *Sanctuary City: A Suspended State*, Jennifer Bagelman requires us to see that it is also fundamentally, and very poignantly, about time.

As one refused asylum-seeker eloquently and memorably remarks in these pages, 'the waiting is a psychological holocaust.' Situating her ethnography in Glasgow, host to the largest population of asylum-seekers in the UK, Bagelman grounds her study with the lurid evocation of a city of 'red road' trauma—referring to the grisly remainders of asylum-seekers' suicides manifested on blood-stained pavements following fatal leaps from tall buildings. Squarely focused on the asylum-seeking condition as a 'slow, elongated temporal process [that] also enacts a hostile politics by holding some in an indefinite state of waiting,' whereby 'waiting becomes a way of life,' this volume turns its critical scrutiny to the ways that sanctuary movements, while 'appearing to offer a hospitable, even sacred, remedy to a hostile, top-down explicitly punitive politics,' nonetheless, become implicated in the extension or prolongation of this 'suspended state.'

Rather than the customary form of sanctuary in a relatively confined space (traditionally, a church) as a fairly desperate 'last resort' for those seeking to elude the prospect of deportation, Bagelman focuses on the City of Sanctuary movement as a potentially more capacious framework for mitigating the most immediate threat of deportation by cultivating a larger-scale space of hospitality, seemingly opening up cities as newly emancipated

zones of opportunity and protection where the statist horizon of deportability might be held in abeyance. Despite the semblance of an oppositional position with respect to the national state, however, Bagelman demonstrates how the City of Sanctuary notably becomes implicated in the production of a form of state power that operates most efficiently by leaving migrants and asylum-seekers to their own devices, albeit always only with a constrained sort of freedom to conduct themselves within very consequential material and practical parameters. In this respect, the prolonged temporality of waiting has a probationary dimension that subjects these non-citizens to an obligatory assimilation to the norms and demands of citizenship without any of the presumptive rights or entitlements of citizenship. Thus, Bagelman contends, 'rights are being indefinitely deferred while a relationship of supplication is being sustained. The charity work that aims to alleviate problems facing asylum seekers and refugees in this respect may risk operating as a technology of … suspension.'

Hence, in *Sanctuary City*, we are compelled to ask what this asphyxiating time of indefinite deferral for asylum-seekers produces. How does the space of sanctuary, inasmuch as it alleviates the worst punitive dimensions of this liminal condition, nonetheless, become a part of the larger apparatus that organizes the often excruciatingly protracted deferrals and obstructions that ultimately govern life for refugees and asylum-seekers?

Despite their interdisciplinary configuration, citizenship studies, security studies, and urban studies tend to be practiced and institutionalized as distinct and discrete fields of intellectual inquiry that are ordinarily rather insulated from one another, if not partitioned and guarded as altogether separate preserves of academic knowledge production. Bagelman's study of sanctuary incisively refuses these reified conceptual divisions. Instead, it posits profound questions about citizenship and rights, and particularly the increasingly securitized regime of asylum and immigration, at the urban scale. It highlights the dynamic tensions concerning transnational human mobility on a global scale, the enforcement and superintendence of immigration and asylum law and border enforcement policy enacted at the scale of the national state, and social justice movements and migrants and refugees' struggles lived and enacted at the urban scale. Thus, this volume instigates a confrontation between the securitization of human mobility that has become a defining feature of our global postcolonial present and the autonomous appropriations of

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0003

urban space that persistently, even if sometimes imperceptibly, realize embodied claims to what we might call, with Henri Lefebvre, a 'right to the city.'[1] Yet, unsatisfied with any complacent celebratory account of sanctuary movements as purely emancipatory or resistant practices, Bagelman's subtle ethnography compels us to interrogate the ways that these very practices of freedom and acts of resistance become ensnared in a larger governmentality that recuperates places of sanctuary as spaces of exception, which serve in effect to modulate and recalibrate the protracted temporalities of migrants' and refugees' conditions of uncertainty, destitution, dependency, precarity, and subjection.

Sanctuary City contributes to our *Mobility & Politics series* by deepening and radicalizing some of the most urgent questions that critical scholarship, advocacy, and activism must address in our efforts to comprehend the stakes and transform the strategies and tactics of struggles over the politics of mobility.

Nicholas De Genova, King's College London
Member of the Mobility & Politics Global Advisory Board

The Series Editors:
Martin Geiger, Carleton University
Parvati Raghuram, Open University
William Walters, Carleton University

Note

1 Lefebvre, Henri, *Right to the City*. in Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities* (translated and edited by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas). Malden, MA: Blackwell, [1968] 1996, pp. 63–181.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0003

Preface

Working closely with refugee families fleeing Kosovo meant that Mom's work was rarely left at the desk. She invited many of the people she encountered through her job to our rural Vancouver Island home for dinner where discussions about how to gain access to services in Canada, or how to reunite separated family members would inevitably extend late into the night. Stories of love and loss were shared, and friendships were made over the breaking of bread. Some of these friends stayed in Canada, some chose to leave; others were forced to.

Caring activist: this is one phrase I use to describe her life. And, it was my mother's example that inspired my own involvement in the anti-colonial migrant justice network No One is Illegal (NOII). I began volunteering with this organization nine years ago, in 2006. It was around this time that I acquired a special interest in the practice of sanctuary. Working with NOII, I learned how sanctuary is mobilized in particular sites—often religious across Canada in order to protect failed asylum seekers from deportation. Within the confines of a church, for instance, a person could avoid deportation. Even police were known to turn around at the threshold of churches housing 'illegal' migrants in tacit recognition of this historically 'sacred' authority.[1] Sanctuary spaces seemed, then, to have the power to challenge, and even elide, those state borders so often taken as a given. I also learned that this form of protection was both old and new at the same time. While traditional sanctuary practices could be traced to 'ancient' pasts, they 're-emerged' in Canada, the United States, and

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0004

Europe around the 1980s from an extended period of obscurity.[2] The notion of sanctuary, at once ancient and novel, seemed to me to promise rich possibilities for meaningful migrant activism.

This subversive borderland of sanctuary intrigued me. Curious to understand more about how this practice might be mobilized as an anti-deportation tactic I began making contact with people actually living in within the protective walls of sanctuary. In this Preface I begin with two very different stories of sanctuary. While distinct, these accounts both speak to the underlying challenges of contained sanctuary—challenges that the sanctuary city claims to rectify.

Abdelkader Belaouni

It was a typically rainy west coast day in Victoria, BC that I first called Abdelkader Belaouni. I remember feeling anxious beforehand, mainly because I was not convinced he would want to spend time speaking with somebody like me, a student with naïve do-gooder intentions from the other side of the country. Before dialing, I practiced how I would introduce myself, and fretted when each version sounded patronizing. Abdelkader, however, soon put me at ease. He said he was keen to talk, and happy to share stories from his sanctuary, which took the form of St. Gabriel's Catholic Church, nestled in the small town of Pointe-Saint-Charles, Montréal. After a few phone calls, he asked me to call him Kader. With telephone bills mounting, he invited me to visit him in April 2006 in his 'church home,' as he called it.[3] During my stay with Kader I was struck by his vibrant presence, and his involvement in the local community. He taught neighbors how to play the piano and offered back-massages to his friends on a donated table. Without ever leaving the church he organized a variety of projects to promote awareness about local politics, such as the growing problem of homelessness in his relatively impoverished neighborhood. He also explored many of these issues through his radio-program, *Radio Sanctuary*, broadcasted on Campus Community Radio (CKUT). On this program he shared poetry, stories and music including his own album 'No Human is an Island' co-produced with Muslim rapper Tu-Three. In between all of this he led French and Arabic lessons to students from the area. After spending just one week with Kader it was not surprising to discover that he was well known in his community for his generosity, and electric

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0004

smile. It was also not surprising to discover that this community actively rallied to prevent Kader from being sent back to Algeria: a place that his passport called 'home' but that Kader feared to return.

As Kader made a dinner of quesadillas for the clergy and myself one night in his church-home, the complexity of this space, and his position relative to it, became strikingly evident to me. At one level, Kader expressed a sense of feeling 'trapped' inside this physical place. Stuck inside all day, he longed to roam his old streets with the hope of bumping into friends in local shops.[4] Newspapers were quick to project this sense of imprisonment, casting Kader as a 'blind man' reduced to a pure spectacle, awaiting rescue.[5]

Illustration by Todd Julie, from article 'Gimme Shelter'

Source: Morgan Dunlop. Accessed February 12, 2015 http://this.org/magazine/2009/07/30/immigration-church-sanctuary/

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0004

Yet, he was also living in this place: writing, playing music, laughing and organizing meetings to promote his own, and other, causes. In the quietness of the night Kader would also sometimes leave the church, thereby challenging this sense of total enclosure. Although Kader certainly viewed himself as a sanctuary 'seeker' he did not view himself as simply seeking for others to act on his behalf, nor did he see himself waiting for his life to begin.

Laibar Singh

In 2007, one year after I picked up the phone to Kader, I visited Laibar Singh, another person living in sanctuary to avoid deportation. Laibar's sanctuary took the form of Sahib Kalgidhar Darbar Gurdwara, a temple located in Abbotsford—a city on the outskirts of Greater Vancouver. By the time of my visit, his health had deteriorated, and he was unable to speak. Standing beside Laibar in his hospital bed, the temple's secretary Surdey Singh Jatana explained to me that Laibar had previously taken sanctuary in the nearby Guru Nanak Sikh Gurudwara. Under extreme pressure from Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) the President of the temple demanded Laibar leave. As such the Abbotsford temple became Laibar's second sanctuary where he was given temporary refuge, an impermanent home to resist removal.

As Jatana pointed out, Abbotsford is also an indefinite home to a large population of workers from other countries employed through Canada's Temporary Foreign Workers Program (TFWP), a scheme designed to mitigate Canada's short-term regional labor needs. These Temporary Foreign Workers (TFWs) generally toil for little pay, hoping and waiting for many years for full rights that never come.[6] Though well documented by various migrant justice organizations, their plight has received scant media attention.

Whilst the precarious employment of temporary workers has attracted only minimal public attention, Laibar's Abbotsford temporary sanctuary home garnered widespread coverage. Laibar was characterized in mainstream Canadian media outlets, such as the *Globe & Mail,* as this 'unusual' case of a man living in an in-between space, awaiting citizenship.[7]

His circumstances were presented as exceptional, and his face appeared on every newspaper for weeks. This struck me as odd. Why did his story attract so much coverage, and why was his reality depicted

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0004

as exceptional? Nestled in a region where many agricultural temporary laborers are denied full citizenship rights—picking the organic fruit for Vancouver's yuppie-foodie consumer—Laibar's case appeared anything but unusual.[8] Rather, the liminal space that he occupied struck me as indicative of Abbotsford's geopolitical position as an in-between zone where migrants' temporary and incomplete citizenship status is normalized. There were, and still are, many people living and working in Abbotsford as TFWs. Canada's TFWP creates a system of structural vulnerability which generates precarious circumstances in TFW's everyday lives—and these precarious lives literally feed elite lifestyles. In this way, Abbotsford encapsulates and indeed performs what Aiwha Ong refers to as an increasingly 'variegated' citizenship regime wherein populations are 'subjected to different regimes of value, enjoy different kinds of rights, discipline, caring and security.'[9]

Against this backdrop, marking Laibar's sanctuary as 'exceptional' serves to evade the very way in which such an in-between condition is produced by and is in fact symptomatic of a broader, widely normalized, border regime that holds certain lives in a *suspended state*. Not quite in, not quite out; but waiting in-between. As activist-scholars Harsha Walia and Geraldine Pratt have shown, these in-between worlds typify temporary citizenship practices that are becoming the norm and proliferating today in cities across Canada.[10] Walia and Pratt have illustrated the harsh lived realities of Canada's temporary work programs—including agricultural and caregiving work—that hold countless people in the trap of partial citizenship for extended periods. Within this context, sanctuary may be viewed not as an exceptional space, but rather as one more mode of governmentality—a concept to which we will return later—that compels migrants to live precariously in-between.

Laibar's residence in the Abbotsford temple raised various perplexing problems for his supporters, and for the sanctuary movement more generally. The first issue to note is that religious components played out strongly in Laibar's case. Marie Williams, a longstanding NOII activist, explains that this turns on the fact that the temple in which he resides is one of the first non-Christian sanctuaries in Canada.[11] Despite the fact that Laibar benefited from a warm and caring community, some supporters questioned whether the temple, a non-Christian space, could be a '*true*' sanctuary, and expressed concern that its existence might 'water down' the principle.[12] Second, when Laibar experienced severe health problems, supporters were divided over whether

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0004

sustained care should be provided, or if such an undertaking would act as a 'drain' on scarce funds and thereby reinforce negative images of an over-burdened asylum system.[13] References to 'drains' and other liquid metaphors all too easily flowed into wider fear-mongering discourses about 'floods' of migrants entering Canada.[14] Yet the temple's secretary, Surdey Singh Jatana, pointed out that this notion of a 'drain' is misconceived. Laibar's supporters fund his care out of their own pockets, not state coffers, and regular support is provided on a volunteer basis.[15] Nevertheless, appearances matter. Finally, in Laibar's case, a heavy tone that this sanctuary was merely delaying, rather than preventing, deportation lingered.

Sanctuary outcomes

In 2009, after three years and 9 months of living in sanctuary, Kader was granted refugee status. On International Day of Human Rights in 2007 Laibar's removal was ordered. He was to be deported from Canada via the Vancouver International Airport—the same airport where only days before a Polish immigrant was fatally tasered by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). Hundreds of Laibar's supporters rallied around him on the day of his removal, protesting his deportation. Protesters highlighted the brute force of Canada's border regime, exemplified by the 'Taser Incident' that had just occurred. Through such activist efforts Laibar was allowed to remain in Vancouver, at least for a little while. However, only weeks later, having faced numerous hostile visits from police, Laibar relented and 'voluntarily' returned back to India.[16]

Despite these different outcomes, my time with Kader and Laibar left me feeling encouraged by the heartfelt support I witnessed in communities from the west coast of Canada to Québec. Nevertheless, I still felt troubled by the spectacular, sometimes prison-like form of protection that sanctuary assumed. I also began to wonder how this creative tactic to resist deportation might distract from a more systemic exclusionary asylum regime that subjects countless others to deportation and other forms of violence. For instance, what about the exploited migrant workers just outside the church doors in Montréal, or the temporary workers picking fruit beyond the temple gates in Vancouver? Bringing these questions together the issue that emerges is the bounded and exceptional quality of sanctuary spaces. Must sanctuary be confined to a particular

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demarcated territory, such as a church, or can it be understood in a more diffuse and open-textured manner?

I was also struck by how many activists mobilizing sanctuary simultaneously felt compelled and dismayed by the fact that they were required to publicize sanctuary recipients as helpless 'victims' in order to gain the attention of a wider public audience and, ultimately, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). As well, it seemed that one of the ways activists secured justification for this practice—that is, as a sacred ancient practice that has a long tradition—posed some serious concerns. This spurred a problematic line of argumentation that Williams gestured at: if sanctuary is understood as an ancient Christian tradition, can this be extended to an Indian man in a temple? Commenting on the intense pressure Laibar and his community faced in Abbotsford, border-studies scholar Cynthia Wright commented that there exists a 'dangerous double-standard' whereby the sanctuary of a church is respected, while the sanctity of a gurdwara is not.[17] Even if sanctuary were to be granted in various denominational settings, was a deeper relation wherein the 'seeker' must prove worth still deeply entrenched in this practice? Even if this space did challenge statist authority, the problematic determination process of differentiating those who are/are not deserving remained intact. In a sense, this discriminating process merely transferred from the state to another, (religious) authority. To be sure, the sanctuary where Kader and Laibar found protection also denied countless others. I wondered: how is sanctuary—supposedly resisting the state—reproducing the very state technologies it attempts to challenge?

Towards a city-based sanctuary

I became aware at the same time that many shared these frustrations, and that energy was growing to mobilize sanctuary as a practice that exceeds containment in particular religious settings. In certain cities across Canada, most notably Toronto, exponents were developing a more fluid notion of sanctuary, the sanctuary city. In certain cities across Canada, most notably Toronto, exponents were developing a more fluid notion of sanctuary, the sanctuary city. Commenting on these developments Randy Lippert has observed that since sanctuary's 'reappearance' in the 1980s this practice has shown signs of mutating and moving beyond physically contained churches towards 'secular' institutions such

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0004

as universities and whole cities.[18] In a 2010 article, 'Wither Sanctuary?', Lippert suggests that there has been a decrease in the number of new sanctuary incidents taking place in exposed and contained spaces.[19] He suggests this reflects the fact that sanctuary providers 'appear to recognize the decreasing success of the tactic and may well be adopting other strategies that include ... resorting to "concealment" sanctuary practices.'[20] The growing sanctuary city represents such a strategy, mobilizing through less visible forms of protection and instead stimulating widespread 'regularization from below.'[21]

Excited to learn more about the sanctuary city movement, I visited Toronto in 2009. During this time, I discovered that the city-based movement commenced with the Don't Ask Don't Tell (DADT) Campaign launched by NOII in Toronto in 2004. This campaign encourages municipal employees to avoid inquiring about legal status. If a student divulges her asylum status in the classroom, do not ask about her legal position; if a woman turns up at the hospital with a broken arm, do not ask about their status. The aim of this campaign is to prevent employees from becoming unofficial border guards, reporting and deporting undocumented migrants—an increasingly insidious border regime that penetrates the habits of everyday life. The aim of this DADT practice is two-fold, namely to ensure: Access For All and Access Without Fear. These two practices steer sanctuary efforts in Canada today. Rather than a distinctively religious practice located in fixed spaces, such as churches and other sacred spaces, the sanctuary city is supposedly more fluid and 'political.'[22]

During my time in Toronto a number of people working for migrant justice also pointed to some limitations of this diffuse sanctuary city movement. In particular, while many acknowledge that this movement enables certain migrants to access municipal services, this practice does not necessarily challenge the invisibility that many are forced into. As Peter Nyers asks: Does this not 'reproduce the logic of silence, subterfuge, and secrecy that already determines much of the daily existence of non-status people?'[23] In the face of this limitation a number of activists pointed to the sanctuary movement developing in the United Kingdom (UK) as a partial remedy to this problem. In the UK a grassroots, city-based sanctuary movement brings presence and celebration into central focus.[24] This UK's official movement entitled City of Sanctuary (interchangeably referred to by organizers as the 'sanctuary city,' and henceforth referred to as such) attracts attention through its explicit

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0004

empowerment of migrants themselves in solidarity with a host of supporters.[25] This process is about building networks rather than holding certain figures within a confined space, or relying on secrecy exhibited by the DADT campaign.[26]

Looking ahead

This Preface is intended to reveal my own point of entry into a complex sanctuary landscape. These opening reflections take you, the reader, to Canada where I grew up on unceded First Nations' territories and where my energy for critically examining 'home' was ignited by working with migrant communities who articulated experiences of exclusion in this 'multicultural' place.[27] The purpose of beginning here is not to establish a foundational comparative 'case' but to share something of the intimate story animating this book.[28] For it was through these experiences—the conversations with undocumented peoples and their allies living in Canada—that piqued my curiosity in sanctuary, particularly how UK's city-based movement might provide robust hope for anti-deportation politics.[29] This curiosity led me to research Glasgow, the UK's largest dispersal city, in order to explore the central question of this book: How is the sanctuary city being framed as an alternative to an exclusionary statist regime, and to what degree is this movement effective in achieving this aim? Through my involvement in the UK-based movement I have grown sympathetic to the genuine efforts of those people mobilizing this practice in order to offer support and solidarity with refugees and asylum seekers. At first glance this practice of an open sanctuary city seems to interrupt some of the problems associated with the sanctuary-as-container to which I was initially drawn.[30] Yet, I have also found this city-based expression of sanctuary to be tied up with a complex and often-overlooked set of problems, especially the *temporal* problem of indefinite deferral and the experience of being held in a suspended state, which this book aims to address and critically investigate.[31]

Notes

1 There have only been two known instances where Canadian police have arrested a person living in sanctuary. The first known instance of police violation of sanctuary in Canadian history occurred on March 5, 2004

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0004

when Mohamed Cherfi (an Algerian political activist who had made an unsuccessful refugee claim and who was subjected to a deportation order) was removed. The second incident occurred on February 17, 2007 when police arrested Amir Kazemian inside a church in Vancouver. While the majority of sanctuary cases in Canada have been tacitly accepted, sanctuary is in fact illegal under Canada's Immigration Act and Criminal Code, as it is considered an act of aiding and abetting as well as conspiracy. Since at least 1976, the Immigration Act has prohibited aiding and abetting migrants subjected to deportation orders and has stipulated fines of up to CDN$5,000 and two years of imprisonment. *Online Dioceses of New Westminster News.* bit.ly/Qx5q1m (accessed February 12, 2007).

2 *No One is Illegal*. http://noii-van.resist.ca/?page_id=91 (accessed November 21, 2010). Also see Randy Lippert, *Sanctuary Sovereignty Sacrifice: Canadian Sanctuary Incidents, and Law* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2005), 1–30.

3 Kader Belaouni, Interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman. St. Gabriel's Church: Montréal, Canada. November 15, 2008

4 Ibid.

5 Katherine Wilton, 'I have no legal status: I have no green card: Algerian, Life,' *The Gazette*, January 11, 2006. In this article Kader is defined almost exclusively in terms of his supposed passivity, he is 'a blind Algerian man.'

6 Harsha Walia, 'Why everyone should care about the temporary foreign worker program,' http://themainlander.com/2014/06/23/why-everyone-should-care-about-the-temporary-foreign-worker-program/ (accessed January 10, 2015).

7 Jane Armstrong, 'Ottawa grants refugee claimant 60 days,' *Globe and Mail,* August 20, 2007.

8 Christina Miewald and Eugene McCann, Foodscapes and geographies of poverty: sustenance, strategy, and politics in an urban neighbourhood. *Antipode* 46, no. 2 (March 2014), 537–556.

9 Aiwha Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Duke University Press, 1999.

10 Geraldine Pratt. *Families Apart: Migrant Mothers and the Conflicts of Labor and Love* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012) and Harsha Walia 'Why everyone should care about the temporary foreign worker program,' http://bit.ly/1nERgJA (accessed January 10, 2015).

11 Said Jaziri's entry into a Montréal mosque on *December 16, 2006* set precedent as the first person to seek sanctuary in a non-Christian place of worship in Canada, thereby *troubling the conflation between sanctuary and church. Prior to this incident the places of worship in which migrants were granted sanctuary were exclusively Christian; migrants were not granted sanctuary in synagogues, mosques, or temples.* Randy Lippert, *Sanctuary Sovereignty Sacrifice: Canadian Sanctuary Incidents, and Law* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2005), 4.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0004

12 Marie Williams, Interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman. Vancouver, Canada. November 11, 2008.

13 Ibid.

14 Jane Armstrong, 'Refugee Seeks Asylum in Sikh Temple,' *The Globe & Mail*, July 2007.

15 Jatana Surdey Singh, Gurdwara Kalgidhar Sikh Society Secretary, Interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman. Abbotsford, Canada. June 17, 2007.

16 Jane Armstrong, 'Refugee Seeks Asylum in Sikh Temple,' *The Globe & Mail*, July 2007.

17 https://noii-van.resist.ca/?cat=41 (accessed March 12, 2015).

18 Randy Lippert and Sean Rehaag, 'Introduction,' *Refuge* 26 (2010): 3–6.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Jean McDonald, 'Building a Sanctuary City: Municipal Migrant Rights in the City of Toronto.' Sanctuary: Past and Present. International Studies Association Conference. Montréal Canada. March 16, 2011.

22 Sarah Patricia, Interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman. Toronto, Canada. June 17, 2007.

23 Peter Nyers, 'No One is Illegal between City and Nation,' *Studies in Social Justice* 4, no. 2 (2011): 127–143.

24 Vicki Squire, 'From community cohesion to mobile solidarities: the *city of sanctuary* network and the *strangers into citizenship* campaign,' *Political Studies* 59, no. 2 (2010): 290–307.

25 The UK movement was often positioned in opposition to the city-based 'new sanctuary movement' in the US which tends to rely heavily on religious organizations. Mark Penner, Interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman. Toronto, Canada. August 12, 2007. By official, I am referring to the way in which this movement represents itself as the legitimate and dominant body with the power to determine what constitutes sanctuary. While this movement claims to set a flexible set of criteria for what does and what does not constitute a City of Sanctuary it is important to note there is still a formal procedure that must take place in order to be acknowledged. I think it is worth noting at length some of these formalized processes enacted through the 'Criteria for a City of Sanctuary,' http://www.cityofsanctuary.org/(accessed July 12, 2014).

26 Ibid. In this interview other contexts (such as Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, Australia, and the US) were identified as having experienced a 'revival' of sanctuary beginning in the late 1970s. This so-called historical 'revival' is also expressed in Randy Lippert, *Sanctuary Sovereignty Sacrifice: Canadian Sanctuary Incidents, and Law* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2005). While each of these contexts reflects diverse deployments of sanctuary, none seem to pose such an explicitly public, multi-

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0004

denominational and diffuse component as the City of Sanctuary movement in the UK.

27 For an extended discussion on this approach see Appendix 1 'Reflections On Method.'

28 Drawing on insights from critical feminist geographers the intimate here is not understood as separate from the scale of the international nor is it a personal refuge; rather, it is a prism through which the realities of international politics—their construction, potential impact, and resistance—may be viscerally revealed, and felt.

29 Although other contexts might be identified as providing 'sanctuary' (such as Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, Australia, and the US) none lay claim as explicitly to a public, multi-denominational and diffuse component as the City of Sanctuary movement in the UK. Peter Nyers, 'No one is illegal between city and nation,' *Studies in Social Justice* 4, no. 2 (2011), 127–143.

30 Vicki Squire and Jennifer Bagelman, 'Taking not waiting: space, temporality and politics in the City of Sanctuary movement,' in *Migration and Citizenship: Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement,* eds. Peter Nyers and Kim Rygiel, 146–164. (Routledge, 2010).

31 Deferral and suspension are used as related terms throughout this text.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0004

Acknowledgments

A lot of life has happened while writing this book. I am especially grateful to Engin Isin and Vicki Squire for helping me to value these experiences as meaningful 'questions of life'—not separate from political inquiry, but its very heart.

I would like to express my gratitude to the UK City of Sanctuary movement for inviting me to be a part of their many events and discussions. Although this book raises questions about sanctuary politics more broadly, this does not dim my admiration for the people involved. Their endless energy, generosity and commitment is an example to follow.

I am also very grateful for inspiring conversations with life-long mentors: Warren Magnusson, Rob Walker and Jim Tully. My colleagues and friends from Durham University have also been very influential. In particular, Louise Amoore, Ben Anderson, Noam Leshem, Colin McFarlane, Rachel Pain, Raksha Pande, Lynn Staeheli, Phil Steinberg and Angharad Closs Stephens have been a reservoir of energy and insight. Many thanks also to Parvati Raghuram, Jef Huysmans and Mick Dillon for their thoughtful comments on earlier versions of this book. For valuable guidance that emerged over long walks and across long distances I must thank Hannah Hughes, Sarah Jenkins, Clare Paine, Delacey Tedesco, Halle Homowitz and Sarah Wiebe.

I also wish to extend gratitude to those people whose love and support sustained me in the everyday writing of this book. To my sister, Carly, thank you for nurturing

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0005

memories of a home and family on Vancouver Island that has sometimes felt far away. And to Cian O'Driscoll, thank you for helping me grow a new home during my time in Glasgow—and for the fish and chips.

Finally, I am deeply appreciative of the people who have shared their stories about sanctuary with me; I do hope that in some small way this book does justice to your vibrant and diverse experiences. Special thanks go to 'no-mad' and to Kader for their artwork that opens this book.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0005

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1
Introduction

Abstract: *Introduces the central problematic animating this book: how hospitality offered through the sanctuary city challenges yet also extends a hostile state of deferral.*

Bagelman, J. Jennifer. *Sanctuary City: A Suspended State*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0006.

Deportation, detainment and dispersal are often identified as the three prongs, or '3 D's, that constitute an increasingly exclusionary asylum landscape today.[1] The rising death toll of asylum seekers attempting to enter to Europe exposes the tragic effects of this exclusionary bordering regime. It becomes all too clear how such punitive practices violently deter asylum. It is against this backdrop that the ancient concept or practice of sanctuary has enjoyed a renaissance of sorts, articulated as an alternative to the hostility of state practice. It is the particular form that this practice has assumed in cities across Canada, the United States and Europe that is of interest here. Specifically, it is the city-based sanctuary movement that has sprung up in UK that is relevant to this inquiry. The city-based sanctuary movement conceives of sanctuary not simply as a physical location (such as a church) to provide safe refuge, but a host of welcoming practices within urban environments.

Sanctuary City: A Suspended State asks, is the UK sanctuary movement effective—at least in terms of the aims it sets for itself? In order to pursue this initial question Chapter 2 begins by taking the reader to Nottingham and Sheffield, where key events that have defined the UK-based sanctuary city have taken place. I map the discursive terrain of the sanctuary city movement based on the empirical evidence I gleaned at meetings, and the promotional texts (including artwork, pamphlets, city reports and websites) produced through such events.[2] Analyzing these materials, I show how the term sanctuary is being imagined and performed as a positive practice with a 'noble' historical grounding. Within official discourse, sanctuary is shaped as a viable grassroots alternative to asylum.[3] This framing circulates beyond the official sanctuary city discourse. I illuminate how the depiction of sanctuary as a positive alternative is evident from city councils to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). In relation to this framing I ask: what is made possible and what eschewed in this affirmative framing of sanctuary?

Glasgow

The remainder of this book focuses upon a particularly celebrated sanctuary city in the UK, Glasgow. It does so in order to examine how some of the claims about sanctuary's hospitable politics take lived form. Glasgow officially houses the largest number of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK.[4] It has also been identified as one of the main cities where refugees

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0006

and asylum seekers are relocated, or dispersed to, on a 'no-choice' basis from London.[5] In 2000, a policy of dispersal was implemented for asylum applicants who, prohibited from working, could not survive without provision of financial support and accommodation from the government. Applicants were dispersed away from the major population center of London and the South East, to regional cities across the UK. Since that time, Glasgow has been the city with the largest number of dispersed applicants, with around 5,000 main applicants and their dependents housed each year.[6] Due to this increase, multi-agency networks have been established in Glasgow in order to facilitate co-operation across the voluntary and statutory sectors for the provision of locally based support services, and to encourage community development.[7]

These developments have ensured that Glasgow has, in recent years at least, attracted an increased attention from scholars concerned with refugee and asylum issues. This literature is divided by two rival perspectives. On the one hand Glasgow is heralded as a model within the UK, and indeed abroad, in how to promote hospitable 'asylum-seeker settlement.'[8] Given its partially devolved immigration authority, some have argued, 'it is clear that Scotland as a whole and Glasgow in particular provides a distinctive context within the U.K. as far as migration, refugee and asylum issues are concerned.'[9] Whilst immigration in the form of entry to the country and the status of non-UK citizens are reserved matters 'there is less certainty about the degree to which immigrant policies after arrival are devolved, and which remain under the jurisdiction of Westminster.'[10] It is in this ambiguous time and space of the 'after arrival' where Scotland has been said to provide a uniquely welcoming form of asylum, particularly through its pastoral care provided by various community and voluntary organizations in the everyday life of its cities—and primarily the city of Glasgow.

On the other hand, Glasgow's hostile reception and rejection of asylum seekers has been a source of serious critique. Given that Glasgow is a city where many asylum seekers are involuntarily dispersed to and deported from, some have argued that the city's welcome is a harsh one at best. This is most poignantly reflected in Glasgow's sorry record as a city of 'dawn raids'—infamous early morning deportations where families are dragged from their beds and forcefully put on flights that deport people to dangerous 'homes.' Glasgow was also stained by the 'red road' trauma, where asylum seekers hurled themselves from high buildings to certain death in order to avoid deportation.[11] Chapter 3 thus explores Glasgow's

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0006

complex, Janus-face reception and examines the burgeoning sanctuary city movement that it has spawned as a particularly celebrated civil-society response to the violent policies of enforced dispersal.

This is the first, sustained analysis of Glasgow's sanctuary city, which has been posed within public discourse as alleviating—the UK's hostile asylum process, especially its politics of dispersal. Whilst previous studies have tended to explore sanctuary as a broad national or international movement, this book focuses on a particular urban context in order to advance a more detailed, textured understanding of how sanctuary is being negotiated and mobilized on the ground and how these tensions are being experienced at a personal, lived level.[12] The aim of this approach is to offer insight into the finer, everyday practices of sanctuary in a city which is home to many asylum seekers: a complex home that is a source of particular controversy and celebration and yet one that remains under-researched.

Ethnography

In order to provide a more nuanced account this book draws on data gleaned from the two years that I lived and conducted ethnographic research in Glasgow. I conducted this research, primarily, as a volunteer with Unity and the Govan Integration Network—two organizations that provide critical support for refugee and asylum seeking communities in the city. Volunteering with these organizations I assisted the World Café at St. Michael's church, the Women's Support Network located in the Red Road Flats, and a Drop-in Center in Govan.[13] I also helped facilitate a number of events including: *The World Ceilidh*, intended to raise awareness about Glasgow's sanctuary city; *Dialogue for Destitution,* which involved asylum seekers designing and performing a play based on their experiences of the UK asylum system; and the *Mapping Project,* designed to illuminate how asylum seekers experience their cities. Instead of conducting formal interviews, which for many asylum seekers incite painful memories of intensive and aggressive questioning that are constitutive of determination processes, I observed the discussions that emerged during these events, noting what issues asylum seekers raised themselves and how they decided to represent these experiences. With the permission of the participants, these observations are woven through this text.[14] Observing and participating in these ways enabled me to develop meaningful friendships

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0006

with those people willing to participate in research and gradually identify some common threads based on the wide array of experiences and life stories people shared with me. It is partly because of the diversity of these stories that the commonality of a particular problem struck me. That is, the problems associated with being forced to wait within a charitable zone of sanctuary. Even if not trapped in a specific space (such as a detention center or a contained church sanctuary) a sense of being trapped in time seems to pervade in the sanctuary city.[15]

Perhaps not surprisingly, this experience tends to be more amplified when the tenuousness of one's status is heightened. For those asylum seekers temporarily receiving Section 4 relief, or for failed asylum seekers who cannot return home, this problem is especially pronounced.[16] As one refused asylum seeker put it: 'the waiting is a psychological holocaust.'[17] Yet, even for many who have received Refugee Status an indefinite waiting is often still a part of everyday life. As Gareth Mulvey from the Scottish Refugee Council (SRC) points out, even for those 'integrated' it is difficult to know what this really means. Many face structural impediments when seeking work and thus, a sense of waiting to 'settle' persists. Integration, in this liminal state, too often means integrating into destitution or chronic dependency on charity.[18] And as applications for asylum status are postponed, put off, delayed this position of waiting becomes a way of life. This is seen by many refugees and asylum seekers as an oppressive and overlooked problem, a complicated apparatus that forces certain people to hurry up and wait…Based on ethnographic research this book suggests that we must pay attention to the ways that the sanctuary city extends this suspended state through what I call a 'politics of ease.'

A grounded genealogy

Whilst grounded in the particular city of Glasgow, *Sanctuary City: A Suspended State* is not confined to this site. I aim to gain critical distance from the dominant discursive framing of sanctuary as a 'positive' practice, one that exceeds a contemporary asylum regime and thus 'outside' oppressive forms of power, by fusing empirical observations with a genealogical approach.[19]

A genealogical reading requires tracing the complex power relations that constitute the emergence of a dominant discourse whilst examining

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0006

the diverse archive of minor or sidestepped stories.[20] This book considers what minor threads might be foreclosed or inadvertently sidelined in the contemporary discourse that frames sanctuary as a 'noble' tradition, and asks: what is at stake in this deleterious view?[21] This type of genealogy has not yet been written of sanctuary, and I hope this book begins to address this gap. This approach reveals that the dominant framing of sanctuary as a persistently positive act of protection is far too simplistic. In doing so, it highlights the problematic aspects of sanctuary's understudied ritual of *hiketeia* (supplication), wherein those seeking protection must first undergo a determination process that, among other violent acts, physically brands the body with a symbol of vulnerability.[22] Here particular attention is placed on examining these violent traces in an effort to cast a second more critically penetrating look at the contemporary sanctuary movement. When woven with grounded ethnographic research, these fragments illuminate how sanctuary not only lays claim to a history of protection, but also continues to function as a technology that holds asylum seekers, in a spatial and temporal suspension.

Gaining a more contoured understanding of sanctuary's diverse sides through this genealogy I suggest we might gain a deeper understanding about how sanctuary could possibly be otherwise. In this attempt to imagine alternatives, Chapter 4 moves on to ask: how are the deep-seated violent rituals of sanctuary being interrupted? Here I explore a participatory mapping initiative led by asylum-seekers in Glasgow as site of possibility. Chapter 5 continues this question of resistance and, extending the genealogical investigation, considers: what would it mean to explore sanctuary as 'minor'? Specifically this chapter explores practices that maneuver in the shadows of idealized and official notions of sanctuary, those practices that work both within and against persistent rituals of supplication. Chapter 6 suggests that if sanctuary is not only a spatial but temporal technology, then we need to deepen a politics of resistance that is sensitive and responsive to these inexorably entwined dimensions. As such, this final chapter explores the possibilities for an approach to sanctuary as a minor politics particularly in relation to the problem of suspension.

Suspension

A great deal of scholarly work has critiqued the punitive practices of deportation, detainment and dispersal said to constitute asylum's

'three-pronged restriction regime.'[23] While this book does not dispute that these three-prongs represent violent practices that demand critical study it does challenge the relatively minimal attention given to the process of deferral, which implies a temporality of waiting. If deportation, detainment and dispersal represent the '3 D's' within a contemporary asylum landscape this book asserts that the apparatus of deferral, which holds asylum seekers in a suspended state, remains the perilously overlooked 4th D. It is suggested that this aspect of deferral is especially overlooked when the temporal hold is grasped not by a coercive state, but the soft and seemingly innocuous hand of sanctuary.

This focus on the suspended state of deferral reminds us that time matters. Where time is explored in relation to asylum I suggest it has often been brought within a remit of speed, related, for instance, to, how securitization technologies increasingly restrict certain bodies at an accelerated pace. It is only recently that a growing body of literature has addressed how a slow, elongated temporal process also enacts a hostile politics by holding some in an indefinite state of waiting.[24] This book aims to contribute to the important work exploring the affective geography of this elongated wait. It explores how waiting takes material form, and how is experienced at the level of everyday life.[25] As Deirdre Conlon observes, although waiting is a 'ubiquitous practice that is linked in a myriad of ways to mobility and (im)mobility in the contemporary era,' it has 'received scant conceptual and/or research attention among scholars.'[26] Speaking to this relative absence, this book examines how asylum seekers experience a state of suspension that is tied up with local sanctuary movements appearing to offer a hospitable, even sacred, remedy to a hostile, top-down explicitly punitive politics.

Conclusion: hurry up and wait

The book that follows explores how the problematic reality of being forced to wait indefinitely becomes entangled with well-intentioned forms of pastoral support or charity-like work.[27] As vital as sanctuary work might be in providing urgent support 'right now,' it also serves to obscure the long-term picture whereby people are forced into an indefinite condition of waiting. This work can silence, or at least quell, the way in which rights are indefinitely deferred whilst a relationship

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0006

of supplication is sustained. The charity work that aims to alleviate problems facing asylum seekers and refugees in this respect may risk operating as a technology of this serious problem of suspension. The danger is that activist work of this kind may lock in, rather than challenge, statist asylum practices.[28]

This book explores how sanctuary, which tends to be posited as a positive alternative to 'the state' and forms of violent exclusion, is functioning in terms of what Michel Foucault calls a 'governmentalization of the state.'[29] That is, a form of government whereby people are encouraged to govern themselves through a language of freedom. This book, then, contributes to a growing literature examining asylum as enacted through a host of governmentalizing discourses and tools by particularly drawing attention to how sanctuary is functioning as a technology that incites those people 'seeking' asylum to become good, aspirational citizens.[30] Here, protracted waiting is encouraged to be understood as a productive experience where one can contribute to society even whilst waiting (and being deferred) and who may better themselves until they resume even more 'normal lives.'

The spirit of this book is thus haunted by both the political possibilities and restrictions that this type of governmentality implies. As such, it reflects my own research positionality which is at once drawn to and disturbed by various modes of sanctuary support that I have witnessed and participated in.[31] I seek to work across these tensions, engaging and opening up the contemporary sanctuary terrain, both in its fixed and secretive form and especially in its seemingly more progressive, diffuse and public framing.

Notes

1 Sylvie Da Lomba's 'Legal Status and Refugee Integration: a UK Perspective,' *Journal of Refuge Studies* 23, no. 4 (2010), 415–436. Also see: Margaret S. Malloch and Elizabeth Stanley, 'The detention of asylum seekers in the UK: representing risk, managing the dangerous,' in *Punishment & Society* 7, no. 1 (2005), 53–71; Alice Bloch and Liza Schuster, 'At the Extremes of Exclusion: deportation, detention and dispersal,' in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 3 (2005), 491–512

2 Please see Appendix 1 for an in-depth discussion about this methodological approach.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0006

3 In a discussion opened to callers the BBC asked: 'Should we ban the word asylum? Here it was suggested that sanctuary is a more appropriate word—not only do 'people understand what it means (unlike asylum), they can personally relate to it (unlike asylum), and they see it as a positive word. When polled, 81% of the public said that sanctuary was a "positive" or "very positive" word, and over 50% had somewhere that they considered to be a personal sanctuary—ranging from reading a book in the bath, to walking in the country, and seeking refuge at Old Trafford. The British public do want to provide sanctuary to those who are fleeing persecution, but there is a bleak outlook for this noble tradition unless we win back public trust and confidence.' bit.ly/Oqi2Tf (accessed March 15, 2011).

4 Glasgow Refugee Asylum Migrant Network. http://bit.ly/RoDBJQ (accessed September 16, 2010).

5 For a discussion of the dispersal program in the UK see: Patricia Hynes, *The Dispersal and Social Exclusion of Asylum Seekers. Between Liminality and Belonging.* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2011); Dallal Stevens, *UK Asylum Law and Policy*. *Historical and Contemporary Perspectives.* (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 2004).

6 Home Office Asylum Statistics: United Kingdom, 2000. http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/immigation-asylum-publications.html (accessed March 12, 2009); Home Office Asylum Statistics: United Kingdom 2007. http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/immigation-asylum-publications.html (accessed March 3, 2009).

7 Karen Wren, 'Supporting asylum seekers and refugees in Glasgow: the role of multi-agency networks,' *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20, no. 3 (09/2007).

8 Duncan Sim and Alison Bowes, 'Asylum seekers in scotland: the accommodation of diversity,' *Social & Policy Administration* 41, no. 7. (September 2007), 729–746.

9 See: Glasgow Refugee Asylum and Migration Network. http://gramnet.wordpress.com/about/ (accessed: September 1, 2014).

10 Ibid.

11 See: Patricia Hynes, *The Dispersal and Social Exclusion of Asylum Seekers. Between Liminality and Belonging.* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2011); Christina Boswell, *Spreading the Costs of Asylum Seekers: A Critical Assessment of Dispersal Policies in Germany and the UK.* (London: Anglo-German Foundation, 2001).

12 Randy Lippert and Sean Rehaag, *Sanctuary Practices in International Perspectives: Migration, Citizenship and Social Movements*. (August 14, 2014).

13 See Appendix 2.

14 During these activities I disclosed my own research to participants at all times. Permission forms were available, signed on a voluntary basis by those people who are comfortable having their conversations shared in my research as per the ethics application submitted through the Open University.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0006

15 See: Patricia Hynes, *The Dispersal and Social Exclusion of Asylum Seekers. Between Liminality and Belonging.* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2011); Christina Boswell, *Spreading the Costs of Asylum Seekers: A Critical Assessment of Dispersal Policies in Germany and the UK.* (London: Anglo-German Foundation, 2001).

16 For details on Section 4 see: http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/how_we_can_help/my_claim_for_asylum_has_been_refused/section_4_support (accessed: October 10, 2015).

17 Sam. Interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman. October 21, 2011

18 Gareth Mulvey, Scottish Refugee Council researcher. Interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman. Glasgow: United Kingdom. January 12, 2012.

19 *City of Sanctuary*, http://www.cityofsanctuary.org/node/555Website (accessed: October 21, 2011).

20 Raymond Geuss, 'Nietzsche and Genealogy,' in *Nietzsche,* ed. John Richardson and Brian Leiter. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 322–340. Also see Appendix 1 for a more lengthy discussion about how this approach is deployed.

21 I borrow this framing from Raymond Geuss where he discusses the genealogical method as a process of following lines that have been displaced. Raymond Geuss, 'Nietzsche and Genealogy,' in *Nietzsche,* ed. John Richardson and Brian Leiter. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 322–340.

22 **CJ Cox,** *The Sanctuaries and Sanctuary Seekers of Mediaeval England.* (London: George Allen & Sons, 1911).

23 Sylvie Da Lomba's 'Legal status and refugee integration: a UK perspective,' *Journal of Refuge Studies* 23, no. 4 (2010), 415–436. Also see: Margaret S. Malloch and Elizabeth Stanley, 'The detention of asylum seekers in the UK: representing risk, managing the dangerous,' in *Punishment & Society* 7, no. 1 (2005), 53–71; Alice Bloch and Liza Schuster 'At the Extremes of Exclusion: deportation, detention and dispersal,' in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 3 (2005), 491–512.

24 Where time is explored in relation to asylum regimes it is often brought within a remit of intensity, and speed. It has been suggested that 'beyond the question of rights, the question *of speed* is central,' Didier Bigo and Elspeth Guild, *Controlling Frontiers: Free Movement into and within Europe.* (London: Ashgate, 2005), 9. Using Paul Virgilio's work on 'politics of speed' Bigo contends that today: 'The reign of speed and acceleration is linked with technologies, with remote control policies, with virtualization and anticipation through morphing of the future of the persons who are on the move. And against speed, slowness never wins...time to avoid passion and the time to think is time considered lost or wasted (9). So too, the way in which a person's 'case' is streamlined in such a way that their whole story is cut short, putting them on the 'fast track' to exclusion, has gained a lot of attention. The emphasis on processing speed can be read as an attempt to 'regain control over the

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0006

movements and narratives of displaced peoples that have grown beyond the state's control.' Vital terms used to analyze this context are: 'decreased period, streamlined, instantaneous.' See: Saulo Cwerner, 'Work faster, faster and faster: the time politics of asylum in the UK' in *Time & Society* 13, no. 1 (2004), 71–88. Whilst speed is an important component it seems vital to call into question the seemingly more elongated processes. What a 'reign of speed' fails to fully unravel is the way in which a seemingly passive temporality, of holding certain figures in abeyance, is also functioning. What about other technologies that force one into a position of waiting in a liminal zone? This acceleration that Cwerner speaks of is particularly troubling when it is entangled with technologies of extending time; for instance, long delays that force people to hurry up and wait. Although a politics of speed tends to reign, there is an acknowledgment that asylum seekers often experience lives in a state of 'indefinite temporariness.' See: Enrica Rigo, Citizens despite borders: challenges to the territorial order of Europe, in *The Contested Politics of Mobility: Borderzones and Irregularity,* ed. Vicki Squire. (New York: Routledge, 2011), 199–215. It remains unclear whether speedy technologies are the most effective in understanding how such liminality are being produced and normalized. This book seeks to contribute to this literature by exploring how an indefinite waiting state is being produced and normalized through the unlikely welcoming discourse of sanctuary. This book has offered an analysis on how the normalization of an enduring waiting time—where an intense and imminent agenda is seemingly absent—is functioning. The analysis of the City of Sanctuary put forth in this book reveals that time requires deeper thought precisely where it appears in its passive, pastoral and even empowering form; for instance, where time is deployed within the City of Sanctuary discourse as a political tool challenging spatial exclusion by creatively taking advantage of the moment. This book considers: how might this temporal politics pose asylum seekers' presence as enduringly temporary and contingent? Does this normalize a presence trapped in the present?

25 See: Nick Gill, 'Presentational State Power: Temporal and Spatial Influences over Asylum Sector Decision Makers,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 34*, no. 2 (2009), 215–233; Jennifer Hyndman.Waiting for what? The feminization of asylum in protracted situations.

26 Deirdre Conlon, 'Gender, Place & Culture,' *A Journal of Feminist Geography* 18, no. 3, (2011), 353–360.

27 Charity has been posed as a natural last resort solution to many of the problems facing refugees and asylum seekers in the UK today. Charity work has been framed as a tenable solution to many of the forms of exclusion that refugees and asylum seekers face, suggesting that 'direct action' in the form of 'charity work' is an essential and influential means for promoting hospitality and transforming

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0006

more inclusive policy. What is interesting is that charity is often framed not simply as a passive process, but a form of self-help. Christina Boswell, *Ethics of Refugee Policy.* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 151–152. Troublingly, here, the ways in which this supposedly temporary type of support is extended indefinitely (thereby extending temporariness as a protracted ways of being) is under-explored.

28 Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France.* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1978–1979. This sequence of lectures pivots around a discussion of governmentality that spawned a whole school of 'governmentality studies.' Barbara Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999); Nikolas Rose, 'The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government,' *Economy and Society* 25, no. 3 (1996), 327–356.

29 Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France.* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1978–1979.

30 See: Chimienti and Solomos 2011; Conlon and Gill 2013; Darling 2011, 2013; Ellermann 2010; Gill et al. 2014; Leitner and Strunk 2014; McGregor 2011, 2012; Oliveri 2012; Tyler 2013; Tyler et al. 2014.

31 Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, & the New International,* trans. Peggy Kamuf. (London: Routledge, 1994). A spectral reading is never of one realm, one mode entirely; it is perpetually in-between.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0006

2
Mapping Sanctuary's Sacred Promise

Abstract: *Maps the discursive terrain of the official UK-based sanctuary movement.*

Bagelman, J. Jennifer. *Sanctuary City: A Suspended State*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007.

I have just arrived in Nottingham to attend the national sanctuary city meeting. The event takes place in the Quaker Meeting House, a cozy converted home just off the high street. I am ushered into the annual meeting by the sanctuary city's National Coordinator, Tiffy Allen, who invites me take a seat in the main hall where representatives from cities across the UK are gathered in a circle. I find a spot next to a representative from Edinburgh. I introduce myself as a student living in Glasgow. She replies that we must represent 'Team Scotland' in today's discussion. The event commences with Allen providing a précis on the sanctuary movement's history, from its founding in Sheffield, 2007, to the present day.

The movement, as she describes it, is directed toward 'providing a vision' for promoting hospitality towards asylum seekers.[1] This vision is not meant to be over-determining, or one-size-fits all. Instead, the idea is that each distinct city should be allowed to grow according to its own unique ecology. Nonetheless, the movement promulgated a set of foundational tenets that are intended to provide a source of connection between participating cities. Viewed together, these tenets constitute a set of guidelines for transforming cities and urban spaces into places of 'safety and welcome for people whose lives are in danger in their own country.'[2] These guidelines do not associate places of safety with churches or other confined spaces, as we might expect when we hear the word 'sanctuary'; in fact, they present a notion of a sanctuary that is premised, not upon enclosure, but upon a fluid, open-textured set of practices that create patterns of welcome, especially to those who are fleeing forms of violence.[3]

Amidst encouraging nods, Allen extols the movement's achievements. She explains that it creates a culture of hospitality and presents an opportunity for people to challenge some of the hostile attitudes that drive government immigration and asylum policy.[4] It is, she emphasizes, a grassroots project that offers people seeking safety a home where they are valued and empowered to contribute to civic life.[5] She introduces the sanctuary movement's *Practical Handbook* (*The Handbook*) as a touchstone. This resource, which is invoked frequently during the meeting, highlights the importance of promoting the unheard voices that are too easily drowned out by the 'loud and aggressive voices of hostility towards refugees.'[6]

This echoes a discussion I had with co-founder Craig Barnett during my Sheffield visit when he described his approach to the sanctuary city as

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007

a subtle, and even silent one.[7] This was embodied in the Sheffield meeting that began with two minutes of silence, followed by a gentle discussion where people exchanged stories. While this silence was punctuated with exuberant celebration, the overall tone was notably different from other activist events I had attended. There was no bellicose anti-deportation rhetoric on this occasion; in its place, there was a meditative, zen-like atmosphere. Rarely have I been quite so aware of my propensity towards loud, North-American chatter. Sensing my predicament, Barnett leaned over and whispered in my ear that the way in which the Sheffield sanctuary city movement conducts its meetings is influenced by the Quaker tradition of quiet reflection. Listening to Allen speak about Nottingham, I am reminded of this exchange.

City limits

As the opening session comes to a close, members from the 18 sanctuary cities represented detail the trials and tribulations confronting the movement. Listening to the members summarize their own experiences, I am first struck by the flexible use of 'city.' Representatives from the Hackney Borough in London and the town of Huddersfield are both introduced as cities of sanctuary. A discussion ensues as to whether these places, not officially considered cities per se, should be deemed cities of sanctuary. If the issue in these cases was that the conurbations in question are too small to qualify as bona fide cities, larger metropolis also pose problems. As a young woman from Hackney suggests, it has been very difficult to stimulate a conversation about 'The City' of London, for people tend to engage in activities and discussion that relate to areas which they view as an immediate space of daily life.[8] Though one might consider oneself a Londoner, when it comes to democratic engagement, many tend to identify with their immediate neighborhood, or borough.[9]

The woman from Hackney goes on to describe her borough as an industrial and low-income area that is the victim of its own success insofar as its burgeoning art scene has prompted an intense gentrification process that has displaced the community that kick-started it.[10] It is a complex space, she explains, one that attracts a mix of people: yuppies, but also young art students, and refugee families or those seeking asylum. She paints a picture of Hackney as humming with creative activity, exemplified by projects such as the 'Hackney Farm,' a community

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007

garden owned and operated by 'locals'. There is, she argues, something different about Hackney.[11] Locals refer to other parts of London as being far removed, and the cost of travel means that many end up socializing in their own local borough. Public buses are the most common mode of transportation to and from Hackney, but they follow circuitous routes requiring transfers and extended waiting periods at bus stops. Rather than mitigating the sense of distance between the 'here' of Hackney to the 'there' of central London, they arguably accentuate it.[12]

While distinctive and set apart in some ways, Hackney is of course also inexorably enmeshed in the larger fabric of London's sprawl. Its sanctuary city movement encourages its adherents to think about these connections. As representative from Hackney suggests, their movement emerges from a 'place where people live' and thus, invites people to 'think about how to make this immediate space more welcoming through very concrete actions.'[13] Yet, she explains, this conversation does not take place by itself. It is part of a larger set of exchanges, connected, as it were, to a much larger network. Indeed, exploring the nuances of daily life in Hackney reveals a complex connectivity, and tugging on some of the challenges in Hackney uncovers snags that might otherwise be less visible in other areas. Analysis of the experiences of asylum in Hackney reveals the effects of larger UK-wide modes of managing migration, such as the policy of dispersal. Upon registering a claim with the UK Borders Agency (UKBA) people seeking asylum are dispersed across the country to a number of 'zones of accommodation' where the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) provides some form of housing. Since the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act, NASS dispersal accommodation has been provided on a 'no choice' basis to asylum seekers. This means that asylum seekers are given no control over where they are sent or where they will live.[14] The effects of this policy have been felt quite sharply in Hackney. Since the turn of the Millennium, many families and communities have been torn apart, as they were no longer to be 'concentrated' in London boroughs but spread out across the country to Hackney and other towns like it.[15]

Hackney's sanctuary city illuminates the ways in which political activity may emerge in a particular place but are not confined to it. While members of Hackney may come together in this particular location, politicizing the effects of policies such as dispersal and how they impact this community, this necessarily entails a discussion about the way 'flows' of migration are managed within and across London, the UK and beyond.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007

The creative (sanctuary) city

As the conversation at the annual meeting continues it became apparent that many cities of sanctuary across the UK are eager to politicize certain flows—especially dispersal—but also keen to celebrate the 'exciting flow of new ideas' and interactions. Allen refers to a certain passage in *The Handbook*:

> A city which knows how to welcome people seeking sanctuary is a better place for everyone. The focus on sanctuary city is on people who have been forced to leave their home countries to seek sanctuary in the UK, but a place with a culture of hospitality will be more welcoming not just for people in need of sanctuary but for anyone who is newly arrived for whatever reason, or might be isolated or vulnerable. It will be a better place for local people too. It means that a city will not become a stagnant, fearful, inward-looking place, but will benefit from a flow of new ideas, talents and relationships.[16]

All of the city representatives across the UK emphasize this theme at some point during the meeting. One of the Sheffield representatives, Sarah, explains their community café network and radio show are both designed to promote the creativity that those seeking asylum in Sheffield offer. Elsewhere, in Leeds to be precise, a radio program broadcasts live interviews of a sanctuary seeker from Iran. The intention behind this segment is to provoke reactions from and discussions with callers from across the UK. Leeds is also developing 'schools of sanctuary,' where members of the community reflect on their experiences of asylum in an effort to incite dialog in classrooms.[17] In Huddersfield a sports groups welcomes asylum seekers to teach new activities at a recreational center. In Bradford a drama group has been designed in a secondary school, which invites asylum seekers to express their experiences and has become part of a larger asylum 'myth busting' initiative.[18] In Leicester, a drop-in center that provides food and clothing also hosts art classes and computer workshops taught by asylum seekers. Finally, in Coventry an arts grant has been received to promote storytelling workshops.[19]

The meeting makes clear that all of these cultural sanctuary practices are framed as opportunities to foster rich, creative and 'outward-looking' communities.[20] That is to say, these practices are designed to help communities avoid reifying 'traditional' and exclusionary ways of life and instead open up towards shifting flows and new possibilities.[21] During the discussion, one of the members from Bristol encourages everyone to visit their sanctuary city website which documents their first event. The Bristol

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007

representative suggests that this event embodies the celebration of various flows of people and places—the very heart of the sanctuary movement. As their website recounts, the event was filled with 'many symbolic moments.'[22] The tea and cake in the Council House 'symbolized a traditional English welcome,' while 'the umbrellas used in a dance and procession across College Green denoted shelter.'[23] The Bristol Cathedral itself 'represents sanctuary.'[24] During this event a 'diversity of Faith Statements' was also introduced, to propose the universal and non-denominational nature of the sanctuary city movement. Finally, a 'Song of Sanctuary' expressed the 'universality of the experience of persecution by combining elements from the Qur'an, the Bible and an African song while the Cathedral bells were half-muffled to signify both celebration and reflection.'[25] While these statements speak to the sanctuary city's commitment to respect diverse cultural practices we also see a tendency towards essentializing heterogeneous cultures. While this vision affirms an 'outward-looking' quality of the city, it simultaneously assumes a privileged center. This fixed center is typified by the allusion to (or illusion of) a traditional English way of life, a 'traditional English welcome,' scattered with tea and scones.

Fish and chips

Throughout the annual meeting, the political agency of people 'seeking' asylum is emphasized. Delegates argue that the sense of helplessness or victimhood often portrayed in the media does not capture the everyday life of asylum seekers and refugees in various cities across the UK. This is consistent with the ethos articulated in *The Handbook:* the sanctuary city goes 'beyond representing people seeking sanctuary as *simply victims* [emphasis added]. Instead we encourage and celebrate mutual relationships of support, learning and friendship between local people and new arrivals.'[26] Rather than mobilizing a language of victimhood or danger, the sanctuary movement expounds an emphasis on asylum seekers as 'already productive citizens,' who might contribute to community. An advertisement for Sheffield's sanctuary city is read out during the meeting. It captures this sentiment perfectly:

> Can you imagine a life without fish and chips? Imagine a UK that hasn't benefited from other cultures. People escaping war and persecution in their home countries bring us their language, skills, food, art and learning. Refugees gave us fish and chips, the Mini, the Muppets and Thunderbirds.[27]

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007

Statements such as this reflect the emphasis placed by the sanctuary movement on the 'role that flows of people play in the constitution of the city.'[28] This approach intends to challenge the distinct striation between those who are affiliated citizens and those who are marginalized; rather, layers of affiliations (or gradations of citizenship) seems to be encouraged whereby one is said to contribute even when full rights have yet to be granted.[29]

Although this distinction between citizen/non-citizen is actively contested, the conversation of contribution is at the same time embedded within a differentiation between those who are 'new' to a community, and those already situated within a given place. The image of a rooted community within which newcomers may be added is deployed on numerous occasions.[30] An email sent prior the meeting from the National Coordinator typifies this move. Leading up to the meeting all participants were invited to think about a 'story of good practice—ESPECIALLY an event which brings the refugee world into contact with established communities.'[31] The question lingered in my mind, what 'refugee world'? Might the experience of a separate 'world' be made more real by contrasting it with a notion of an already 'established community'?

Taking council

The conversation soon turns to the question of how the movement might offer city councils across the UK a 'useful' cohesion strategy model. In Bradford, for instance, a representative explains, the council has adopted some of the ideas from the sanctuary city in its 'New Arrival Strategy.'[32] The council's adoption of this strategy institutionalizes the sanctuary city's goal of 'celebrating the huge contribution that asylum seekers and refugees bring to the city.'[33] Bhogal, co-founder of the movement, explains in his address that 'cities and towns are grateful that we're giving them a model for cohesion strategies.'[34] These discussions echo the position stated in *The Handbook* regarding the importance of partnership between sanctuary city movements and local city councils as an integration strategy. To quote *The Handbook*: 'formal support of the city council...is one of the criteria for becoming officially recognized.'[35] This perspective underscores the role of the council as a major employer and service provider for the city, and highlights how its policies—although unable to over-ride central government decisions—greatly influence the

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007

lives of those who are seeking sanctuary.[36] As such, it is vital to establish a working relationship with the council in order to stimulate meaningful change.

During the annual meeting the Huddersfield representatives reflected on how their sanctuary city decided not to approach the council, for fear that they had not developed a strong enough grassroots basis. They were concerned that getting involved with the council might derail their vision. This concern is mirrored in *The Handbook*, which encourages a local sanctuary initiative to:

> Make a decision about the right time to approach their Council for a resolution of support because the process building a grassroots local movement can be short-circuited by gaining Council endorsement too early. Council members are more likely to see their support as purely symbolic if there is not already a significant grassroots movement behind it.[37]

While the official guidelines encourage council support, this guidance is also premised upon contingency. There is an appreciation for local variations in terms of what type of support might be developed and also a consideration of timing. So too, the tension is acknowledged between utilizing council support against the risk of the sanctuary city approach becoming 'hijacked by local government as a way of covering up its own shortcomings.'[38]

A Story of safety

Occasionally during the annual meeting, conversations veer from present sanctuary practices to 'The History of Sanctuary.'[39] This history serves as an anchor, grounding the contemporary cities of sanctuary as a movement. The fact that sanctuary has 'always existed' underlines its significance, its venerable lineage calls attention to the 'duty' of reviving it today.[40] The sanctuary city represents the continuity of this vital practice.[41]

Throughout the meeting, delegates convey a sense of sanctuary that reflects its cross-faith constitution. Sanctuary has variously been associated with Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, Baha'i, Sikhism and Hinduism in different contexts for thousands of years.[42] As distinct as these paths may be, they also merge to tell a unified history of sanctuary. What is striking in this formulation is the word 'the.' Its use implies a

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007

singular historical narrative of sanctuary. While delegates acknowledge that there 'are different cultural routes that one can follow,' these paths eventually come together and, 'at the end of the day,' all of these expressions provide a form of safety to prosecuted peoples.[43] The cultural and religious specificities of this practice are packed together in the universal claim that sanctuary is a practice of protection, 'rooted in universal human experience.'[44] As Allen explains, sanctuary is 'age-old,' it has a 'precious history,' and it is an idea that is rich with critical potential, if only we can learn how to use it.[45] The purpose of the sanctuary city movement is to put the lessons we can glean from this tradition into practice and to provide 'sanctuary for people whose lives are in danger.'[46]

The Handbook offers an extended reading of this history. It posits that the 'roots' of sanctuary can be traced to ancient Egyptian, Hebrew and Greek culture.[47] According to this argument, one of the earliest expressions of sanctuary is to be found in the Hebrew tradition, where six contained Cities of Refuge/Sanctuary were established. These enclosed cities are described as having 'refuge to anyone, including a foreigner who was accused of manslaughter, thus preventing the automatic use of blood feud as a rough and ready and often indiscriminately unfair route to justice.'[48] A passage from Numbers 35:9–15 is quoted to illuminate this history: 'These six towns will be a refuge for Israelites, aliens and any other people living among them, so that anyone who has killed accidentally can flee there.'[49] This tradition is framed as the 'basis' or backbone for the development of sanctuary into 'Western European society.'[50]

Beyond the Hebrew tradition *The Handbook* then traces the legal dimension of 'sanctuary' to the Christian Church in 392 CE, when Theodosius enshrined it in law. Where sanctuary was previously a contingent and customary practice, the church's adoption of sanctuary lent it an ecclesiastical basis. Here sanctuary is defined within specific church-based boundaries and under church authority. From 392 CE, the narrative put forward in *The Handbook* suddenly skips forward to Medieval England. It claims that sanctuary first emerged in two forms in 600 CE England, on the one hand, a general right to sanctuary which belonged to every church, and, on the other, a particular right to sanctuary which was granted to some cities by Royal Charter. The number of sanctuaries was eventually reduced by Henry VII and in 1623 the 'general right to sanctuary was abolished.'[51]

Like the words to a well-worn children's storybook, 'the' history recounted at this event washes over me with routine familiarity. I have

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007

heard this tale before, many times in fact, through various historical accounts of sanctuary. A pattern is evident across them. In the first place, sanctuary tends to be posed as experiencing a 'revival' today. It is cast as the most ancient form of safety and protection practice that is supposedly re-emerging in contemporary politics.[52] In his Introduction to a recent issue of 'Refuge,' which is dedicated to the topic of sanctuary, Randy Lippert observes that it is characteristic of these histories to pave a singular line from 'ancient' practices of sanctuary to those occurring in Canada today.[53] He elaborates: 'beginning in the early 1980s, the ancient tradition of church sanctuary underwent a *revival*, with Christian churches providing sanctuary to migrants facing imminent arrest and deportation' [emphasis added].[54]

I am curious about this term revival which has featured in both Lippert's work and the meeting. There is an implication that sanctuary, defined by Lippert as place for physical protection, has lain dormant until now when it re-emerges as if to suggest the object of sanctuary is part of an unbroken stream of development.[55] In this claim to 'revival' there is often an implied desire to 'go back' in time, to 'revive' a practice of protection which is more welcoming and less discriminating than the practices often associated with today's statist asylum system.[56] Linda Rabben suggests that asylum represented a sharp break from earlier sanctuary and that a revival of sanctuary today may offer an alternative to the problems of a violent contemporary asylum regime.[57] Rabben explicitly draws up the dualistic picture that 'the legal framework of asylum perversely serves to exclude, imprison, and segregate the stranger... in contrast sanctuary seems to open an escape valve that asylum fails to provide.'[58] While this distinction is made in particularly thick terms here, it informs the general sanctuary literature with varying degrees of subtlety. Charles Stastny poses contemporary sanctuary as a 'response' to asylum, a 'self-appointed instrument striving to close the gap between the needs for a safe haven and the official grants of political asylum.'[59]

Another familiar chorus is repeated in the annual sanctuary city meeting, that is the suggestion that sanctuary was, originally, territorially fixed. Sanctuary, from the beginning, tends to be understood as an enclosed, fixed and contained practice. During the meeting a reference to the Cities of Refuge, posed as the first central expression of sanctuary, are described as 'contained cities' physically 'cut off' from violence.[60] This assertion is echoed in a growing body of literature on sanctuary which suggests that when we go back in time we find that sanctuary emerged

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007

from the ancient Greek notion of asylia; namely, an inviolable or neutral physical *place*, offering protection. For instance, this story is taken as given in Matthew Price's text 'Rethinking Asylum.' Here, Price offers the following definitional horizon:

> The word 'asylum' is Latin, and comes from the Greek asylia, or 'inviolability.' In ancient Greece, inviolability…was characteristic of certain places—namely, temples, altars, and other sanctuaries.[61]

A similar etymological trajectory is apparent in Sylvia Lambert's work, she states:

> The etymology of the word sanctuary connects it to the Late Latin Sanctuarium, an apparently irregular form of sanctus, meaning 'sacred, holy.' As a sacred place, it is distinctly set apart from the profane, from the world of ordinary existence.[62]

So too, John Pedley shapes a congruent historical path through his definition of sanctuary as:

> A sacred area, a place apart from the secular world of humans, where gods were worshiped and rituals took place. The Greek words for sanctuary were hieron (sacred) and temenos (a place set aside…to suggest the separation from the secular).[63]

Similarly, Michiel Dehaene begins his analysis of sanctuary by already framing it within the bounds of physical containment. According to Dehaene, a sanctuary is

> A safe haven, a protected space. Sanctuary's entry…and exit must always be policed, this is because dwelling within, even passing through any sanctuary, any asylum, puts the self at risk…sanctuary is produced both by physical boundaries and by a special discourse that reinforces the importance of these boundaries as a means of protection.[64]

In and through protected space sanctuary seems to represent a sort of abstract and absolute security against insecurity. As Dehaene states in a following passage: 'it is telling that in Belgium and in France several groups of asylum seekers and illegal migrants recently went on hunger strikes, taking refuge in churches, and by doing so "instinctively" revived this ancient opposition between camp (closed detention center) and sanctuary.'[65] Again, as with Lippert, the notion of reviving an ostensibly persistent notion of sanctuary is deployed. This notion of containment is further exemplified in a body of work that takes sanctuary as a key tool

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007

in promoting 'zones of peace.' Here sanctuary is referred to as simply 'locational,' as a spatial form of protection, which implies an 'escape to a location beyond the boundaries of society.'[66]

On the other hand there is a growing concern, which takes issue with a locational, or place-based, view of sanctuary. Michael Innes' work, which looks at 'terrorist safe havens,' attempts to challenge this type of, what he calls, 'state-centric' thinking on the subject.[67] However, he risks simplifying sanctuary as a historically fixed phenomenon that only 'now' is taking new spatial form. Although he contends that contemporary militant sanctuaries may not be understood as physically enclosed architectures, he none-the-less poses this dialectically against seemingly original sanctuaries in 'Christian, Judaic and Muslim traditions' thereby suggesting that the history of sanctuary is a history of the very state-centric spatial form he critiques.[68]

Jonathon Darling's work on the sanctuary movement in the United Kingdom represents an important shift towards understanding a more complex expression of sanctuary.[69] Darling's work does not valorize either movement or fixity but attempts to see how both 'place-based' and 'relational' fluid practices are entwined in a contradictory bouquet, implicated in offering new possibilities.[70] Indeed, this notion seems reflective of the comments made by the representative from the Hackney sanctuary city. It is in the productive fusing, rather than in the privileging of either/or that Darling offers a persuasive account of Sheffield's sanctuary city. Darling suggests that sanctuary cities operate through networks creating an openness to otherness by fostering physical proximity between people with varied experiences, what Jane Jacobs calls 'proximate diversity.'[71] However, Darling's work also subtly risks a similar move that is evident in Innes, namely, the narrative of a transformation—or resistance—from a statist conception of sanctuary towards more mobile practices as new or 'different.'[72] This move lays claim to a progressive narrative suggesting that only *now* might sanctuary be understood through mobility (as a dialectic against fixity), or perhaps as a fusion (of movement and fixity). Troublingly, this assertion of novelty only serves to incite the founding myth that sanctuary is synonymous with territorial fixity and containment in the first instance.

As we have seen in this chapter, the official UK-based sanctuary movement draws on a particular historical framing of sanctuary as a 'positive' tradition of providing safety within territorially contained sites. Contemporary sanctuary is said to expand and deepen the historical

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007

practice of protection by providing a more progressive fluid form of hospitality. In the following chapter I drop the reader into a different scene: a drop-in center nestled in Glasgow's sanctuary city where asylum seekers discuss, narrate and perform their experiences of sanctuary. It will be shown how the empirics gleaned from this political articulation reveal a complex story of sanctuary that is at odds with the official discourse's depiction of sanctuary as an inviolable, safe and neutral practice.

Notes

1 Tiffy Allen, City of Sanctuary National Coordinator, *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham. October 31, 2011. Also see the City of Sanctuary website which identifies this long-term vision: http://www.cityofsanctuary.org/node/555Website (accessed: October 15, 2011).
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: A Practical Handbook with Inspiring Examples.* (Plug and Tap, 2009), 11
7 Craig Barnett, City of Sanctuary co-founder, interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman. Sheffield, United Kingdom. May 18, 2009.
8 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 Deborah Phillips, 'Moving towards integration: the housing of asylum seekers and refugees,' *Britain Housing Studies* 21, (2006), 539–553.
15 A host of critique has emerged in relation to this dispersal policy, which is seen to accentuate marginalization towards those seeking asylum. It has been argued that the 'growing restrictionism of European countries toward asylum seekers and refugees has nowhere been more evident than in the UK.' See: Roger Zetter and Martyn Pearl, 'Sheltering on the margins: social housing provision and the impact of restrictionism on asylum seekers and refugees in the UK,' *Policy Studies* 20, (1999), 235–254.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007

16 Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: A Practical Handbook with Inspiring Examples.* (Plug and Tap, 2009), 9–15
17 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
20 Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: A Practical Handbook with Inspiring Examples.* (Plug and Tap, 2009), 5–20
21 *National City of Sanctuary AGM.* Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011
22 *City of Sanctuary*, http://www.cityofsanctuary.org/bristol (accessed: October 27, 2011).
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.
27 Ibid.
28 Jonathon Darling, 'A city of sanctuary: the relational re-imagining of Sheffield's asylum politics,' *Transactions of the Instutite of British Geographers* 35, no. 1 (2010), 125–140.
29 Nikolas Rose, 'The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government,' *Economy and Society* 25, no. 3 (1996), 327–356.
30 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31 2011.
31 City of Sanctuary, email message to author, October 15, 2011
32 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.
33 *City of Sanctuary*, http://www.cityofsanctuary.org/bradford (accessed November 1, 2011).
34 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011. Important to note the use of 'strategy' rather than a 'tactic' being deployed.
35 Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: A Practical Handbook with Inspiring Examples.* (Plug and Tap, 2009).
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid, 68.
38 Ibid, 69.
39 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.
40 Ibid.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007

41 Ibid.
42 Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: A Practical Handbook with Inspiring Examples.* (Plug and Tap, 2009).
43 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.
44 Ibid.
45 Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: A Practical Handbook with Inspiring Examples.* (Plug and Tap, 2009), 12.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid, 24.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.
53 Randy Lippert, 'Wither Sanctuary?' in *Refuge* 26, no. 1 (2009).
54 Randy Lippert, *Sanctuary Sovereignty Sacrifice: Canadian Sanctuary Incidents.* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2005). Also see: Christopher Mitchell and Landon Hancock 'Local Zones of Peace and a Theory of Sanctuary,' in *Zones of Peace* (USA: Kumarian Press, 2007).
55 Randy Lippert, 'Wither Sanctuary?' in *Refuge* 26, no. 1 (2009).
56 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.
57 Linda Rabben, *Give Refuge to the Stranger: The Past, Present and Future of Sanctuary.* (US: Left Coast Press, 2001).
58 Ibid, 217.
59 Charles Statsny, 'The Roots of Sanctuary,' *Refugee Issues* 2, no. 4 (1987), 294.
60 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.
61 Matthew Price, *Rethinking Asylum: History, Purpose and Limits.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 26.
62 Sylvia Lambert, *Sanctuary: Reflections, Implications and Cohesions.* (University of South Carolina, 2004), 24.
63 John Pedley, *Sanctuaries and the Sacred in the Ancient Greek World.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 29.
64 Michiel Dehaene, *Heterotopia and the City: Public Space in a Post-Civil Society.* (Routledge: United Kingdom, 2008), 12–32.
65 Ibid.
66 Christopher Mitchell and Landon Hancock, 'Local zones of peace and a theory of sanctuary,' in *Zones of Peace.* (USA: Kumarian Press, 2007), 189.
67 Michael Innes, 'The safe havens myth,' *Foreign Policy,* (2009), 2–19.
68 Ibid.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007

69 Jonathon Darling, 'A city of sanctuary: the relational re-imagining of Sheffield's asylum politics,' *Transactions of the Instutite of British Geographers* 35, no.1 (2010), 125–140

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0007

3
A Politics of Ease

Abstract: *Situates the reader in Glasgow, a sanctuary city host to the largest population of asylum seekers in the UK. This chapter illustrates how sanctuary inadvertently functions as a 'politics of ease,' ameliorating rather than undoing the problems associated with protracted waiting.*

Bagelman, J. Jennifer. *Sanctuary City: A Suspended State*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0008.

'We need to make the waiting room look more uncomfortable,' Omar interjects as various ideas are scrawled down in a spiral notebook.[1] The other eight members of the group deliberate for a moment. The elected scribe scores out a few lines with red ink and scribbles some fresh ideas in their place. With only three days to go until the opening performance of their play, *The Roundabout*, there is a heightened sense of nervousness and focus. When one of the men asks how they plan to procure costumes for the play he is met by pensive expressions and furrowed brows. Fits of laughter erupt as another man pontificates in a nasal voice and puffs out his chest, acting out the part of a haughty Home Office representative. And a long pause lingers between this group of men when someone asks, 'who is going to act out the girl?'[2]

The only break in concentration arrives with the bowls of soup cheerily offered by a woman volunteering here at the Govan Integration Drop-in at the Pearce Institute, in Glasgow. As the swirl of ideas cedes to the silent scooping of spoons, I find myself scanning the room and am reminded of our surroundings: a cold, stark room where asylum seekers and refugees are welcomed to meet and eat once a week. Perhaps it is simply because I am the only one offering to read out the lines for the female character during rehearsal at the drop-in, but I feel welcome among these people.

The concept for the play was developed three months ago. This group of men decided that they would like to create something, tell a story. This story was not written for a specific purpose per se; it was partly the coming together, and the creation itself that was attractive. The men decided it would be useful to sit down and exchange the experiences of waiting they endured in Glasgow. These stories were intimate, nuanced, and not reducible to clichés or platitudes. Yet they also reflected some striking overlaps and common patterns. Chief among these overlaps was the use of a particular metaphor, that of the roundabout, to evoke the experience of being caught up in a cycle of waiting with no immediate end in sight.

Many of these men have had their claim for refugee status rejected and, as a result, have suffered the exhaustion of destitution: no access to government service benefits, no housing, no right to work, all render the roundabout that much more poignant. In this situation many were thus compelled to seek charity or, as they call it, forms of sanctuary.[3] Sanctuary and charity are often exhaled in the same frustrated breath. For these men at least, it signifies a form of despair, the kind of support

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0008

one seeks when there is nowhere else to turn.[4] Their sole source of aid, sanctuary support nevertheless elicits in these men a sense of dependency, uselessness and invisibility. Although sanctuary is generally seen as a necessary good for and by these men, they distain the passivity it demands of them. It engenders an expectation to take and to wait. In its more progressive forms, it engenders an expectation to be productive while taking and waiting. The group discussed how there are some spaces which offer ways to 'come to terms' with the waiting they endure. They reflect upon the services that offer voluntary counseling support or forums to discuss what the future might hold: the hope for Leave to Remain.[5]

The men discerned that writing this play was going to be a different kind of practice. Although at moments they may have found some solace in the aforementioned kinds of sanctuary, right now they did not want to be offered this kind of hope. They did not want potential time-lines to ease their waiting. They did not want to focus on how best to process their claim so that it might lead to a best outcome tomorrow. Writing this play was not about charity, safety, or idealized hope. It was not even about those words: positive, progress. This play was about digging into the experience of waiting, and really fleshing it out. It seemed to me that this was an experience, in part, of getting angry. It was also a process interspersed with moments of laughter.

Once they had written the play, the men agreed they would like to share it with others. However, anxieties about packaging and reenacting these very raw and personal truths were close to the surface. They were hesitant to put themselves on display as spectacles, wary that this might just elicit pity. Ultimately, they decided that if they were going to endure the discomfort of waiting, the audience would have to share their ordeal. It was determined that they would not encourage others to simply watch. Instead, those people coming to view this play would actually become part of the play, participants in the scene. Rather than spectators, they would become spec-actors.

This approach was fine-tuned through discussions with Isabel Clara Harland De Benito and Nicky Bolland, volunteers at the drop-in center who have experiences working with forum theater. This mode of theater may be traced to Augusto Boal and, beyond him, to the Latin American radical educationalist Paulo Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed, and especially his idea that 'the teacher is one who learns.'[6] Drawing on Boal, the volunteers suggested that forum theater refuses

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to offer a complete, didactic message for passive consumption.[7] Rather this form of theater creates a space in which it is possible for people to 'transgress, to break conventions, to enter into the mirror of theatrical fiction, to rehearse forms of struggle,' which may incite an uneasy sense of incompleteness that seeks continual consideration and action.[8]

This form of theater aims to cut across what may be perceived as a cinematic viewing experience whereby, as Michael Shapiro describes it, one 'move(s) from the city streets into the theater, a shift from voyageur to voyeur.'[9] Their performance plays with this shift by unsettling the position of the audience. It seeks to keep open and insist on the voyage itself and the encounters one may confront on the street. It is an attempt to cast the voyeur into a more tenuous position where they too are part of the performance of life in all its contingent complexity. Instead of moving from the theater to the street, one of the men explained to me that this is 'street theatre.'[10] It is theater in the most mundane daily sense of the word, designed to be as much of a chance encounter as one might experience on the sidewalk.

To me, this was exemplified the day of the 'performance' when the men welcome their 'audience' into the room in a style that seems perhaps less than welcoming to the predominantly English-speaking crowd. One of the actors begins a monologue in Swahili. A few people in the crowd exchange confused glances with one another, searching for a glint of meaning. Challenging a model of communication that necessitates a linguistic consensus as a condition for politics, here the actor seems to enact political voice by challenging 'those who claim to speak correctly.'[11] This monologue trundles on to the point where a few people in the audience begin to squirm and riffle through pockets, looking for scraps of paper as if to confirm they are in the right place. Eventually, in what was a more 'familiar' language to many people in the room, the actor exclaims:

> I'm tired of all this! It's driving me crazy.../ /toing and froing...not knowing anything...
>
> //I'm fed-up![12]

The actor weaves around the room stopping briefly at different stations: the Home Office, a medical clinic and a lawyer's office. At the lawyers office the man acting the part of solicitor looks at his watch and states apathetically,

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0008

> Ah, well you'll need to make an appointment. Jenny (he calls across the room without getting up), when's the next available appointment?
>
> Jenny: Two weeks from now—the 13th of November.
>
> Papa: But that's far too late—we need to submit an appeal in three days...
>
> Solicitor: Don't worry, I will try my best to help you. You've got plenty of time. We'll be in touch with the home office—*don't worry*.
>
> Mama: This boy is very sick...we must go to the clinic immediately![13]

This scene depicts the actors' refusal to be appeased by a detached hope. There *may* be 'plenty of time' for the solicitor, there *may* be hope in a distant future promising to assuage concerns, but here in this scene this is *not* sufficient. There is no action plan, no program offered through the play to 'resolve' this nausea-inducing roundabout. Instead, suddenly—in what seems to be the middle of the play—one of the men asks some of the people 'watching' the play—'what do you think?'[14]

An uncomfortable pause follows, but the actor does not revise the question or soften it to make it more inviting. Part of me wishes that he would. A woman standing next to me says 'I don't know how realistic the performance is.'[15] This leads to a debate, back and forth between a few people in the room. Some feel it is too bleak, for others it is not bleak enough. The play resumes and halts again with another query to the audience: 'and what are your experiences with destitution?'[16]

There is no obvious or neat resolution to the play. There is no tidy conclusion, no exit off *The Roundabout*. What appears to be another interruption in the sequence of acted events turns out to be an opening to a conversation that leads to smaller groups of people discussing amongst themselves how they experienced the play. The woman I end up speaking with is a resident of Bearsden, an affluent area of Glasgow. She tells me that when she first arrived here today she was quite confused, even irritated. She assumed she was coming to watch a play, why was she expected to take part like that? She did not sign up to be cast in this performance. Yet, she also said that she had never been quite so affected by a performance, 'it really brought me in, it made me wonder more about these things.'[17]

The city streets, as traversed by these actors, were revealed anew to the Bearsden resident. They were not streamlined passages from one set of high-end boutiques and coffee shops to the next, rather they were fractured labyrinth-like routes interrupted with blocks and endless delays. This room in the Pearce Institute, a far cry from a glossy stage

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or theater, became an extension of the contested city streets of Glasgow. This street performance had a special capacity to illuminate Glasgow's spatial and temporal rhythms. It seemed to reflect Maurice Blanchot's observation of speech as a 'detour' refusing to become 'petrified'—an art form that 'flees.'[18] This performance seemed to embody Shapiro's suggestion that art holds political potential when it can 'refashion force relations, oppose a politics that is mired in the official language of macropolitical institutions and thereby provide an opening to the micropolitics of everyday life.'[19]

Mediating waiting

Circulating through *The Roundabout* is a discussion of the grave problems associated with waiting. One of the paradoxes surfacing in this play is that the very practices of sanctuary that are supposedly temporary, protective, and mitigatory can end up functioning as a condition of liminality that entrap asylum seekers in a permanent state of suspense. Though ostensibly a short-term, stop-gap solution, sanctuary actually risks operating as a permanent limbo. In this context, it seems, sanctuary is anything but safe.

As suggested in the previous chapter, the sanctuary city is often situated as remedying an exclusionary statist asylum regime.[20] Most importantly, sanctuary supposedly alleviates the problems associated with waiting by offering a vision, one that is often linked with a transcendental and scared promise, a link that I would now like to consider in more detail.

The account of sanctuary as a hopeful practice was in full swing at the sanctuary city's *World Ceilidh* event in Glasgow. Bagpipe music streamed out of the Multicultural Center, welcoming passers-by to participate.[21] Inside, confusion met laughter as kilt-clad aficionados spun around less coordinated beginners to the fast-passed dance, 'strip the willow.' Amid this whirl of activity, another group of people gathered around a large table where a poster rests. It is blank save the title: what does sanctuary mean to you? A few people pick up the thick markers, which are sprawled across the poster, and write down their responses. A variety of phrases emerge: 'welcoming,' 'hospitable' and the most prevalent (and also the sanctuary city's motto), 'a place of safety.' As discussions ensue it becomes apparent that this notion of safety is not simply understood as physical protection. As one participant suggests, 'Glasgow's sanctuary

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city is a place of safety because it offers hope—hope for the future and for being part of a community.'[22]

This view that sanctuary provides safety and hope is also reiterated in Rebecca Rotter's analysis of asylum practices in Glasgow. Rotter illustrates how many people are typically compelled to wait for extreme lengths of time while their asylum cases are considered, or after their cases have been rejected. Some, she notes, have waited in this liminal state for ten years. The difficulty of this waiting is captured in a statement made by one of her interviewees: 'when you are waiting, you are not on the ground. You are hanging in-between somewhere, in limbo.'[23] Although this problem of being forced to wait 'in-between' is prolific in the UK—and especially Glasgow—she suggests that there are emergent 'spaces of sanctuary' that are combating the problems associated with waiting.[24] Echoing the views expressed at the ceilidh, she depicts sanctuary as offering safety and, crucially, hope. She defines spaces of sanctuary as: 'social settings through which understandings of waiting were developed, forms of hope nurtured, and action to improve everyday life and chances of securing Leave to Remain, instigated.'[25] Based on her participation in various Glasgow-based charitable organizations she suggests that:

> Against the backdrop of protracted waiting, [these spaces] provided a setting within which social ties could be reconstituted, concerns identified and communicated, trust re-established, and concrete protection secured....these were a space of trust, unquestioned acceptance, protection and security, and as such, could be regarded as a space of sanctuary *from* the asylum process and 'immigration'[emphasis added].[26]

Rotter claims that these spaces are vital in the face of hostile practices of displacement, dispersal and threats of deportation. These 'formal support structures offered the means by which exclusion, marginalization and alienation could be addressed and to some extent, transformed.'[27] Sanctuary here is depicted as a valuable site offering connection and reprieve from an otherwise bureaucratic and marginalizing experience of waiting.

What I want to draw particular attention to here, however, is the manner by which Rotter poses sanctuary spaces as essential for 'the social *mediation of waiting:* people's attempts to anticipate their futures, to make sense of their experiences and to hope for the desired future.'[28] Sanctuary, in this sense, is presented as a tool for those people who are

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seeking asylum to come to grips with the groundless-ness of waiting, the limbo zone. Indeed, as Rotter points out, many people who are seeking asylum find spaces of sanctuary a crucial aid to 'cope with the uncertainty and powerlessness of their predicament, to improve the circumstances of everyday life, and enhance possibilities for the future.'[29]

Rotter draws a comparison between this kind of experience of waiting with testimony of dialysis patients who apparently 'felt that life was being stalled due to the endless, repetitive process of dialysis' and were 'denied a sense of progressive time.[30]' She suggests that despite the absence of a postulated end, her participants were able to make this time meaningful and hopeful through sanctuary spaces:

> Religious frameworks were drawn upon to make sense of predicaments; activities were undertaken to shift attention away from the strain of waiting; and hope, which oriented them to the positive modality of waiting, was carefully fostered through social interaction. Such strategies constitute agency in terms of making meaning from otherwise confounding affairs and aiming to bring about concrete and beneficial changes in individuals' lives.

Rotter goes on to suggest that while waiting may be seen as an overwhelmingly negative condition, for some it was possible to transform it into a positive experience. Such a possibility was dependent upon the ability to imbue the time of waiting with *value*. In other words, waiting could, in certain instances, be seen as a productive condition.[31]

Here sanctuary is constituted as a reclaiming of, what Rotter poses as, 'positive' and 'progressive' time, that is, time understood as moving forward towards some more desired end.[32] Or, perhaps in the words of the sanctuary city's official goal, it is about providing a vision. Waiting is not a static experience of being held still; supposedly, it can be productive, active and infused with value. The SRC has made a similar point, that 'keeping busy' is seen to be a welcome and perhaps necessary distraction that can 'avoid [one] thinking about problems' or becoming 'psychologically depressed.'[33] The problem here, perhaps, is that the sanctuary city perhaps risks providing a sort of false hope, without affecting change.[34]

A politics of ease

Creating opportunities for 'making sense' of extended periods of waiting and providing 'positive' hope for the 'desired future' is undoubtedly

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important. I now turn to ask: in what ways might this formulation of sanctuary serve to attenuate the serious problems of waiting expressed in *The Roundabout*. Does sanctuary threaten to ease the problem of waiting in such a way that it renders it an intractable problem? Although the fluid sanctuary city movement does not trap people within the confines of a contained site – like a church – might this seemingly more open movement serve to hold through hope's promise of tomorrow....and tomorrow...and tomorrow?

During the sanctuary city's national meeting, explored in the previous chapter, and also at the Glasgow ceilidh event, there was emphasis on providing asylum seekers, who are denied the right to work, avenues for career development. Time, it was suggested, can still be 'productive' even during the period one waits.[35] In this vein, the Glasgow sanctuary city aims to link people seeking asylum with a myriad of internship opportunities. The idea behind this is to enable people to develop networks and experience for potential work in the future. It is envisioned that this might yield a sense of productivity and agency even though people are put on hold in other respects.

However, in speaking with a number of people on such internship 'tracks' another dimension of this process was revealed to me. It seems that the problem of waiting risks being normalized and domesticated through some of these processes or rituals of sanctuary. For instance, this was exemplified when Amid explained:

> I keep going along and volunteering to be part of something, but how long can this go on? I feel I have invested here, so I cannot say 'this is not fair' or something like that. I would like to scream 'I have been here too long waiting!' but I have to keep in this.[36]

What partially emerges in Amid's statement is that while such internships open certain opportunities, they also serve to confine his dissatisfaction with waiting. The promise of a future itself becomes a way of limiting his screams in the present that may voice the intolerability of being put on hold. Having opted into a project, so too, he somewhat opts into a commitment to a 'progressive' time that becomes difficult to step out of. This too is echoed in the play that commences this chapter where the men are offered the appeasing words of a solicitor who suggests—just hang on, hang tightly secured to this roundabout.

I was also struck when I met Jamal, who explained that although he was very grateful for the support offered through his local church

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0008

sometimes it feels like 'there are just little hopes, little things that keep me busy, keep me from making some really different life.'[37] As with Amid there is a sense that these patchwork practices of sanctuary help to ease some of the difficulties associated with waiting; however, they also serve to de-fang, smooth out and ease the seriousness of this problem.

In investigating security practices in relation to the question of migration, Didier Bigo suggests that it is a 'politics of unease' largely governs.[38] For instance, it is through the circulation of fears (such as 'terrorism') in addition to the proliferation of everyday seemingly 'mundane' insecurities that we accept invasive technologies of control to govern life. This too produces fears (of deportation, detainment) for certain groups such as asylum seekers, that may operate as a deterrent. For instance, these fears may ultimately force people out of a position of waiting leading them to 'voluntarily' return 'home.' This concept is worthwhile to explore in this context of this challenge of waiting, for it seems that it is partly the proliferation of fear that creates a demand for sanctuary's hopeful promise.

Amid and Jamal's comments draw attention to some of the more problematic aspects of this politics of unease. Notably, they reveal how certain deployments of sanctuary engender an *easing*, or domesticating, of the problems associated with waiting. Sanctuary holds out potential, and yet it also justifies a 'suffer[ing] in the present in the hope that enjoyment will come later.'[39] One is encouraged to accept or even embrace a sub-optimal state of waiting as part of a progress story, a journey toward full citizenship perhaps, or greater cultural integration. As Rotter puts it, waiting functions within the sanctuary model as a 'consequential phase in the quest for protection, hope and security.'[40] Despite the serious struggles that many asylum seekers endure while they wait, Rotter argues that this can nevertheless be a productive and positive experience for the individuals involved. She states that during extended waiting periods,

> Individuals have been able to re-construct social ties; pursue educational opportunities; enhance personal security; gain greater control over their 'cases'; and undertake selective socio-cultural adaptation. They have also utilized a discourse of 'integration' circulating in Scotland to garner public support for their struggles for recognition and the right to remain ... [Eventually], people were able to realize the 'normal lives' for which they had been waiting.[41]

For Rotter, sanctuary practices provide a means of mitigating the myriad difficulties that confront asylum seekers as their lives are put on hold indefinitely. She contends that welcoming sanctuary practices have

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the potential to transform the waiting state into a productive state that empowers individuals to forge new social relations and seek further opportunities for themselves.

Rotter's analysis does not, however, take account of the negative and arguably damaging effects of sanctuary practices. They function as a form of governmentalizing process, inducing asylum seekers to commit to the rules of the game, while simultaneously trapping them in an endless cycle of waiting and deferral. To be clear, this does not replace Bigo's politics of unease. Rather, the politics of ease enacted through sanctuary is just another means of controlling certain forms of migration. Sanctuary, it seems, assumes the gentler face of this kind of control. In some cases it challenges the discourse of fear with one of hope. The danger, however, is that the latter masks rather than supplants the former to produce an even more exclusionary politics.

As we see in the case of internship programs, waiting can be repackaged to fit a narrative that celebrates 'progressive' and 'positive' and 'valuable' time.[42] Indeed, there is a productivity implied in this waiting. However, this offer of productivity also encourages vulnerable people to maintain a belief that the 'game' we collectively agree to play is worth playing. My intention here is not to make a normative claim about the meaning or role of sanctuary's hope production as good/bad. Rather, it is to illuminate how in certain contexts, hope may, inadvertently, function as a technology that controls through a type of deferral. Thus sanctuary practices that instill hope may alleviate the problems associated with waiting, but by doing so they reinforce rather than challenge the status quo. In this way sanctuary feeds into and indeed sustains a powerful state of deferral.

Easing unpredictability

The temporality of waiting and its capacity to serve as a technique of control leads us to Didier Bigo's work on prediction. Bigo's argument, which he set out in a public lecture delivered in Glasgow in 2012, is that politicians often exploit what he terms a 'politics of unease' in order to justify the production and use of technologies that (purportedly) better predict the future and thereby enable us to thwart dangers before they even emerge. According to this perspective, our lives increasingly resemble the dystopia depicted in the Philip K. Dick's short story *Minority*

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0008

Report, and the movie of the same name, where pre-cog technologies are deployed to monitor, foresee, and even divert the future before it happens. In and through the application of such technologies would-be criminals are deterred even before acting. But this is achieved at a high cost: the inception of a surveillance state. Bigo's warning, then, is that the politics of unease stoked by politicians to justify intrusive security measures, including the increased use of 'technologies of anticipation,' create a vicious circle that fuels itself.[43]

Bigo's argument was put in perspective for me by a happenstance exchange with Mehdi, a fellow member of the audience I bumped into on my way out of the auditorium. We struck up a brief but memorable conversation while filing through the crowds and out into the night. Medhi, I learned, is an Iranian asylum seeker living in Glasgow. Although he had already been waiting in Glasgow for nearly five years for Leave to Remain, he was uncertain about his immediate prospects and, more generally, what the future might hold for him. On one hand, then, the politics of unease that Bigo describes speaks very clearly to Medhi's experiences. As Medhi put it, he feels that as a person who is seeking asylum he has been made into a 'criminal' without ever committing a crime.[44] As Bigo argues, this is exactly how the logic of prediction operates: one is governed on the basis that it is not a question of 'if' one commits a crime, but 'when.'[45]We might view this imposed criminality as an affirmation of Bigo's claim that predictions of the future can be projected by policy makers onto particular populations in order to better control and govern them.

On the other hand, Medhi was clear that not everything Bigo said resonated with his experience. Specifically, the notion of prediction did not seem quite sufficient. Given that he is forced to wait indefinitely, he explained, he feels cast into a system largely defined by the very opposite of predictability, that is, *unpredictability*. Redolent of many other conversations that I have had with asylum seekers in the UK, Medhi explained that firm dates for his case hearings had not yet been provided by the Home Office and that appeals seem to be indefinitely suspended. So rather than lending ballast to Bigo's argument, Mehdi's experience made manifest the observation of Jan-Paul Brekke that 'the essential object for which the asylum seekers were waiting presented itself at an unidentifiable point in the unfolding future, giving waiting an open-endedness.'[46]

Reflecting on this, Bigo's work on predictability should be supplemented by an analysis of how the unpredictability of the future can also be invoked to control certain migrant categories. How, for instance, do

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0008

political leaders and immigration officials anticipate the unknown future (and the continual suspension of a known future) to govern people like Medhi. Here, again, Bourdieu's conception of power provides a rich source of insight. Bourdieu suggests that power is partially conceived as the ability to 'make oneself unpredictable and deny other people any reasonable anticipation, to place them in total uncertainty by offering no scope to their capacity to predict.'[47] At the same time that unpredictability may serve to control, Bourdieu also notes that it is through a clinging to hope in the future to come, an 'aiming at something greatly desired,' that maintains the 'durably' of this formulation of power.[48] In other words, a person can be durably 'held' only insofar as s/he possesses the *illusio*, which, in this instance, is the commitment to the waiting game.

So how does this relate to sanctuary? Sanctuary, understood as a source of safety and hope, ostensibly eases the worst effects of unpredictability. Although this may serve a helpful role in some respects, it also has the power to neutralize or domesticate extant dissatisfaction with the status quo. This is reflected in Jamal's frustration that, as a sanctuary recipient, he felt no space to scream about his anger of being made to wait. To the degree that sanctuary practices sustain a condition of waiting by ameliorating its worst effects, sanctuary practices may themselves contribute to the problem of suspension. The problem, on this view, is that sanctuary practices are designed to mitigate the experience of waiting without necessarily altering the conditions under which that waiting state is produced. So while sanctuary may extend a particular kind of hope, it risks sustaining a state of suspension, rendering it more durable and paralyzing.

Uneasy interruptions

At this point, however, I would also like to turn our attention back to the vignette of *The Roundabout* that commenced this chapter. At the same time this play highlights the problem of suspension, it also embodies a 'detour,' or, to employ the terminology of Deleuze and Guattari, 'lines of flight'—that is, minor practices that cut across.[49] While sanctuary practices may ease and the problem of waiting, I suggest there are moments wherein such problems become meaningfully politicized.

The Roundabout illuminates the complexity of 'sanctuary spaces,' such as the drop-in center. On the one hand, they betoken a space of safety, and hope is valuable in its own right. On the other hand, they can also

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0008

engender a sense of passivity among asylum seekers and refugees. They are conditioned upon a supplicatory ritual of sorts, wherein an asylum seeker admits their neediness in exchange for support and hope. In extending this kind of helping hand *to* asylum seekers, then, sanctuary spaces also exert a hold *upon* them. Perhaps, one might argue, this activity is just a release valve for the systemic process of suspension and unpredictability that confronts asylum seekers in Glasgow, and indeed across the UK as a whole. So too, one might argue, this theater brings into visibility an experience of victimhood and perhaps entrenches such victimhood through the spectacle. However, through the experimental interplay between visibility/invisibility that called the spect-actors into the scene the relationships between the people in this room were rendered anything but stable. This scene depicted and opened up a set of struggles. It was not about easing unpredictability. In part, it was *re-claiming the unpredictable*—illuminating the breaks and delays as a site for political conversation and contestation. It was actually about casting critical light on the processes of easing such unpredictability. The performers enact resistance to the placatory words: 'just be calm sir, we will know later.'[50] Although this performance emerged in a space of charity providing hope, which in some ways serves to petrify supplicatory relations, this art cut across such petrified abjection. This was not simply about 'keeping busy.' This was not an attempt to better anticipate their futures or offer hope for a desired outcome. This was not about distracting from the problem, or mediating the problem of waiting. It was about palpably bringing to the fore this very problem of waiting and opposing a politics of suspension. Here the charitable practice of sanctuary is revealed be part of an apparatus of control that holds asylum seekers in abeyance, promising 'eventual' citizenship, so long as one patiently endures the roundabout just long enough. Yet, it is also within the complex sanctuary space that such control in the form of charity is interrupted. The following chapter explores how another type of performance, in the form of a mapping project, exposes sanctuary less as a place of safety and more as a cacophonous meeting place where a myriad of unexpected encounters and detours may transpire.

Notes

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2 Ibid.

3 Author observation Govan Drop-in: Pearce Institute, Glasgow, United Kingdom.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. B. Ramos (New York, Continuum, 1997).
7 Augusto Boal, *Legislative Theatre: Using Performance to Make Politics*, trans. A. Jackson (London, Routledge, 1998), 142.
8 Augusto Boal, 'Augusto Boal, city councillor: legislative theatre and the chamber in the streets: an interview,' *TDR* 42, (1998), 80.
9 Michael Shapiro, *The Time of the City: Politics, Philosophy and Genre.* (London: Routledge, 2012), 164.
10 Omar, asylum seeker in Glasgow, interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, October 18, 2011, Pearce Institute, Glasgow, United Kingdom.
11 Jacques Rancière and D. Panagia, 'Dissenting Words: A Conversation with Jacques Rancière.' *Diacritics* 30 (2000).
12 *The Roundabout*, Pearce Institute, Glasgow, United Kingdom. December 18, 2011.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Maurice Blanchot, *The Infinite Conversation*, trans. Susan Hanson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 23.
19 Michael Shapiro, *The Time of the City: Politics, Philosophy and Genre.* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 164.
20 National City of Sanctuary AGM, Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.
21 Glasgow's City of Sanctuary World Ceilidh, Gartnethill Multicultural Center, December 16, 2011.
22 Ibid.
23 Rebecca Rotter, '*Hanging In-Between*': *Experiences of Waiting among Asylum Seekers Living in Glasgow.* (PhD diss., Edinburgh University, 2010).
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid, 48.
26 Ibid, 168.
27 Ibid, 135.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Rebecca Rotter, '*Hanging In-Between*': *Experiences of Waiting among Asylum Seekers Living in Glasgow.* (PhD diss., Edinburgh University, 2010) 10–43.
31 Ibid.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0008

32 Ibid.

33 Scottish Refugee Council. Health Report. Scottish Refugee Council. http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/policy_and_research/research_report (accessed January 1, 2012). In this document one of their participants states: 'I've got depression, being stressed all the time because I'm from a difficult situation and then you find another harder one here.'

34 While the network does disseminate information about campaigns that support its overarching aims and objectives, City of Sanctuary groups explicitly avoid political lobbying or campaigning in favor of a more subtle process of transforming culture. See Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: A Practical Handbook.* (Plug and Tap, 2009), 83.

35 Ibid.

36 Amid, asylum seeker in Glasgow, interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman. Glasgow, United Kingdom. January 12, 2012.

37 Jamal, asylum seeker in Glasgow, interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, Glasgow, United Kingdom. December 10, 2011.

38 Didier Bigo, 'Security and immigration: towards a critique of the governmentality of unease' *Alternatives* 27, (2002), 63–92; Didier Bigo and Elspeth Guild, *Controlling Frontiers. Free Movement into and within Europe*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Didier Bigo 'Globalized (In)security: the Field and the Ban-opticon', in *Illiberal Practices of Liberal Regimes, eds.* Didier Bigo and Anastassia Tsoukala. (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006), 5–49

39 Ghassan Hage, 'Citizenship and honourability: belonging to Australia today' in *Arab-Australians Today: Citizenship and Belonging*, ed. Ghassan Hage. (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 2003).

40 Rebecca Rotter, '*Hanging In-Between*'*: Experiences of Waiting among Asylum Seekers Living in Glasgow.* (PhD diss., Edinburgh University, 2010), 11–42.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

43 Didier Bigo, *Security, Prevention, Prediction: Impact on Human Rights*. (Boyd Orr Lecture Theatre 611, January 30, 2012).

44 Mehdi, asylum seeker in Glasgow, interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, Glasgow, United Kingdom. January 30, 2012

45 Didier Bigo, *Security, Prevention, Prediction: Impact on Human Rights*, Boyd Orr Lecture Theatre 611, January 30, 2012.

46 Jan-Paul Brekke, *While We Are Waiting. (*Oslo: Institute for Social Research, 2004), 23.

47 Pierre Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations.* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 228.

48 Ibid.

49 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Pour une littérature mineure.* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1975).

50 *The Roundabout* (Pearce Institute), October 18, 2011.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0008

4
Drawing Out Time

Abstract: *Exploring maps produced by asylum-seekers living in Glasgow this chapter exposes the spatial-temporal limits of sanctuary's welcome.*

Bagelman, J. Jennifer. *Sanctuary City: A Suspended State*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0009.

Up until this point this book has considered how a particular historical narrative of sanctuary tends to be posited as a generalizable given. The primary trope we observe in this regard is the depiction of sanctuary as a stable and venerable practice that boasts roots in 'ancient' times.[1] Courtesy of this, the notion of sanctuary simultaneously evokes a sacred past and provides a progressive 'vision' of hope for the future.[2] As we have already seen, though, the vision of hope offered by sanctuary can be debilitating rather than emancipatory. In this sense, I have suggested, a tension emerges whereby sanctuary risks functioning as a 'politics of ease,' a supplicatory technology that assuages and thus protracts the problems associated with the unpredictability of waiting. This chapter extends this analysis to consider how the official sanctuary discourse also evokes a very particular and arguably misleading historical trajectory that narrates sanctuary as shifting from a territorially fixed entity to a fluid and relational practice.

This chapter takes as its point of departure the efforts of a particular group of Glasgow-based asylum seekers to expose both the myth of this narrative and the harsh limits of the sanctuary city. Specifically, it examines how this group re-routed, or hijacked, a community-mapping project led by the sanctuary movement in order to critically and effectively highlight sanctuary's urban 'frontiers.'[3] The argument put forward is that the maps designed and circulated by asylum seekers work within and against the celebratory narrative of sanctuary, exposing the simplistic supplicatory relationality that such discourses entail.[4] Moreover, they provide insight into the critical potential of participatory community-mapping to become a tool for politicizing the very limits of an ostensibly hospitable community.[5]

Fluid sanctuary cities

'Promoting a *flow* of new ideas, talents and relationships'—this phrase permeates throughout sanctuary city meetings, events and literature.[6] As detailed in the Introduction, sanctuary is vaunted as a means for opening up exclusionary spaces. To quote *The Handbook*:

> A city that knows how to welcome people seeking sanctuary is a better place for everyone...it means that a city will not become a stagnant, fearful, inward-looking place [emphasis added].[7]

Statements such as this intimate the role that 'flows of people' play in the constitution of the sanctuary city's 'outward-looking' character.[8] Insofar as it emerges in particular locales, such as Sheffield, London boroughs or Glasgow, the sanctuary city may be 'place-bound,' but it is not 'place-bound.'[9] Indeed, it is intended to exceed the sort of physical containment that, say, Kader or Laibar experienced living in their respective church and temple sanctuaries. Rather, the sanctuary city movement envisions a diffuse web premised upon shifting attitudes towards a politics and culture of welcome.[10]

The emphasis on fluid practices signals a desire to both cultivate open-textured communities and challenge fixed or 'traditional' ways of life.[11] Within this, flows of migrants are conceived as 'already productive citizens,' who might add to community, rather than, as per the dominant framing, jeopardize it. We might recall this focus on active contribution evidenced in the hypothetical scenario raised through sanctuary city literature: 'can you imagine a life without fish and chips? Imagine a UK that hasn't benefited from other cultures... Refugees gave us fish and chips, the Mini, the Muppets and Thunderbirds.'[12] The problem, as argued earlier, is that a xenophilic statement to combat xenophobia ends up reproducing a xenophobic difference.

The depiction of the sanctuary city as a dynamic entity is linked to wider moves to view 'the urban' in fluid terms. A sanctuary city co-ordinator that I spoke to noted that Doreen Massey's 'relational' approach to the city, wherein the city is constituted not as a container but *through* dynamic relations, is key in this regard.[13] This approach challenges the kind of 'scalar thinking' that situates the city as 'lower' than, for instance, the state, and proposes that a relational view of the city offers greater prospects for solidaristic politics. As Massey puts it, a relational account of the city implies a 'geography of responsibility, [whereby] we are increasingly outward-looking.'[14] Solidarity emerges through everyday grounded and imminent relations of the urban, which is less a physical place than a protean way of life.[15] This in turn suggests an understanding of place that is, in Massey's words, 'open rather than bounded, as hospitable rather than exclusionary and excluding... a place as ever changing rather than eternal... a constellation of trajectories... a meeting place.'[16] This register offers, Massey argues, a 'wider distantiated politics of place' and a kind of 'political responsibility' that is shared between 'coexisting actors' who 'look forward' and imagine urban life together.[17] This approach to the 'urban' as a relational process is not new.[18]

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0009

This vision of the sanctuary city as a fluid practice that is 'place-based' though not 'place-bound' is invoked at various UK-based sanctuary meetings and events. In the next section I examine how this relational view is particularly evident in the *Mapping Project*, an initiative organized by Glasgow's sanctuary city movement. My aim in focusing on this initiative is twofold. First, I wish to detail how the sanctuary city risks mobilizing the idea of relationality in a hollowed-out fashion that tends towards precisely the kind of 'bland diversity' that Massey warns against.[19] Second, I wish to tease out and highlight how the asylum seekers involved in the initiative resisted this process.

Mapping urban frontiers

> Waiting, we say, is long. We might just as well—or more accurately—say it is short, since it consumes whole spaces of time without our living them or making any use of them as such.[20]

Every Tuesday in Glasgow's west end, Lansdowne Church transforms into the Unity World Café, a space devoted to welcoming and supporting people experiencing destitution in Glasgow. On one side of the church/café, three tables are laden with local produce donated by neighboring businesses. On the other side, a dozen tables are set up with chairs all around where asylum seekers, refugees and volunteers mingle over cups of tea, and an assortment of biscuits and soup.

On this particular Tuesday attendees are invited by Glasgow's sanctuary city organizers to 'map' their city.[21] A volunteer from the sanctuary city movement distributes pens and sheets of paper and asks everyone in the room to draw how they experience Glasgow as a sanctuary city. The presumption is that attendees would map Glasgow as a city of welcome. Issues soon arise, however. Deborah, a regular at the World Café who is siting with her two children, asks: 'How much detail...should it be all of Glasgow or just where we live?'[22] The volunteer encourages everyone to feel free to convey their experience of Glasgow as they wish. Another potential-participant asks, 'why do you want this?' The volunteer explains that the intention is for the maps to form part of the sanctuary city's *Mapping Project*, which will

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0009

be showcased during Refugee Week, an annual national event that celebrates the contributions refugees bring to the UK.[23] Eyebrows arch and people cough nervously; some people in the room are on Section 4 relief, and others are refused asylum seekers. 'But I don't have refugee status—do you still want me to do this?' 'Yes' was the tentative answer.'[24] Others in the room are less hesitant, a few chose not to participate and others have already begun sketching and doodling.

In a matter of minutes the room is abuzz. Everyone in the room is hovering over papers, chatting with one another, and drawing. After people hurriedly swallow their last bites of food, the volunteer sifts through the products of all this labor. She is not overjoyed with the results. 'Hmm, I don't know if we'll end up using these for the sanctuary city's exhibit,' the volunteer mutters, 'they are a bit... abstract. I am not sure they really show spaces of Glasgow.'[25]

The maps created certainly did not resemble the official maps of Glasgow one is accustomed to seeing in tourist offices and hotel lobbies. They were, as the volunteer complained, more 'abstract' than that. Nevertheless, these maps captured something essential about the city. They performed stories of Glasgow that are seldom found in touristic information, or even in well-intentioned Refugee Week celebrations. In this respect, these maps, to borrow Siegfried Kracauer's helpful turn of phrase, acted to 'restore what scientific abstractions remove' that is 'the qualities which give [objects] all their poignancy and preciousness.'[26] Put differently, they illuminated 'the experience of things in their concreteness.'[27] Rather than reflecting straight lines and right angles, they drew attention to the frayed edges of the city as experienced by those who reside on, or even beyond, its margins. In this sense the maps were not simply abstract; rather, they challenged the very idea of an 'abstract city,' understood as a 'formal and qualitative' depiction that erases concrete lived experience.[28]

As discussion ensued many of the participants explained that it was difficult, if not impossible to convey the city as a space without drawing out time. Moreover, those invited to do community mapping identified that they felt often excluded from the wider community, and that perhaps their maps might depict a more critical account. This first map, drawn by Mary, begins to illustrate this point:

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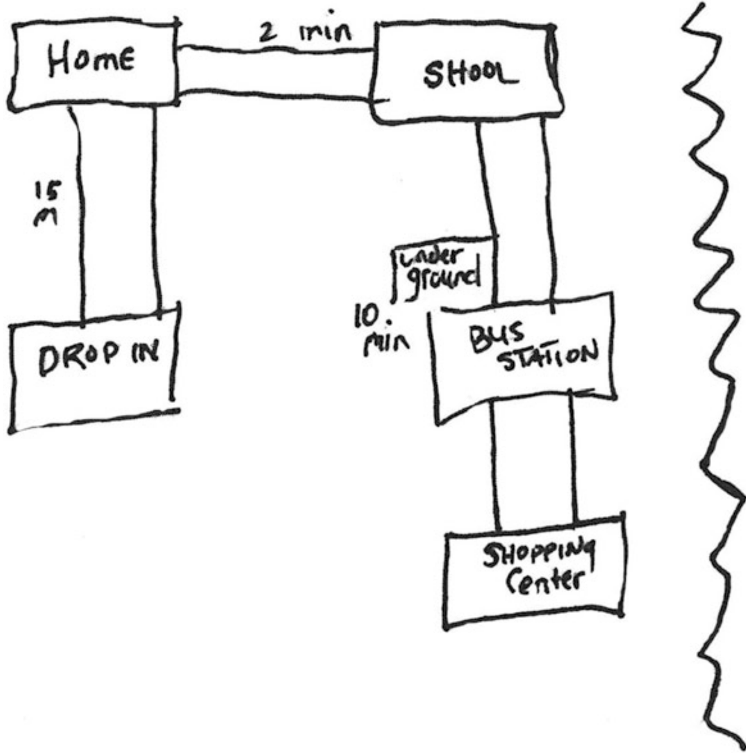

FIGURE 1 *Mary's Map*

I asked Mary if she could tell me about her map. She started first by explaining to me matter-of-factly: 'This is Glasgow.'[29] She described the 'wiggly line' separating one side of the paper from the other as the line where 'I don't really go' beyond.[30] Because she is waiting for her case to be reviewed, she does not like to go far from her home, which is a couch at her friend's flat in Govan. And, because she is waiting for her case to be reviewed, she also does not have the cash to ride trains or buses, so she walks most places. This restricts the distances she travels in her daily life. Normally she will not travel more than 15 minutes because 'with two small kids, I cannot walk for too long.'[31]

Speaking with other participants about their visual narratives, it struck me how time featured prominently in their drawings. In the below map, drawn by Bashiir, Glasgow is represented in slots of time:

> At 8am I leave my flat and arrive at college after walking there for 9am. I then go to Maryhill CAB [Citizen's Advice Bureau] for my 12.45 appointment. I then go to the Library for 17:00 and read and work there until I go home. I get home at 9pm to my flat.[32]

Bashiir explains to me that he uses arrows to show the 'circle of my day.' Bashiir refers to *The Roundabout* play that he helped write and he acted in and says 'this *is* the roundabout…each day I go, Monday to Friday 8–9, I don't know when it will stop.'[33]

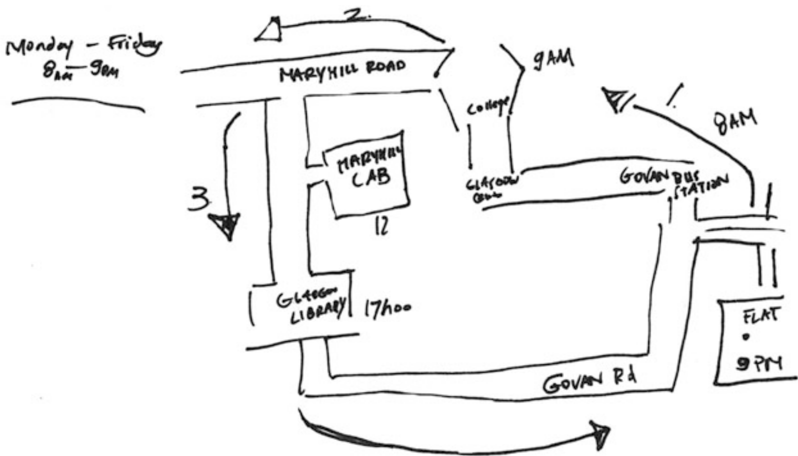

FIGURE 2 *Bashiir's map*

Although more linear than the first two maps, there is also a loop-like quality present in Ahmed's map below:

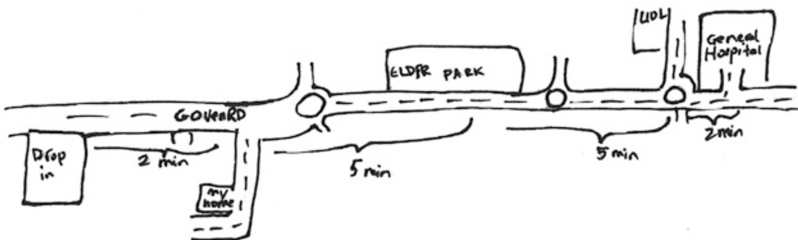

FIGURE 3 *Ahmed's map*

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0009

Similar to the Mary and Bashiir, Ahmed's map of Glasgow is a rather condensed collection of a few locations within walking distance to his home. Again, the time it takes him to move from one place to the next is carefully marked out. Ahmed explains to me that, he finds himself confined to a small area of Glasgow. With no job he has little money to travel, he 'does not really like being in new places in the city, it is not so welcome.'[34] So too, another participant, John, described his version of Glasgow in restricted terms. Pointing to the arrows drawn onto his map, John said that these are 'my main routes, it is the same every day.'[35]

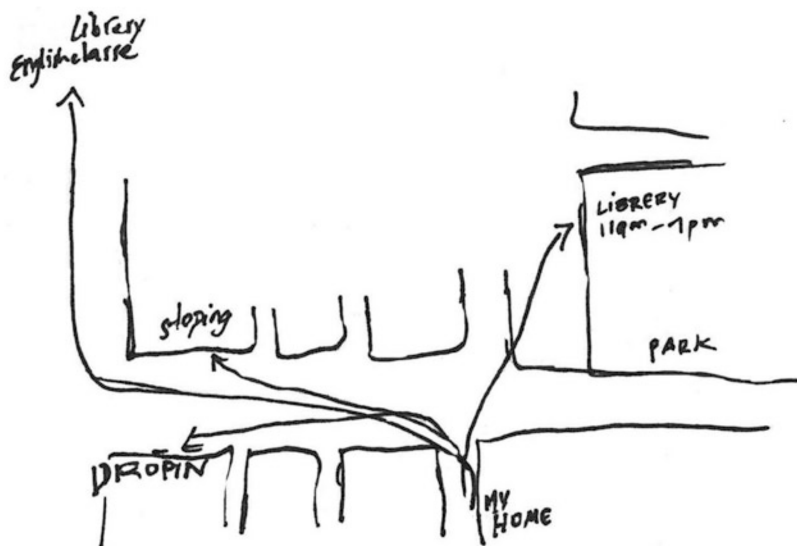

FIGURE 4 *John's map*

Overhearing these testimonies another participant, Michael, agreed that in Glasgow there are only a few places that he feels comfortable visiting. These are outnumbered by 'scary places,' which are off-limits and to be avoided. What, I asked him, constituted a scary place? 'Snow' was his first, humorous response. But then, adopting a more somber tone, he explained that he would rather not write down the names of the places that he tried to avoid. Ahmed and Michael agreed that while they are grateful for the 'likability' places—such as the library or drop-in centers hosted at various churches—they also felt 'trapped' in these places.[36] Michael explained that although there are no physical restrictions on where he can travel in Glasgow, he often feels constrained to a small circuit.

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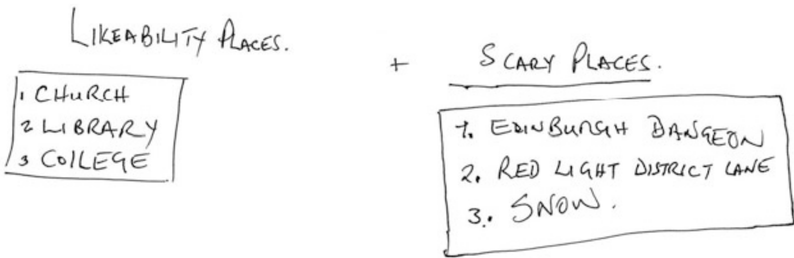

FIGURE 5 *Michael's map*

Perhaps nowhere was this sense of being confined in Glasgow's seemingly 'open' sanctuary more evident than in Lucumbo's map that depicts a labyrinth-like structure:

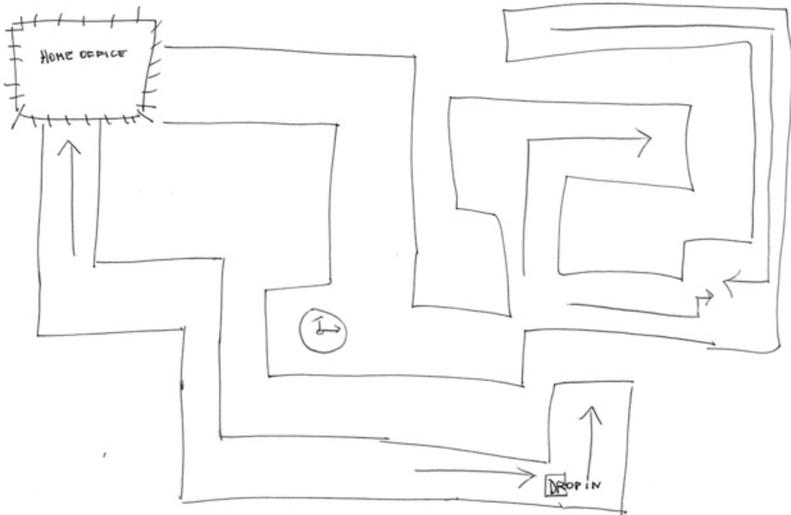

FIGURE 6 *Lucumbo's map*

Lucumbo emphasized that in this map, which he previously created as part of the theater performance *The Roundabout*, arrows are central to how he sees and experiences the city: 'they are all caught up, they are dead ends.'[37] Unlike some of the other participants, who described areas of Glasgow where they feel unable to travel, Lucumbo contended that he has access to most of the city, but that: 'I am not in Glasgow because I am always waiting for a paper to will say you must go.'[38] The clock in

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0009

the center of the diagram epitomizes this sense of uncertain waiting. It seems to reflect the imminent deportation that hovers unpredictably thereby making Lucumbo feel he is never quite present in Glasgow. Crucially the clock is lodged between the drop-in center—a place of welcome or a 'space of sanctuary' that may offer hope—and the Home Office, which is surrounded by barb-like lines. Although the drop-in offers relief it seems in this image that the two are inexorably entwined in the maze.

What emerges in all of these maps is a sense of containment. This containment is different from the kind of containment Kader's church signified. It is less obvious than this, but arguably more pervasive. It is predicated upon a bordering process that is constituted in, largely, temporal terms.

From the temenos to the open city?

The stories and maps discussed above are at odds with the vision of the sanctuary city as a space of 'open flow' posed at the beginning of this chapter.[39] These maps are also at odds with the story of progress that is often implied, sometimes subtly and sometimes explicitly, through the sanctuary city discourse. That is, that sanctuary was 'originally' a territorially fixed site but is *now* a more open set of networks and relations—and this is an inherently positive shift.

The image of sanctuary as a *temenos*, a sacred place that is bounded, is evoked as a historical touchstone from which a more fluid practice of sanctuary is seen to develop and evolve.[40] In this 'original' form, sanctuary was a place or site removed from the regular (secular, violent etc.) order of things.[41] From this perspective, life inside the sanctuary is conceived of as sacred, inviolable and pure not only from violence but also from movement and political agency. This spatial understanding of sanctuary as a place 'cut off' cements an image of those seeking sanctuary as similarly cut off. Accordingly, to be 'inside' a given sanctuary is also necessarily to be 'outside' the public or political realm.[42] This vision is reflected in Lieven De Cauter's view of sanctuary as a 'refuse, a safe haven, a protected space' that offers people 'shelter from seizure.'[43] The notion of *temenos* features prominently in this articulation. As De Cauter puts it: 'the sanctuary itself is the *temenos*, the holy ground and where

those who flee from the law, power and violence can find asylum (from human violence).'[44]

Setha Low presents a similar argument. She argues that 'the space of sanctuary is produced by physical boundaries and by a special discourse that reinforces the importance of these boundaries as a means of protection.'[45] Much like the 'gated community' Low contends that

> A safe haven and a sanctuary unintentionally exacerbates a sense of being an insider or outsider by architectural features such as walls and gates demarcating a threshold keeping inside and outside apart. This threshold effect...walls and gates make what were social distinctions more concrete.[46]

According to Low, the sanctuary 'dramatizes' the perception of safety inside 'danger outside.'[47] In this respect, the sanctuary functions much like Michel Foucault's heterotopia, a space that they define as being set outside the normal order of things.

While De Cauter and Low envision sanctuary as a practice that is *still* constituted through clear demarcations between the inside/outside, the sanctuary city transgresses this notion of sanctuary as 'cut off.' The *temenos* features in the sanctuary city vision as a story of sanctuary's *past*. This involves two aspects. On the one hand, then, the notion of *temenos* is cited as both the source of and foundational to the challenge that sanctuary poses to contemporary asylum practices. This history recalls medieval sanctuaries in the UK known for their 'sanctuary knocker' placed on church doors, upon which those in need would grasp highlighting their desperation. Once inside, the sanctuary seeker would be given approximately a 30-day time limit to reside in the church building. Those living in sanctuaries were known as 'sanctuary men' and would bear a symbol of supplication through a less than subtle cross around the neck. On the other hand, the notion *of temenos* is something to be jettisoned or left behind if, as circumstances demand, sanctuary is to be re-conceived in a more 'contemporary and open way.'[48] The sanctuary city thus 'revives' this history of safety but *improves* upon it, no longer insisting on these spatial and temporal limits or imposing such a symbolic image of passivity.[49]A clear trajectory from sanctuary as spatially confined to a more fluid process that attempts to change attitudes and create networks was identified.

The symbol of the 'sanctuary knocker' is worthy of further discussion. It is striking how routinely it is evoked in sanctuary city movement. It adorns the first page of *The Handbook*. It is also commonly depicted in

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local sanctuary pamphlets. For example, *York: Sanctuary for Refugees and Asylum Seekers*, a pamphlet that is produced by the York sanctuary city movement and distributed throughout the city, carries images of the 'Sanctuary Ring' on the door of Notre-Dame in Paris, as well as the 'Sanctuary Knocker' that still hangs on the door of the cathedral in Durham. The image of the knocker carries the inscription: 'Bring Hope All Ye Who Enter.'[50] Such images are interesting insofar as they dramatize the historical roots of sanctuary while also marking its limits. This is neatly encapsulated in a tourist guide to Durham Cathedral:

> The knocker on the Cathedral's northern door, known as the Sanctuary Knocker, played an important part in the Cathedral's history. Those who 'had committed a great offence,' such as murder in self-defense or breaking out of prison, could rap the knocker, and would be given 37 days of sanctuary within which they could try to reconcile with their enemies or plan their escape.[51]

The knocker, which dates to 1593, not only offers material evidence of sanctuary's deep roots, it also demarcates its physical boundaries. The knocker both actualizes sanctuary and delimits its range.

The symbol of the knocker is also important to the sanctuary city movement. It represents an origin that must be left behind. As Inderjit Bhogal, the founder of UK's sanctuary movement, proposes, contemporary sanctuary exponents must move beyond thinking of sanctuary as restricted to the kind of strictly delineated physical spaces that the knocker stands for.[52] He argues that rather than associating sanctuary with a logic of fortresses that close out people, or practices of safety that contain, a more open culture of hospitality is required. The challenge and opportunity confronting today's sanctuary exponents, he proclaims, is to 'see the imprisonment of asylum seekers brought to an end. Unlock the doors!'[53] The vision of the sanctuary city *qua* an open, relational city supplies one way of achieving this end. It is presented as a way of marrying the ancient practice of sanctuary with the desire for openness

Cutting across

The maps explored in this chapter destabilize the taken-for-granted and dominant trajectory that sanctuary was an originally territorially enclosed site and now, today, a more fluid practice of providing safety. These maps suggest that spatial and temporal limitations are not

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0009

confined to sanctuary's past; rather they are persistently enacted today through the sanctuary city, in perhaps less dramatic ways that demand our critical attention. The cartographies designed by asylum seekers in Glasgow provide a means for documenting and politicizing these limits.

These maps, in a few key respects, challenge the progress story deployed through and by the sanctuary city movement. Or rather, they set it against a counterpoint that would suggest what is happening is not a radical opening up or loosening of control, but merely a *recalibration* of control that still functions even in the absence of certain forms of physical containment. Viewed in concert, these maps certainly tell a story about being welcomed, but they also tell a story about being confined to certain areas—the church, the college, the library etc. The temporality of waiting is demonstrated as controlling movement; in a condition of waiting, mobility is often experienced as circular, confined and reaching dead-ends. This confinement is directly linked with the problem of time (the clock, for instance, in the middle of Lucumbo's drawing) that illustrates a prolonged deferral and sense of unpredictability that governs his sense of the city. In these maps, the sanctuary spaces are not posed as an alternative, but as part of this same maze.

These maps proffer a more complex relationality than is often depicted in the sanctuary city's vision. As was suggested at the beginning of this chapter, the sanctuary city tends to speak about a language of 'flow' and celebrates this sanctuary as exceeding a 'place-bound' understanding. However, in exploring these maps, is this particular understanding of relationality reflected? Is there a tendency in this open, fluid relational account to perhaps overlook persisting and transforming 'closures'? Is there a tendency to evade continual bordering processes? Does this relational approach flatten these demarcations? Does the sanctuary city appeal to 'outward' responsibility shape the ways in which the intense and persisting experiences of waiting require a more inward experience of the city? Massey warns that a relational account of the city:

> Is an attempt to construct not a bland diversity so much as a recognition of differences with all their conflicts and problematic implications? It does not mean not being critical, or not taking up clear political positions. It recognizes that this may be a conflictual negotiation of place.[54]

These maps designed by asylum seekers disclose the possibility that the 'open' relational approach promoted through the sanctuary city does not fully address the uncomfortable, even conflictual, political position

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0009

that Massey encourages us to grapple with. Could it be that sanctuary's promise in the future evades these more political processes? In celebrating the flow of 'new' cultures offering 'fish and chips' might this equate recognition with a cultural contribution, rather than with legal rights?

This mapping opens up a more complex relationality that does not flatten conflict or time in such a way that the stable progressive story of welcome is often told. These maps seem to embody what Mikhail Bakhtin refers to as 'heteroglossic' or contending voices.[55] They enact heteroglossic temporalities, contending, temporal frames and narratives.[56] Through the 'preciously poignant,' concrete lived experiences of the city, these different temporal voices challenge a story of Glasgow that is projected as a progressive or teleological temporality.[57]

These maps above also defy the restrictive temporal boundaries imposed by the Home Office, where testimony is confined to short interviews that evoke the memories and moments deemed bureaucratically relevant. Time in these interviews must confer to 'true historical time' in the most extreme sense: linear, purposeful, to the point.[58] Any deviations are seen to reflect on the character's lack of sincerity and ultimately will impinge on their case.[59] Memories that are fragmented are often seen as indicators of a lack of factuality rather than reflecting potentially fragmented experiences induced by experiences of trauma—what Jenny Edkins refers to as 'trauma time.'[60] Yet in the maps revealed here, elliptical time is emphasized and represents a significant political function. The roundabout quality of Bashiir's map, for instance, casts critical light on an asylum system that holds people through a circular, roundabout logic. In a sense, this mapping project is an important tool of revealing a temporal power—one that holds through suspension. It is also a tool for putting voice to the lived experience of waiting that the participants expressed is often imposed and overlooked. One woman explained that drawing out her experiences this way was a nice change from the kind of interview she is used to—those interviews do not permit her the space or time to faithfully impart her story and experience.

Beyond this, a number of people involved in the *Mapping Project* decided to take these maps in a further direction than initially envisaged. The group discussed sending these maps to Glasgow's City Council and the Scottish Refugee Council to advertise the problems many asylum seekers experience in relation to the waiting process they face. While a few portraits were sent, the group ultimately decided to seek to set up 'direct conversations' instead.[61] To achieve this, the group

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photocopied over 500 of the maps that they had produced and handed them out throughout Glasgow, particularly through the west-end of the city where professionals and students tend to live, and where the problems that asylum seekers face are not conspicuous. The group handed these diagrams out in front of shops, the underground and in front of a taxi queue on Byers Road. As people waited for their cabs, the group initiated conversation: 'do you know how much money most asylum seekers have for transportation? Do you know how much money a failed asylum seeker has for transportation?' Some people were intrigued by the imagery, and took the maps. One woman missed three cabs as she listened to the stories being shared. Others were more hesitant and refused the paper being handed to them. What seemed to emerge regardless of individual responses was an interruption to the otherwise ceaseless flow of bodies. The frantic and bustling streets where people tap their feet impatiently waiting for their cab to arrive seemed to slow down as these maps opened up conversation about a serious, and largely invisible, problem of waiting facing asylum seekers in the UK.

This same group of people decided to display their maps in another way. An exhibition was held in a room of the Red Road Flats. The Red Road Flats are a condemned high-rise housing complex that lies between the districts of Barmulloch and Balornock in the north east of the city of Glasgow, where many asylum seekers and refugees currently live. The maps of Glasgow which depict the restricted routes that many asylum seekers face in this city were placed alongside other maps: larger journeys that asylum seekers had taken in coming to Glasgow. In a sense, the restricted roundabouts epitomizing Glasgow were juxtaposed with the maps illustrating the extensive, sometimes very difficult, wider routes that have been taken. One woman pointed out that, 'it is easy to forget that we have traveled very far, that we are strong. Even though we are waiting here, we have a much bigger story to tell.'[62]

These mapping practices seem to suggest important detours. In a sense, they function as 'lines of flight,' challenging the image of progressive time that can serve to occlude the experiences of being held in an elliptical temporality.[63] At the same time the maps, displayed at the Red Road Flats, cut across the depoliticized narratives that asylum seekers are helplessly stuck. These larger journey maps revealed complex lives, filled with determined journeys, excited and sometimes traumatic.[64] Although asylum seekers may experience a sense of permanent temporariness that requires greater attention, these larger journeys also reveal the way in

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0009

which this is not a condition that has always (or will necessarily always) determine their mobility and ways of being.

More broadly, these maps speak to the way in which transforming modes of containment and control persist for certain groups of people even as narratives of 'increased flow,' epitomized by globalization, abound. The discrepancy between the impatience of the person waiting for a cab to go to work and the, sometimes, half a decade long wait that asylum seekers face poignantly illustrated this. The easy circulation of certain bodies from here to there was revealed to be not so easy for others. The smooth circulation was rendered rough as asylum seekers distributed their maps of Glasgow. Through this process people were forced to acknowledge the hierarchical and variegated forms of motility in their seemingly welcoming city.[65]

These maps seemed to also point to the fluid frontiers that serve to hold captive in very real ways. As Deleuze suggests, it is not simply the strict bordering practices (sovereignty as an act of marking off borders) but also more fluid modes of control (of a circulation, of a modulation of flows) that are vital to analyze in this context. This fluid form of governance that is enacted through more mesh-like bordering practices Deleuze famously coins, a 'society of control.'[66] Here, technologies such as 'firewalls displace architectural walls.'[67] In relation to this fluid control, he suggests that 'tracking' becomes a central device. Forms of tracking include technologies such as ID scans that infiltrate everyday life at various registers, rather than a top down sovereign expression of power.[68] Bigo's work, raised in the previous chapter, is also helpful here. Bigo suggests that through a proliferation of unease there is a justification of a proliferation of these kinds of tracking tools used to modulate flow. This is a kind of diffuse control that operates not simply through physical borders being patrolled but through the dissemination of tracking particular migrant groups everyday and everywhere.

The maps explored here reveal the importance of investigating fluid technologies that are enacted even in practices aimed at welcoming.[69] With the *Mapping Project* the initial design was to track and reveal a supposed shift from closed to open and welcoming sanctuary spaces. Designed as such this project risks becoming a tool through which to ease the problems associated with waiting and the suspension that many experience in such sanctuary cities. What these maps ended up tracking and politicizing, however, is the way in which variegated mobilities are unevenly governed and controlled.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0009

Although spaces offering welcome do emerge in the maps explored in this chapter, these spaces are nestled within a temporal frame that in many ways belies such welcome. Time is drawn out—literally—in these maps. That is to say, these maps reveal an experience of time that is indefinitely extended. For the asylum seekers and refugees involved in this project, time seems to feature as a central part of daily life, as was particularly exemplified by the clock in the middle of the city. These maps gesture at the ways in which a temporality of waiting can serve to hold some physically still, confined to certain areas of the city. It is particularly important to consider how sanctuary's production of a certain kind of hope for the future, explored in the previous chapter, is entwined in this process. As was depicted in some of these maps, the welcoming practices of sanctuary that offer hope are enmeshed in the maze-like spatiotemporal terrain of the city. Through such practices, dead-ends are in many cases re-cast as promising pathways to levels of citizenship (from cultural to, perhaps, an eventually other kind of citizenship). In a sense, sanctuary here aims to shift one's orientation towards waiting, without altering the wait itself or necessarily shifting the conditions for a desired outcome.

The hope offered through the vision of sanctuary here functions to appease. We might say it functions as a kind of temporal governance where it is not merely about governing physical borders but holding through a temporal extension: a state of suspension. In this sense I suggest we are wise to consider how sanctuary, which has been celebrated as re-emerging 'just in time,' is entwined within a logic that excludes, restricts and holds those it claims to help through time.[70]

Conclusion

This chapter illustrated how official sanctuary city initiatives—such as community-mapping—may at once entrench apolitical narratives of an inclusive host community and also become a springboard for asylum seekers to critically communicate the exclusionary limits of this community. This process provides insight into the role that counter-mapping might be used as a political tool to disrupt celebratory narratives, such as the 'open' sanctuary city.[71] This form of mapping, it has been shown, is particularly powerful in shifting away from notions of the abstract city, welcome to all, towards a more experiential account of the city. These maps emotively demonstrate the highly exclusionary

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0009

quality of the city for those cast as non-citizens. Such a re-casting is particularly significant, perhaps, as it provides a mode for asylum seekers to share testimony and also incites various urban dwellers to *feel* the city's exclusionary contours. These activities do more than allow us to 'see the city' in new ways, from various lines of sight. These activities also elicit an emotional response that trigger an interruption, or lines of flight, that force us to feel and indeed confront the harsh-edges of the hospitable sanctuary city.[72]

Notes

1 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham. United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.
2 Inderjit Bhogal, *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.
3 I use the term 'frontier' here drawing from: Didier Bigo and Elspeth Guild, *Controlling Frontiers: free movement into and within Europe*. (London: Ashgate, 2005). Bigo and Guild suggest that frontiers are not to be conflated with borders, which tend to imply a geographical and physical edge. Frontiers open up a more complex and malleable level of analysis and indeed represent more invisible social practices of division.
4 In relation to the more in-depth allusion of sanctuary as a 'meeting place' or place of exchange. See: John Pedley, *Sanctuaries and the Sacred in the Ancient Greek World.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 52.
5 This exploration hopes to contribute to an engaging literature that explores the critical potential of community mapping. See: Caitlin Cahill and Maria Torre, 'Beyond the journal article: representations, audience, and the presentation of participatory action research,' in *Connecting People, Participation and Place: Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods*, eds. Sara Kindon, Rachel Pain and Mike Kesb., (London: Routledge), 196–206. Peter Hopkins, Elizabeth Olson, Rachel Pain and Giselle Vincett, 'Mapping intergenerationalities: the formation of youthful religiosities,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 36,* (2011), 314–327; Lyon A. Staeheli, Don Mitchell, and Caroline R. Nagel, 'Making publics: immigrants, regimes of publicity and entry to "the public"', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 27*, (2009), 633–648.
6 City of Sanctuary, http://www.sanctuarycities.info/sanctuary_cities_blog/?p=134 (accessed February 2, 2012).
7 Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: A Practical Handbook with Inspiring Examples.* (Plug and Tap, 2009), 11.

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8 Jonathon Darling, 'A city of sanctuary: the relational re-imagining of Sheffield's asylum politics,' in *Transactions of the instutite of British Geographers* 35, no. 1 (2010), 125–140.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
11 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid. In reference to Doreen Massey, *World City.* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 179.
14 Ibid, 184.
15 Ibid, 4.
16 Ibid, 179.
17 Ibid, 182.
18 This approach to the 'urban' as a relational process is not new. Expressions of this approach are evident, for instance, in Louis Wirth who claimed in 1964 that: 'As long as we identify urbanism with the physical entity of the city, viewing it merely as rigidly delimited in space, and proceed as if urban attributes abruptly cease to be manifested beyond an arbitrary line, we are not likely to arrive at any adequate conception of urbanism as a mode of life.' Louis Wirth, *On Cities and Social Life.* (The University of Chicago Press, 1964).
19 Doreen Massey, *World City.* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 6.
20 Thomas Mann, *The Magic Mountain.* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962), 279.
21 Author observation. *Mapping Project*, Glasgow, United Kingdom. August 16, 2011.
22 Ibid.
23 Refugee Week, http://www.refugeeweek.org.uk/ (accessed June 12, 2011).
24 Author observation. *Mapping Project*, Glasgow, United Kingdom. August 16, 2011.
25 Author observation. *Mapping Project*, Glasgow, United Kingdom. August 16, 2011.
26 Siegfried Kracauer, *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), 296, 292.
27 Ibid.
28 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991), 49. These maps interrupt what Shapiro refers to as dominant cartographic practices that contain, generalize and erase the complexity of life and lived experiences (Michael Shapiro, *Violent Cartographies.* (University of Minnesota Press, 1997); David Campbell, 'Apartheid cartography: the political anthropology and spatial effects of international diplomacy in Bosnia,' *Political Geography* 18, no. 4 (1999), 395–435). As James Scott's analysis of cartographic methods famously

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0009

illuminates, maps can serve as a standardized technology to view life 'from above,' from a sort of ultimate perspective that blanches out everyday life James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance.* (Yale University Press, 1985). He argues that maps are a modern tool that can enforce us to 'see like a state'—that is, to imagine things from the viewpoint of a sovereign government or a sovereign people. See: Warren Magnusson, *Politics of Urbanism: Seeing Like a City.* (Routledge, 2011).

29 Author observation. *Mapping Project*, Glasgow, United Kingdom. August 16, 2011.

30 Ibid.

31 Author observation, Glasgow, United Kingdom. August 23, 2011.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

39 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.

40 John Pedley, *Sanctuaries and the Sacred in the Ancient Greek World.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 29.

41 Matthew Price, *Rethinking Asylum: History, Purpose and Limits.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Charles Statsny, 'The Roots of Sanctuary' in *Refugee Issues* 2, no. 4, (1987). Although Price frames sanctuary as a contained practice even within the historical account, his various traces unsettle this narrative. For instance, before sanctuary was enshrined in Roman law the practice was 'already recognized and well established' and was in fact not delimited to the confines of a particular building, religious or otherwise. A form of sanctuary was said to be afforded to those who fled to an unenclosed statue of a Caesar, or to those who clung to an 'image of god while grasping a broken twig or wool, the signs of a supplicant.'

42 Vicki Squire and Jennifer Bagelman, 'Taking not waiting: space, temporality and politics in the City of Sanctuary movement,' in *Migration and Citizenship: Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement,* eds. Peter Nyers and Kim Rygiel. (Routledge, 2010).

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid, 155.

45 Ibid, 157.

46 Ibid, 162.

47 Ibid.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0009

48 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.
49 Ibid.
50 York, City of Sanctuary pamphlet.
51 Durham Heritage, bit.ly/vx8P5Q (accessed May 12, 2012).
52 Inderjit Bhogal, *Unlocking the Doors. (*Penistone Publications, 2001).
53 Ibid.
54 Doreen Massey, *World City.* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 6.
55 Mikhail Bakhtin, 'Methodology for the human sciences,' *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays,* trans. Vern W. McGee eds. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 162.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.
58 For a more in-depth critique of a Hegelian model of time that projects time as 'true' and historically inevitable see: Michael Shapiro, *Time and the City.* (Routledge, 2010).
59 Saulo Cwerner, 'Faster, faster and faster: the time politics of asylum in the UK,' *Time and Society* 13, (2004), 71–88.
60 Jenny Edkins and Veronique Pin-Fat. 'Introduction: Life, Power, Resistance,' in *Sovereign Lives Power in Global Politics*. (New York: Routledge, 2004).
61 Author observation, Glasgow, United Kingdom. May 15, 2012.
62 Ibid.
63 Michael Shapiro, *Time and the City.* (Routledge, 2010), 10.
64 See: Heather Johnson, 'Moments of solidarity, migrant activism and (non) citizens at global borders: political agency at Tanzanian refugee camps, Australian detention centers and European borders' movement,' *Migration and Citizenship: Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement,* eds. Peter Nyers and Kim Rygiel. (Routledge, 2010).
65 Anne McNevin, 'Irregular migrants neoliberal geographies and spatial frontiers of "the political"', *Review of International Studies* 33, no. 4 (2007).' Also see: http://www.govanfolkuniversity.org/Govan_Together.html (accessed: June 12, 2012).
66 Gilles Deleuze, 'Postscript on the societies of control,' in *October* 59, (1992), 3–7.
67 Henning Mankell, *Firewall.* (London: Vintage, 2008).
68 Barbara Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).
69 Nikolas Rose, 'The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government,' *Economy and Society* 25, no. 3 (1996), 327–356.
70 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.
71 See: Caitlin Cahill and Maria Torre. 'Beyond the Journal Article: Representations, Audience, and the Presentation of Participatory Action Research,' In *Connecting People, Participation and Place: Participatory Action*

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0009

Research Approaches and Methods, eds. Sara Kindon, Rachel Pain and Mike Kesby. (London: Routledge) 196–206. Peter Hopkins, Elizabeth Olson, Rachel Pain and Giselle Vincett, 'Mapping intergenerationalities: the formation of youthful religiosities,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 36,* (2011), 314–327; Lyon A. Staeheli, Don Mitchell and Caroline R. Nagel, 'Making publics: immigrants, regimes of publicity and entry to "the public"', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27, (2009), 633–648.

72 Closs Stephens, A. 'Urban atmospheres: feeling like a city?' *International Political Sociology* 9, (2015), 99–101. Also see: Anderson and Holden specifically explore how an assemblage of languages and practices of 'hope' shaped the city of Liverpool's cultural regeneration. Ben Anderson and Adam Holden, 'Affective urbanism and the event of hope,' in *Space and Culture* 11, (2008), 142–159.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0009

5
The Idealized City

Abstract: *Traces how sanctuary is entwined with a ritual of supplication that positions 'the' asylum seeker as an abject figure. This chapter provides a framework to understand supplication as both a ritual of abjection and a politics of interruption.*

Bagelman, J. Jennifer. *Sanctuary City: A Suspended State*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010.

The marriage between the sanctuary and the city is the leitmotif of sanctuary city movements in the UK, US, mainland Europe, and Canada. Exploring a diversity of sanctuary discourse—ranging from official city movements, to Derrida's *City of Refuge* to a recent report by United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR)—this chapter problematizes the widely held idea that the sanctuary city reflects an 'ideal' historical practice that we should strive to recover today.[1] It argues that this approach not only frames the sanctuary city as prior to the statist order, but also as an unconditional form of hospitality that offers an alternative to it.[2] It also argues, however, that this approach fails to account for, or even admit, the supplicatory aspect of sanctuary practices. Whether confined to a strictly delineated physical place, such as a church, or enacted through cities conceived as relational spaces, sanctuary practices situate the seeker as one who must prove his/her worthiness, rely on the charity of others, and wait. Accordingly, this chapter contends that, like the ancient sanctuary practices its exponents cite as a model, the sanctuary city vision is imbued with a very particular set of asymmetrical power relations, epitomized by the ritual of supplication.

While supplication may be understood as a hierarchical and even violent power relation, the vignettes discussed in earlier chapters reveal that it is also very complex. For instance, *The Roundabout* suggests that even as sanctuary implies a dependency and waiting, this can always be challenged. The actors in this 'performance' demonstrate how even while laying claim to sanctuary, and the supplicatory relations it entails, it is still possible to subvert the relationship between the seeker and the host or charity-giver. This begs the question: Is supplication best understood in relation to the production of abjection, or does it conceal other, potentially constructive, possibilities?

To interrogate this question the following chapter turns to Aeschylus's *The Suppliants*.[3] This 4th century CE tragic play has been variously analyzed as a story of passivity where the female suppliants flee, wait with baited breath, and ultimately rely upon the protection of their male provider.[4] This chapter contends, however, that the play is more complex than this depiction allows. It argues that Aeschylus' treatment of the positionality of the suppliant as one who is supposedly passive is amenable to different readings. It focuses in particular on the possibility that Aeschylus' suppliants confound the notion that sanctuary reduces to a practice of hopeful waiting, and instead enact it as an urgent activity that demands full attention. Relating this to the primary focus of this book,

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

the sanctuary city vision, this chapter concludes by suggesting that it is here in these minor practices, rather than the dominant idealized visions of sanctuary as an unconditional form of hospitality, that we might glean how to work within and against the deep-rooted problems of supplication that are at the heart of sanctuary.

The city solution

A recent UNHCR Report by Christine Goodall entitled *Sanctuary and Solidarity: Urban Community Responses to Refugees and Asylum Seekers* paints an all too bleak—and sadly all too familiar—portrait of asylum in the UK. Asylum seekers are exposed to a xenophobic culture of suspicion, with many experiencing serious difficulties and problems as a result of this trauma:

> There has remained in recent years a high level of hostility towards... asylum seekers in particular. Asylum seekers are often viewed with suspicion, as being out to get something for nothing....Asylum [is often] associated with mental illness, disorder, terrorism, criminality and benefit fraud.[5]

Reminiscent of Bigo's analysis of migration regimes in the UK and Europe, Goodall claims that asylum seekers are framed as 'potential' threats, thus provoking the dizzyingly circular logic whereby particular categories of migrants are 'captured' acting before they act.[6] Whatever way one looks at it, the Report supports the view that the outlook for asylum seekers in the UK is grim. Goodall notes, however, that a far brighter, or at least less tragic, picture emerges when we consider the 2008 Independent Asylum Commission survey. According to this survey,

> [The] public generally supported the protection of persecuted people seeking a place of safety, but did not associate 'asylum seekers' with this category of person... the report suggests that the use of 'sanctuary' as an alternative term would assist the public to view those seeking support more sympathetically, and in fact many organizations and agencies in Britain have now adopted the term 'people seeking sanctuary' in preference to 'asylum seekers.'[7]

What is interesting here is how the Report employs the term sanctuary. It invokes it to signify hope for a more humane, more sympathetic approach to hospitality. Moreover, it indicates that this particular framing resonates in public opinion. By simply switching vocabulary, from asylum to sanctuary, space, it seems, can be created for a more

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

progressive discourse. Goodall's explanation for these findings is instructive. She contends that the concept of asylum calls to mind strong associations with 'the state' and the control of national borders, the notion of sanctuary intimates an 'age-old' universal order which 'stand[s] outside the realm of the state, transcend[s] national boundaries.'[8] Sanctuary, according to this view, 'occupies a moral, conceptual and existential space, separate and apart from the nation state.'[9] However, she adds, if sanctuary is to fulfill its potential, we need to think about it not only in relation to the transcendence of state borders, but to the transcendence of contained sites—such as churches and temples—more generally. We need, she argues, to think about sanctuary, in relation to the totality of 'the city.'[10] This claim is echoed by the sanctuary city movement, which poses the city as a perfect environment for a type of hospitality that is place-based but not place-bound.[11]

The value in tethering sanctuary with the city is, for Goodall, tied to a larger argument that turns on the importance of cities as a place for thinking about political action today. Drawing on urban political works by scholars such as Ash Amin and Stephen Graham, Goodall argues that cities play an increasingly prominent role as a political space that presupposes and encourages both diversity and hospitality.[12] She cites two examples to illuminate the potential of the city in this respect. The first example she provides is the Eurocities partnership. Founded in 1986 by the mayors of Barcelona, Birmingham, Lyons, Frankfurt, Milan and Rotterdam, Eurocities is a formal partnership among 140 cities across 30 European countries. Working in conjunction with the European Commission, it convenes a program of events and series of conferences on the theme of immigrant integration. The second, related, example she offers is DIVE (Diversity and Equality in European Cities), an organization that seeks to benchmark diversity and equality policies in cities with a view to encouraging the diffusion of best practice.[13]

Goodall also notes that that the city is a natural locus for questions regarding migration on account of the fact that approximately 3.3 billion people live in cities, including an estimated 5 million refugees.[14] Based on these figures, provided by UNHCR, and drawing on urban literature which asserts that 'cites are the principle landscape of modernity,' she contends that a focus on cities is vital to solve the refugee crisis today.[15] This line of argument builds upon the work of, among others, Greg Clark, who argues that cities act in the globalized world as 'the junction

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

boxes for international interactions at the local level.'[16] According to Clark, cities are 'the territorial and experiential texture for half the global population.'[17] They are a place where 'strangers' come together and pursue 'continuous contestations of who belongs and to whom the city belongs.'[18] This is reminiscent of the emphasis found in the sanctuary city literature on proximate diversity, that is, the idea that it is through proximity to diverse experiences that a more open relationality is made possible.[19]

Against this backdrop, Goodall proffers the city, understood as a diverse site of interaction, as the prime locale through which to think about challenging the hostile, criminalizing technologies she associates with a statist logic. As she puts it: cities 'have a prime responsibility in effective responses to immigrants' and their relationship with local communities.[20] It is vital to consider how within cities,

> Communities can be brought together, how refugees and asylum seekers can experience genuine sanctuary and welcome, what are the drivers for positive community responses, the role of organized civil society and individuals, and what role leaders can play in this process.[21]

There is evidence, Goodall observes, that this responsibility is actively being taken up by and through the transcontinental sanctuary city movement. She highlights examples from Europe (specifically Great Britain), North America (including the United States and Canada) and South America. One of the most significant cases, she argues, is the sanctuary movement in the UK.[22] She underscores the 'grassroots' credentials of this particular movement, noting how it was 'initiated by individual people with a religious background and grew out of earlier instances of churches providing physical sanctuary to those under threat of deportation, and was not instigated by government policy initiatives or programs of large third sector organizations.'[23] Contained within this passage, and celebrated in Goodall's writings more generally, is the notion of the city as both an incubator for welcome and a challenge to the hostile and restrictive statist immigration system. Again, this resonates with the sanctuary city movement's own discourse:

> A city that knows how to welcome people seeking sanctuary is a better place for everyone…it means that a city will not become a stagnant, fearful, inward-looking place.[24]

In emphasizing how the sanctuary city exceeds the trappings of a statist asylum system, however, this account fails to acknowledge how

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

this sanctuary city also enacts a powerful—and often hostile—form of 'governmentality.' Following Foucault, governmentality may be understood as 'the various ways and means by which a populations conduct is directed, governed and controlled'[25] As such, governmentality may operate with the specific aim of *producing* community, that is, of better and more efficiently managing space and its population. Nikolas Rose associates this modality with a shift away from coercive methods of governing at large toward more precise modes of managing citizens through their own individual choice and freedoms. Yet as Rose points out, this shift does not indicate any concession in terms of control, nor an escape from a statist logic: we still wage the state's economic, political and social war, only now we do so much more willingly in the name of our own individual selves and communities. This conception of community as something we can choose to produce, engage in and work upon is an enticing way of managing people because it works through something that seems inherently 'good.' Who would not like community? Here responsibilities, obligations and allegiances function as instruments that combine to produce what Rose calls 'government through community.'[26]

Randy Lippert has extended these ideas to account for refugee practices in Canada, and in particular the Immigration Act of 1976.[27] This Act was deemed transformative as it 'required cooperation between all levels of government and the voluntary sector in the settlement of immigrants in Canadian society.'[28] The basis of this new Immigration Act was premised upon the language of active inclusion of Canadian citizens. Over 50 public hearings in 21 cities across Canada took place in the creation of this Act and as such, citizens were situated as stakeholders in a system that was becoming over-burdened and top-heavy. What is significant here is the way in which a determination process becomes downloaded on civil society. As Sean Rehaag has pointed out in relation to sanctuary practices in Canada, by 'adopt[ing] screening mechanisms to determine who among the many that request it is accorded sanctuary' faith-based communities actually 'apply similar norms and procedures as those found in Canada's official refugee determination process.'[29] Scholars, such as Dan Bulley, have also aptly pointed out the ways in which the UNHCR functions as a governmentalising process.[30] What Goodall fails to consider in her portrait of the city, as will be explored later in this chapter, is how cities enact a governmentalizing role that implies both hostile and welcoming attitudes.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

Re-inventing the city of refuge

This view of the city as an idealized site for a more welcoming approach is, perhaps more surprisingly, also evident in Derrida's renowned essay, *On Cosmopolitanism*. I say surprisingly because while Derrida's essay deconstructs given meanings, discourses and historical traditions in certain moments it also leans towards a depiction of the city as a site for a rather idealized hospitality that we are called to re-invent, if not resurrect. Although this is posed in critical terms I suggest that in some instances the image of the city he projects may also serve to embed a politics of suspension.

Derrida presented *On Cosmopolitanism* at a time, according to his own words, when many were quick to pronounce the end of the city as a classical ideal.[31] He spoke, indeed, at a time when the discourse of 'failed states' began to take hold, a frame which many have since pointed out is embedded in a neo-colonial imagination. This context is important to consider when analyzing Derrida's address as he is challenging the notion that liberal democratic states are immune from critique. The concept of the state itself, Derrida suggests in this address, is inherently problematic; to presume that some states 'fail' assumes that the concept of the state itself has the possibility of being a success—an idea Derrida approaches with suspicion. The occasion for the essay was an address on the subject of rights for the exiled, asylum-seekers, refugees, and immigrants—in sum, the 'other'—Derrida was invited to deliver to the International Parliament of Writers in Strasbourg in 1996.[32]

He opens his address by painting a specific context for us. He suggests we are currently witnessing the bolting down of borders of EU through the Schengen Agreement.[33] He points to states rejecting 'applications for the right to asylum more than ever.'[34] He draws critical attention towards the ever-invasive state 'border police' who are without limit and insidious.[35] This police, he reflects, have became omnipresent in the 'so-called civilized states.'[36] With the advancements of new technologies this police becomes more violent, as it is increasingly 'faceless' and 'formless,' beyond all accountability.[37] In this account, we experience an intensely hostile hospitality where clearly not all are welcome. Limits on the foreigner are heightened. This depiction, in some senses is not so dissimilar from the image conjured up in the UNHCR document where a politics of unease and hostility, especially towards the asylum seeker, pervades.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

So, how do we re-think these restrictive practices, these heightened limits on the foreigner? Vitally, Derrida suggests, we must re-think this limiting condition of state sovereignty. Rather than appealing to the liberal democratic state (held against 'failed' states as a sort of success) as a solution to the problem of otherness, here he considers the question of 'open cities' (*vile franches*) where 'migrants may seek sanctuary from the pressures of persecution, intimidation and exile.'[38] Derrida is clear that we need to deeply question the conditional forms of hospitality that are too 'dependent on state sovereignty.'[39] Hospitality that is 'dependent on and controlled by the law and the state police' begs critical attention.[40]

In this work Derrida locates the emergence of state sovereignty in a particular 'moment,' or 'juncture' at which point sovereignty crystallizes in relation to the state. He tells us that this condition emerges most notably during the Enlightenment and is epitomized in Kant's work *Perpetual Peace*. In this influential peace state sovereignty is shaped as a condition that plays a key role in restricting hospitality, especially with regards to the right of residence.[41] He suggests that prior to this crystallization of hospitality as conditional upon state sovereignty, prior to its 'secularization,' we may recall a different expression of hospitality. One that is more open. And today, he suggests, as many migrants face increasing restrictions, we might find some inspiration considering these more open expressions.

This resonance of hospitality (which he, although critically, identifies as pre-secular, predating the emergence of state sovereignty) is said to be located in two traditions: Hebraic and Medieval. In both of these traditions we supposedly find a more open, perhaps even universal type of hospitality. Instead of being delimited by state law and 'state police' we find 'those cities which would welcome and protect those innocents who sought refuge.'[42] This was a right of the cities, an 'urban right to immunity and hospitality.'[43] Derrida reflects on this practice with a vague nostalgia. We might find this tradition, he tells us, in the 'beautiful texts in French . . . devoted to this Hebraic tradition of the city of refuge.'[44] This historical trajectory is also echoed, though much more exuberantly, in Goodall's piece when she states: 'there was a Hebrew tradition and practice of sanctuary in biblical times, where protection was given to fugitives to prevent them from being attacked.'[45]

Derrida goes on to describe the second, Medieval, tradition. Here again there is tendency in his work to elevate the practices of refuge evident during this time which were, according to Derrida, ruled by a

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

'certain sovereignty of the city.'[46] If today, as Derrida tells us, we are at risk of forgetting the influence of the city we are well advised to re-consider these traditions when the city had an exalted role. These cities provided welcome 'without question or without even having to identify who they are or whence they came.'[47] They shielded 'all those in pursuit.'[48] Exemplifying this process Derrida evokes the story of Dante who was banished from Florence and graciously 'welcomed' into sanctuary.[49] Dante, an exiled writer, thus becomes emblematic in his address to the International Parliament of Writers; Dante's story serves as a trace we may wish to consider.

In order to challenge the deeply restrictive and violent hospitality that has become so pervasive today, that which is tethered to state sovereignty, Derrida invites us to reflect upon these pre-secular practices. He encourages us to think again about these cities of refuge. For his part, he commits to 'reviving the traditional meaning of an expression and in restoring a memorable heritage to its former dignity.'[50] Gazing back—a practice which, for Derrida is never a complete moment of returning, but rather always an active process of (re)presenting—to these cities of refuge may, he hopes, furnish a fresh vantage-point from which to imagine a city as 'independent from the state as possible.'[51] At the same time, Derrida acknowledges that these new cities he calls upon us would *not* escape the state. Rather:

> We would ask these new cities of refuge to reorient the politics of the state. We would ask them to transform and reform the modalities of membership by which the city belongs to the state... the inviolable rule of state sovereignty... should no longer be the ultimate horizon for cities of refuge.[52]

Derrida's suggestion that this is not an escape from the state, but a 'reorientation,' is crucial[53] and distinguishes his position from Goodall's optimistic claim that by moving towards sanctuary, enacted through cities and civil society, we may evade violent statist logics.[54] Still, Derrida shares with Goodall a conviction that, in his words, where sanctuary is concerned, we ought to 'look to the city, rather than to the state.'[55] 'Could the City,' he asks, 'equipped with new rights and greater sovereignty, open up new possibility previously undreamt of by international state law?'[56] Indeed: 'could the city elevate itself above nation-states or at least free itself from them, in order to become....a free city (une ville franche)... where one could retreat in order to escape from the threat of injustice?'[57]

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

According to Derrida these cities of refuge are sites for justice. They are sites where we do not wait, and '*cannot wait.*'[58] They are sites of urgent response, 'a just response ... an immediate response to crime, to violence, and to persecution.'[59] In this age of both 'faceless' and 'formless' technologies, beyond all accountability, the city offers a more face-to-face politics. In a sense, then, Derrida's view is that what makes the city an ideal site through which to think of these practices is that it comprises a site for encounter. On first glance at least, this appears quite similar to the position articulated in the UNHCR Report. However, unlike the UNHCR report, Derrida treats the notion of encounter as a rich practice that encompasses complexity and even hostility. Hospitality, Derrida suggests, is never so far from hostility; precisely because it is never absolute, hospitality necessarily produces certain forms or conditions of hostility. As Dan Bulley explains, 'ethical and responsible hospitality is always already an unethical and irresponsible hostility.'[60] Derrida, it follows, urges us to continually think through this undecidable quality of hospitality.[61] Whereas the UNHCR positions the city as a site through which sanctuary practices may function as a governmentalising process, Derrida invokes the city as a site through which to establish a political relation to the other. His aim is not smooth or flatten out a relation to otherness so that it is no longer a political question (through an uncontested appeal to a governmentalising processes of becoming a good, active citizen) but to maintain a radical openness to other ways of being that may in fact challenge questions of citizenship.

Derrida suggests that these cities of refuge might address the condition identified by Hannah Arendt, namely, that when one is rendered faceless and nameless, one is vulnerable to atrocity.[62] When we condition hospitality according to the abstract laws of state sovereignty for instance, we can only expect violence. We are thus enjoined to think again about the concrete city as a site for political relations and governance. It is the concrete political arrangement of the city, which he finds appealing; it challenges this mode of 'police [which have become] omnipresent and spectral in the so-called civilized states.'[63] The city of refuge, which harkens back to Arendt's notion of political life as a sort of creative activity, generates possibilities for political action.[64] As such, he asserts, 'let us not hesitate to declare, our plea is for what we have decided to call the "city of refuge".'[65]

It is important to note that while Derrida urges us to revive this presecular role of the city as a site for refuge, his conception of revival is far

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

from bland. It is surely *not* as simplistic as the claim to resurrecting a tradition of sanctuary that we see, for instance, in the UNHCR document that suggests that if we simply evoke this ancient word we can shift the exclusionary practices of asylum. Indeed, Derrida suggests it is not about going back to the 'original' term, but recognizing that such a deployment is always an active process.[66] He stipulates it is 'Not to suggest we ought to restore an essentially classic concept of the city...No we are dreaming of another concept, of another set of rights for the city, of another politics of the city.'[67]

He suggests that this concept of the city of refuge needs to be mobilized creatively. Indeed, for Derrida: 'invention is our task.'[68] That is to say, we need to invent a new city taking inspiration from these Hebraic and Medieval traditions. Derrida's point is that our charge is not to resurrect any particular historical conception of the city, but rather to engage with them creatively in order to create new conceptions of what the city might be. We need to reinvent in relation to the contingencies we face today. As he asks, 'how might it be adapted to the pressing urgencies which summon and overwhelm it?'[69] According to Derrida this is a continual question. This language of invention is also evident in the sanctuary city's literature, where the city of refuge is posed as an exemplar for welcome and at the same time a practice that we can improve upon: it was once contained (by a temenos) but today we can re-imagine it as fluid and networked.[70]

While Derrida does not lay claim to a simplistic revival of the city of refuge—as if it were this 'thing' we could just recuperate—I think we should be suspicious of the way he at moments does lean on a fairly simplistic history of the city of refuge from which we might reinvent the city today. He does give us a vision of the city of refuge prior to the restrictions associated with state sovereignty. In so doing, he risks conjuring up a story of the city of refuge (which may be our exemplar for a city to come) that can be rather misleading. Unlike with the sanctuary city movement—which tells a progress story that we are moving away from the contained cities of refuge or sanctuary in our past and now becoming more mobile, fluid and indeed open—Derrida does offer a way to think about this city to come as a constant process which requires continued questioning. Yet, even in being open to this continual line of question and openness Derrida does overlook some of the restrictions, the bordering practices that may also be inherent to these supposedly pre-secular cities of refuge that he calls on us to, if ever loosely, invent

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

upon. In his call perhaps he does not pay quite enough attention to the ways in which this city of refuge in the past that he evokes is a nostalgic invention—a mythical tradition when the city exhibited sovereignty and thus hospitality was more open. This matters because Derrida's story of the dream-like city of refuge fails to fully address the ways it too produces nightmares from which we cannot so simply escape. Although Derrida is reticent to fetishize the city of refuge, we are still left with what Oona Eisenstadt labels a form of eschatological hospitality. 'Why,' she asks, 'do we need to evoke the... ideal city?'[71] Does it, in actuality, simply betoken another, albeit more sophisticated, form of romantic yearning for an idealized past?

As Derrida implies, our task is to understand the complexity imminent to these practices: the violence and subversions. Derrida suggests at the end of his address, these questions of refuge and sanctuary 'remain obscure and difficult' and we must not turn away from them, imagining that we have 'mastered them.'[72] In particular I now turn our attention to this problem of supplication obscured in the city of refuge as an idealized site. This ritual enacted through the city, I suggest, can itself become a technology that sustains a violent, protracted waiting game.

The ritual of supplication

In different ways Derrida's City of Refuge, the UNHCR's report and the UK-based sanctuary city materials all appeal to the city as a meaningful site for refuge. Where the UNHCR's report and the sanctuary city are concerned this site is idealized whereas for Derrida this site represents a complex welcome: one that is hospitable also always potentially hostile. Whereas the welcome that Derrida suggests is a politicized invitation, one that continually aims to un-pack the hostilities it implied, I have suggested that the UNHCR and the contemporary sanctuary city movement has a tendency to celebrate sanctuary in ways that overcode these violences. What is important to note is that in each of these expressions, however, there is a tendency towards a historical amnesia that occludes a more complex, and indeed at times violent, supplicatory process in relation to the city of refuge.

In these Hebraic cites of refuge that Derrida speaks of, for instance, what is evaded is a determination ritual whereby those seeking protection were often required to prove the worthiness of their claim. Derrida refers

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

to the Book of Numbers to exemplify the Hebraic tradition of the cities of refuge. He describes these as locales where those who sought refuge from 'bloody vengeance' found 'welcome.'[73] A similar framing is also evident in the sanctuary city pamphlet that states: 'six contained Cities of Refuge/Sanctuary were established... [they offered] refute to anyone, including a foreigner who was accused of manslaughter, thus preventing the automatic use of blood feud as a rough and ready... unfair route to justice.'[74] This historical framing is also evident in biblical accounts offered by legal scholars such as Sean Rehaag who suggests that cities of refuge offered 'hospitality towards strangers.' To exemplify this he cites the following passage from Leviticus:

> If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.[75]

In citing this passage Rehaag states that what is exposed is a way in which harsh applications of secular law might be 'suspended' so as to protect 'needy strangers.'[76] While this account of the city of refuge is familiar, exploring these biblical sources a bit deeper, I suggest, we see that such welcome and protection was highly dependent. It was conditional upon the person seeking refuge's ability to prove that he committed a crime 'unawares.'[77] When one reached the city of refuge 'he had to first prove through a trial by the "congregation," probably the elders of the city that acted as a court, that the [crime] indeed has been accidental.'[78] Indeed, Rehaag himself goes on to explore how different manifestations of sanctuary did not necessarily ensure protection; as he points out many could be 'turned away.'[79] As such, this hospitable practice is not distinct from, but rather tends to resemble hostility.

As with these Jewish sanctuary cities Derrida refers to the Medieval tradition of sanctuary as an inclusive practice whereby the sovereignty of cities performed a welcoming role devoid of the harsh restrictions we witness today. Yet I think a more complex picture emerges again when we explore these Medieval practices beyond the scant review Derrida offers of Dante being warmly welcomed when he goes into exile. As I have suggested previously, a ritual of supplication is evident in Medieval England where the person seeking sanctuary had to: make a confession of his crime to one of the clergy, surrender his arms, swear to observe the rules and regulations of the religious houses, pay an admission fee, and give—under oath—the fullest details of his crime (the instrument

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

used, the name of the victim etc.)[80] Various sources from this period indicate that this process was highly dramatized. The person seeking sanctuary was often required to toll a bell as indication that he prayed for sanctuary.[81] So too, the seeker was often expected to bear his inferior position on the body in the form of a letter branded upon the skin.[82] In other instances, those entering sanctuary were 'to wear a black gown with a large yellow cross' to clearly mark out the vulnerable person seeking sanctuary as a supplicant.[83] These practices have been suggested as symbolic ritual central to sanctuary.

These traces that reveal a restrictive ritual of supplication, are also evident in various Greek sanctuary practices. In Rob Schumacher's analysis he explores supplication (*hiketeia*) as a principle that allowed those seeking protection to became part of the sanctuary and, consequently, 'sacred.'[84] This required a public ritual whereby the person seeking sanctuary had to kneel 'at the altar or at the image of the god holding a certain symbol identifying him as a supplicant.'[85] As such, the supplicant shared in the inviolability of the sanctuary: it would have been sacrilege to arrest or harm him. Supplication implied viscerally marking the protected, largely in order to control their actions by physically tethering them to the church. The supplicant of *hiketeia* makes a request and is one who is watched, gazed at: controlled through spectacle.[86] It would seem that the position of gaze is telling as to the power-relations imbued through each figure. The practice of *hiketeia* necessitates rendering 'public' those in 'need' to clearly identify him as a humble victim; indeed, 'anonymous stay is not tolerated.'[87] If someone really 'wished to avail himself of the protection of a sanctuary he had to appear openly and set forth the reasons for his coming sanctuary.'[88] In addition, this process entailed a ritual of purity. In order to be accepted as a suppliant a process of washing was required.

Kent Rigsby has described the purpose of these types of supplication rituals as an attempt to elicit favor from a sovereign judge. The objective is to 'convince the god's priest that they deserved protection...if they failed to, they could be turned away,' they must show 'the case was a "just" claim.'[89] The person had to become a humble person in need. Many of these visions of supplication rely on sources found in ancient Greek drama, where stories of sanctuary and supplication are said to 'abound.'[90] In particular Aeschylus' famous play, *The Suppliants* (also known as *Hiketides*) is widely sourced.[91] Price's work, *Re-thinking Asylum* describes *The Suppliants* as the story where group of women (the Danaids) are

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'fleeing' forced marriage to their cousins. Price has described this as a process whereby the female suppliants are 'required' to frame their claim for asylum in a way that attract greatest sympathy from Pelasgus, the king of Argos (Athens).[92]

In this reading Price emphasizes how the women are posed as 'lost property.'[93] In this reading the suppliants are reduced to abject victims, those who flee and seek. The authorities are 'skeptical' of the claimants, and whether they are truly deserving of being granted asylum.[94] The only agency the women enact is the threat of suicide. Price alludes to the play stating that they eventually were granted asylum '(after they threaten to kill themselves upon the altar if he refuses immunizing them).'[95] In this analysis, the suppliants' agency is literally bracketed.

According to Price this ritual of *hiketeia*, expressed in *The Suppliants*, has three main characteristics. The first component is that when one claimed asylum through supplication one contested the rightfulness with which authority was exercised in one's particular case. A temple was a natural setting for contesting the rightfulness of authority.[96] This implied, according to Price, a predominantly spatial component. Schumacher has also suggested that the temple was a common setting as it functioned as an 'intermediary zone between the divine and the human world...suitable for communication between both worlds.'[97] Holding onto an idol was also considered an essential component of this process, as it dramatized the plea made by the supplicant to the higher authority. Second, *hiketeia* initiated a legal proceeding in which the suppliant was given the opportunity to make a plea, to make an appeal as to why he deserves protection. Third, the result of *hiketeia*, if successful, was that the supplicant was given immunity from the authority of those who pursued him. Hancock has argued that a central thread that connects the diverse Greek sanctuaries, Jewish sanctuary cities and those within this Medieval tradition is some form of supplication. This supplication required that one prove the worthiness of their case, but required that their conduct remained 'inoffensive' so long as they wished protection.[98] One could not 'act in such a manner as to bring danger and instability into the host community.'[99]

As I have suggested, it is vital to consider this ritual of supplication enmeshed in the seemingly safe and welcoming tradition of sanctuary. These rituals complicate the idealized image conjured up in the UNHCR report, and to a degree Derrida's historical invention of the city of refuge. At this stage, however, I wish to consider another layer

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of complexity that is foreclosed in this portrait of supplication. The depictions of supplication outlined suggest a fairly static relationship of dependency where the seeker is reduced to a passive victim waiting for protection; however, testimony revealed in historical play *The Suppliants* demands a deeper look.

The Politics of Supplication?

The Suppliants, as suggested above, is often evoked as emblematic of the ancient ritual of supplication. *The Suppliants* is referenced as evidence for the passive role that those seeking sanctuary embodied. I am drawn to this play in the first instance because it has been itself a source of inspiration regularly invoked to tell us the story of supplication, and supplicants based on ancient Greek roots. Supposedly this is a story where the female suppliant is aligned with passivity, relying on nothing but hope. Examining this original source however, I was struck by the simplicity of this interpretation. The play begins with the chorus, the female suppliants, stating that they have decided to take flight: 'by our own action.'[100] They refer to themselves as 'proudly claiming descent from... the gadfly-maddened heifer.'[101] The ownership of their 'proud' claim in these opening lines already begins to trouble the ubiquitous image of the supplicant as 'humble.'[102]

What I find particularly interesting is this image of the 'gadfly-maddened heifer' to which the suppliants continually evoke and liken themselves. The 'heifer' they refer to is the character, Io. In Greek mythology, Io was a nymph who was transformed into a cow and was forced to wander the earth, tormented by a gadfly cast upon her by Hera. As the play recounts, Io reaches the people of Egypt and 'astounds' them with her hybrid-like image; she is neither beast, nor human and her own discomfort shakes them 'to the heart.'[103] Io, like the tormenting gadfly that provokes her, is often likened to the stinging creature.[104] So too, the suppliants are said to embody the 'sting' of the gadfly, which becomes a disturbance that both 'astounds' and demands attention when they claim refuge.[105]

Based on various readings of this play we may view the suppliants here as a sort of sheep, waiting to be herded. The suppliants, according to Price, simply flee and wait.[106] Indeed, we do see evidence of this in the play where the suppliants refer to themselves as a 'flock in its misery.'[107]

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However, in the play the women who are 'goaded by the fly' went 'passing through many tribes of men; cleaving the strait and its waves...her path right through Phrygia where sheep are reared...beyond [to the] ever-flowing streams and deep rich earth, and Aphrodite's land of abundant grain.'[108] They are distinguished from the sheep, moving through them as they are goaded by injustice. The suppliant seems to embody an ambiguity: both herded sheep yet steadfast.

Although the suppliants do take on a passive role throughout the play this is often revealed to be a purposeful maneuvering, designed to elicit the most effective attention at a given moment. There is a flexibility implied in the suppliant's role: they make use of their supposed vulnerability, using their 'good sense.'[109] Although they continually claim that they have a sting, they nevertheless evoke an image of themselves as 'doves flocking in fear of hawks' when it suits their needs.[110]

However, the suppliants' actions suggest they are anything but doves entirely vulnerable to the decisions of others. When they are told that the king, Pelasgus, 'wish[es] to be ignorant of trouble rather than wise to it' and to put off a decision, the suppliants demand immediate action. They are unsatisfied with Pelasgus' claim that 'he will not myself guarantee a promise in advance.'[111] They 'wail out,' no: 'secure my rights, respect your suppliants!'[112] They refuse to become victim to a supplicatory process that requires them to merely wait for protection. They claim, we must 'protect ourselves *speedily*' [emphasis added].[113] In the face of a threatening suspension, the women demand 'deeds as well as words' and thus threaten to 'hang [them]selves instantly from these gods' if they are not heard.[114] To this claim Pelasgus states: 'I hear words to lash at my heart!' The chorus is pleased, they state: we have 'opened your eyes quite clearly.'[115] Here it is vital to note that while the suppliant may be a conceived simply a spectacle, one who carries the wool-wreathed branches that identify suppliants for instance, this position is more complex. Rutherford, we might recall from Chapter 4, suggests a dichotomy: unlike the theoros (understood as one who sees or observes) the supplicant of *hiketeia* makes a request and is one who is watched, gazed at: controlled through spectacle.[116] Yet, here, it is the suppliant forcing one to see things anew.

In an analysis of this play, Christopher Collard suggests that, 'such suppliants are indeed difficult for Pelasgus to handle: they are foreign in appearance and behavior...but adopt Greek modes of supplication, knowing well how to exploit its extraordinary power over the supplicated.'[117] Undoubtedly the suppliants are complex characters: not

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conferring simply to a passive role, yet still confined in various ways. Staggered between dance and song, the suppliants make a strong and determined case on their own behalf. They act quickly, their presence does not fade silently, but rather their calls 'lash' at the very 'hearts' of their interlocutor. I say interlocutor because, in large part, it is a conversation that seems to ensue through this play. At the same time, however, we also see that in certain contexts they adopt (or perhaps feign) supposedly feminine qualities of 'purity' and 'humility' to elicit their desired outcome. The image of them 'gashing [their] tender cheek warm with summer' is evocative here. The tenderness, the passivity perhaps is juxtaposed with an act of cutting, of gashing and a 'tongue free to speak!'[118] While the suppliants take on the position of humble seeker, they also subvert this position and the hierarchies it entails. We see this at the end of the play: 'though old in wisdom' Pelasgus says he has learned 'from one later in birth.' He claims: 'respect a suppliant.'[119] If supplication is a ritual, it is not one that is entirely delimited to an entrenched routine devoid of disagreement and negotiation.

The suppliants seem to embody friction, and so too they introduce and instill a friction into the very heart of the political community. Perhaps it is for this reason the suppliants are so closely linked with the image of the gadfly. The gadfly, like that one cast vindictively upon them by Hera, incessantly irritates the suppliants. This sting does not abate and the suppliant introduces this discomfort upon the people of Argos, upsetting the status quo. As with Socrates' position as uncomfortable goad in the Athenian political scene, which he described as a slow and dimwitted horse, the gadfly-like suppliants enact a similarly politically goading positionality. The suppliants represent the warning in Plato's writings that dissent, like the gadfly, may be easy to swat but the cost to society of silencing individuals who were irritating could be very high: 'If you kill a man like me, you will injure yourselves more than you will injure me,' as the role was that of a gadfly, 'to sting people and whip them into a fury, all in the service of truth.'[120]

While on the one hand the suppliants are momentarily forced into a dependency, they also demand and stir society to rethink their all too own comfortable ways. As this play reveals, the sting this character introduces is not always so welcome. The king of Argos, Pelasgus, is scarcely keen for these women to point out the contradictions in his own society: one that is supposedly committed to protection but waits as violence ensues. Indeed, various techniques are deployed by Pelasgus to dull the effects of

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

their assertions. One such technique that emerges in this play is that of a suspension. The gadfly is encouraged to hush; you must 'wait patiently' and wait for the 'promise' to come to fruition.[121] But the suppliant cannot; the suppliants in this play will not sit hushed. Continually bit by injustice the suppliants themselves have a bite that will not be placated or eased by such hollow promises of hope. 'Openly here I cry out in my grief; my laments honour myself—while living!'[122] While at moments employing a passive role, which often subverts passivity, they ultimately scream: 'No! Hear well, and see what is right.'[123] The suppliants reveal the wounds that have been inflicted upon them, and illuminate how anyone suggesting they merely wait would be complicit in such violence. They show the rawness of indecision, the king wields to smooth over dissent.

The purpose of considering this story of supplication is to demonstrate the various, sometimes contradictory, layers often overcoded in depictions of sanctuary and supplication, especially as they relate to the seemingly open city of refuge. These layers begin to weave a deeper critical history, or genealogy. Exploring a wider archive of sanctuary practices and re-approaching materials, such as *The Suppliants*, that have been solidified in a certain way, this genealogical approach identifies a more complex story exceeding depoliticized abjection. It suggests that sanctuary is not simply a site for welcome, in the way that the UNHCR document depicts it, nor is it a site of complete abjection as some historians conceive it; rather, this practice may feature as a site of contestation. This genealogy I am trying to pry open is of course partial. It casts critical light on one dimension in particular, this supplicatory process that can serve as a troubling politics of ease. This supplicatory sanctuary process, I show, can serve to ease the gadfly. These rituals can normalize hierarchical arrangements whereby one is left to wait, indefinitely. However, cutting across these practices I have also suggested there are also active contestations that refuse for the sting to be ignored so that the order of things may persist smoothly.

An opposite dream

Derrida warns us of the face-less powers that exclude the foreigner. He warns us that technologies of deterrence are becoming the ubiquitous tentacles conditioning and refusing welcome. He suggests that if we are to rethink these practices we must re-think the troubling logic of state

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

sovereignty that he identifies as emerging at a particular juncture when the sovereignty of cities declined. If we are to question the exclusionary practices towards the foreigner today, he implores, we need to look seriously at the role of the city as a site for refuge.

Such a claim resonates more widely in the UNHCR report as well as the sanctuary city literature, where the exclusionary logic of asylum is linked with the state while the city is posed as a more welcoming and 'sympathetic' site.[124] Though articulated in markedly different ways, in all of these expressions there is a subtle yearning to turn back, to rejuvenate practices of refuge that were governed in the city prior to the state. These practices of refuge in the city, we are told, represent an ideal, or dream, we have forgotten at our own peril. To re-invent these dreams we may interrupt the statist politics of unease governing migrants, and particular asylum seekers, today. We are encouraged to think of these as tools for immediate action and justice.

Unlike the faceless technologies and abstract laws associated with the state, the city of refuge provides for face-to-face governance that may transform hostile relations. These sites do not rely on a sovereign law based on statist exclusions rather it is the site where urgent responses to injustice might emerge. It is a site where conditional practices of asking where one is from, and how long they will stay is not of immediate concern, but rather it is a portal opening to diversity and the unknown. It is here in this free city that justice 'cannot wait.'[125] This is the realm of: decisive political activity, of proximate diversity and continual creativity.

Yet a lot has been cut out of this historical portrait of the sanctuary city. As I show, exploring these practices a bit deeper we find not an unconditional welcome but traces of a supplication process that demand one to: prove their worth, to act appropriately and to wait in a position of dependency. Here the sanctuary city can function as a tool that sustains inequity. If the sanctuary city represents a hope it is one too often empty and deferred: one that can serve to justify violence in the present. In that sense, this ideal of the city of refuge can too easily become a nightmare.

While the sanctuary city may be celebrated as a dream, I suggest that it is in shadows of this ideal that we find a more significantly interruptive politics. For instance during *The Roundabout*, when a group of asylum seekers revealed the often hollow visions of sanctuary, the political contours of sanctuary were cast in new critical light. The actors in this play refused to patiently wait; instead, they identified the sting of being told to just hang on. That is, they revealed how the welcome on offer is

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

too often an invitation to wait. These interruptions to a politics of ease occurred between the rituals of food and shelter being provided. As in *The Suppliants*, supposedly about victimhood, within and between rituals of supplication various ruptures seemed to emerge. Through this process, those asylum seekers were not reduced to one who waits with distant hope, but one who goads interrupting the illusion of such dreams, and point to the immediate attention required. In a sense it is here in the minor, shadowy light beyond the celebrations of the city of refuge that I have been encouraged. It is a discomforting 'opposite' dream that perhaps makes us more alive to a state of suspension in our welcoming sanctuary city.[126] This is not an ideal dream that secures comforting slumber but a turning towards minor practices that are already present and which may enable us to critically reflect on our own practices.

Notes

1 Christine Goodall, *Sanctuary and Solidarity—Urban Community Responses to Refugees and Asylum Seekers on Three Continents.* (UNHCR: Sept 2011).
2 Jacques Derrida, 'On Cosmopolitanism,' in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001).
3 Aeschylus, *The Suppliants*, trans. Peter Burian. (Princeton University Press, 1991). Also see: *Aeschylus Persians and Other Plays*, trans. Christopher Collard. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). And see: Matthew Price, *Rethinking Asylum: History, Purpose and Limits.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 27–30. It should be noted that this Aeschylus version has been predominantly evoked within the literature on asylum to demonstrate the practice of supplication. Where Aeschylus represents a comedic tradition, there is another version (part of a tragic tradition) by Euripides.
4 Herbert Jennings Rose, *A Commentary on the Surviving Plays of Aeschylus.* Vol. 64. No. 1. (NoordHollandsche Uitg. Mij., 1957).
5 Christine Goodall, *Sanctuary and Solidarity—Urban Community Responses to Refugees and Asylum Seekers on Three Continents.* (UNHCR: Sept 2011), 9.
6 Ibid, 1–10.
7 Ibid, 2.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid, 33.
10 Ibid, 33.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

11 Ibid. Also See *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.

12 Goodall cites the following work to support this argument: Gyan Prakash and Kevin Kruse, *The Spaces of the Modern City: Imaginaries, Politics and Everyday Life.* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2008); Ash Amin and Stephen Graham, 'The ordinary city,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22, no. 4 (1997).

13 Ibid. Also see: www.eurocities.eu (accessed: May 12, 2012).

14 Ibid.

15 Goodall, quoting Gyan Prakash and Kevin Kruse, *The Spaces of the Modern City: Imaginaries, Politics and Everyday Life.* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2008).

16 Greg Clark, *Towards Open Cities.* (The British Council, 2008), 14.

17 Ibid.

18 Goodall, quoting Gyan Prakash and Kevin Kruse, *The Spaces of the Modern City: Imaginaries, Politics and Everyday Life.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Ash Amin and Stephen Graham, 'The Ordinary City,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22, no. 4 (1997).

19 Ibid. She draws on a wide range of literature to support this claim, including Prakash and Cruse who contend that 'cities are the principle landscapes of modernity' and as such all the tensions 'between diverse groups with sometimes conflicting needs and priorities are concentrated in urban spaces.'

20 Christine Goodall, *Sanctuary and Solidarity—Urban Community Responses to Refugees and Asylum Seekers on Three Continents.* (UNHCR: Sept 2011), 6.

21 Ibid, 3.

22 Goodall positions the City of Sanctuary movement in the UK in opposition to other practices of sanctuary in cities that have been largely 'aspiration.' See: Christine Goodall. *Sanctuary and Solidarity—Urban Community Responses to Refugees and Asylum Seekers on Three Continents.* (UNHCR: Sept 2011), 5.

23 Ibid, 15.

24 Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: A Practical Handbook with Inspiring Examples. (*Plug and Tap, 2009), 11.

25 Michel Foucault, 'Subject and Power,' *Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984* vol. 3, ed. Paul Rabinow. (London: Penguin Books, 2002), 341. Also see: Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society.* (London: Sage, 1999). See the following for an in-depth discussion of how 'the state' is read less as a coherent thing but diffuse governmentalising processes. Nick Gill, 'New state-theoretical approaches to asylum and refugee geographies,' *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 5, 626–645. Here Gill shows how 'the state' is often depicted within asylum discourses as a 'deliberative rational actor, located outside society and capable of making relatively clean interventions into the social realm on the basis of moral or ethical principles,

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

without compromising its own distinction from the social order. By using this conception, the ethical debate employs a conceptual separation between state and society, bestowing the former with competences and capacities that are independent from, and ontologically prior to, the latter.'

26 Nikolas Rose, 'The Death of the Social? Re-figuring the Territory of Government,' *Economy and Society* 25, no. 3 (1996), 327–356.

27 Randy Lippert, *Sanctuary Sovereignty and Sacrifice: Canadian Sanctuary Incidents, Power and Law.* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005).

28 Ibid.

29 Sean Rehaag, 'Bordering on Legality: Canadian Church Sanctuary and the Rule of Law' in *Refuge 26*, no. 1 (2009).

30 See Dan Bulley, *Outside the Tent*. (International Studies Association Conference. San Diego, 2012). Here Dan illuminates the converse as well, how those spaces seemingly devoid of community ('the' camp) play into this logic.

31 Jacques Derrida, 'On cosmopolitanism,' in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 3.

32 Jacques Derrida, 'On Cosmopolitanism,' in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), viii

33 Ibid, 13.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid, 14.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid, 20–23.

40 Ibid, 21–22. Here, Derrida challenges this 'strictly delimited condition (which is nothing other than the institution of limit as a border, a nation, State, public or political space).'

41 Jacques Derrida, 'On Cosmopolitanism,' in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 17.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Christine Goodall, *Sanctuary and Solidarity—Urban Community Responses to Refugees and Asylum Seekers on Three Continents.* (UNHCR: Sept 2011), 8.

46 Jacques Derrida, 'On Cosmopolitanism,' in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 5–21.

47 Ibid, 18.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid, 5.
52 Ibid, 4.
53 Ibid, 5.
54 This exhibits the problem that Walker identifies as that propensity to express a 'solution, offering a progressive theory of history as a way out of a problem that is already constituted through a progressive theory of history' See Rob Walker, *After the World/Before the Globe*. (Routledge, 2010), 30.
55 Jacques Derrida, 'On Cosmopolitanism,' in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 6.
56 Ibid, 8.
57 Ibid, 9–12.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid, 23.
60 Dan Bulley, *Ethics as Foreign Policy: Britain, the EU and the Other*. (Routledge, 2009).
61 According to Derrida, any ethical relation to otherness is also always an unethical irresponsible relation. The possibility for a genuine ethical relation is, therefore, *undecidable*: neither fully possible nor impossible. This undecidability, however, is far from negative. The deconstruction Derrida offers reveals the complexity and contradictions within what one strives to enact and make possible. Far from justifying a rejection of any prospect of an ethical relation to the other, or a total paralysis, Derrida suggests that a responsible relation towards the other and otherness remains valuable and worthwhile struggling for. While exposing the fundamental impossibility of achieving this promise, Derrida does not give an excuse or justification for its abandonment. See: Dan Bulley, *Ethics as Foreign Policy: Britain, the EU and the Other*. (Routledge, 2009).
62 Ibid, 15. Here Derrida reminds us of Arendt's claim that 'a dog with a name has a better chance to survive than a stray dog who is just a dog in general.'
63 Ibid, 14.
64 Ibid, 12.
65 Ibid, 3–23.
66 Ibid, 5.
67 Ibid, 8.
68 Ibid, 4.
69 Ibid, 5.
70 Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: A Practical Handbook with Inspiring Examples.* (Plug and Tap, 2009), 11.

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71 Oona Eisenstadt, 'The problem of the promise: Derrida on Levinas on the cities of refuge,' *Cross Currents*, 2003.
72 Jacques Derrida, 'On Cosmopolitanism,' in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 17.
73 Ibid.
74 Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: A Practical Handbook with Inspiring Examples.* (Plug and Tap, 2009).
75 Sean Rehaag, 'Bordering on legality: canadian church sanctuary and the rule of law,' in *Refuge 26*, no. 1 (2009), 3. See: Christine Pohl, *Making Room: Recovering Hospitality as a Christian Tradition.* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1999); Luke Bretherton, *Hospitality as Holiness Christian Witness Amid Moral Diversity.* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006).
76 Leviticus 19: 33–34.
77 Sean Rehaag, 'bordering on legality: canadian church sanctuary and the rule of law,' in *Refuge 26*, no. 1 (2009), 3.
78 Numbers 35: 10–14.
79 Sean Rehaag, 'Bordering on legality: canadian church sanctuary and the rule of law,' in *Refuge 26*, no. 1 (2009), 4.
80 Ephatius Bau, *This Ground is Holy: Church Sanctuary and Central American Refugees*. (New York: Paulist Press, 1985), 125; CJ Cox, *The Sanctuaries and Sanctuary Seekers of Medieval England*. (Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1911).
81 Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th Ed. Vol. XXIV. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 129.
82 Douglas Smith, *The Story of Sanctuary at Durham*. (United Kingdom; Northern History Booklets, 1977) 13.
83 Ibid.
84 Rob Schumacher, 'Three Related Sanctuaries of Poseidon: Geraistos, Kalaureia and Tainaron,' in *Greek Sanctuaries New Approaches*, ed. Marinatos and Haag. (Routledge: New York, 1995).
85 Ibid.
86 Ian Rutherford, *Pilgrimage Graeco-Roman & Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods.* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 6.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
89 Kent Rigsby, *Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World.* (University of California Press, 1996).
90 Matthew Price, *Rethinking Asylum: History, Purpose and Limits.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009), 27.
91 Ibid, 28–30.
92 Ibid.
93 Ibid.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

94 Ibid.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid, 29.
97 Rob Schumacher, 'Three related sanctuaries of Poseidon: Geraistos, Kalaureia and Tainaron,' in *Greek Sanctuaries New Approaches*, ed. Marinatos and Haag. (Routledge: New York, 1995), 74.
98 Christopher Mitchell and Landon Hancock 'Local Zones of Peace and a Theory of Sanctuary,' in *Zones of Peace* (USA: Kumarian Press, 2007), 10.
99 Ibid.
100 *Aeschylus Persians and Other Plays*, trans. Christopher Collard. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), Line 8.
101 Ibid, lines, 525–591.
102 Ibid, line, 550.
103 Ibid, lines, 555–591.
104 Ibid, lines, 550–580.
105 Ibid, line, 570.
106 Matthew Price, *Rethinking Asylum: History, Purpose and Limits.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 27.
107 *Aeschylus Persians and Other Plays*, trans. Christopher Collard. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), Line, 643.
108 Ibid, lines, 535–555.
109 Ibid, lines, 175d–180.
110 Ibid, lines, 220–230.
111 Ibid, lines, 365–375.
112 Ibid, line, 90.
113 Ibid, lines, 760–765.
114 Ibid, lines, 500–520.
115 Ibid, lines, 460–470.
116 Ian Rutherford, *Pilgrimage Graeco-Roman & Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods.* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 6.
117 *Aeschylus Persians and Other Plays*, trans. Christopher Collard. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), xli.
118 Ibid, lines 900–965.
119 Ibid, lines, 355–375.
120 Plato, 'Socrates' Defense (Apology)' trans. Hugh Tredennick in *Plato: The Collected Dialogues* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961).
121 *Aeschylus Persians and Other Plays*, trans. Christopher Collard. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), Lines 330–380.
122 Ibid, lines 110–120.
123 Ibid, lines 75–80 and 885.
124 Christine Goodall, *Sanctuary and Solidarity—Urban Community Responses to Refugees and Asylum Seekers on Three Continents.* (UNHCR: Sept 2011), 8.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

125 Jacques Derrida, 'On Cosmopolitanism,' in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 23.

126 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Pour une littérature mineure*. (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1975).

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0010

6

Still Waiting: Security, *Temporality*, Population

Abstract: *Concludes how the sanctuary city functions as a governmental technology that produces compliant, waiting subjects while assuaging the very problem of indefinite deferral. This book closes the possibility of the sanctuary city as a 'minor politics' that disrupts this waiting state.*

Bagelman, J. Jennifer. *Sanctuary City: A Suspended State*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0011.

 DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0011

Stepping across the threshold into St. Gabriel's Church in Montréal I caught a glimpse of the ambivalent welcome this sanctuary space offered. For my host Kader Belaouni, a guest here for over three years, this welcome was as frayed as the straw welcome mat that adorned the stoop below my feet. As Kader shared with me, this welcome offered not only a protection of sorts, but also imprisonment. While serving as an important tool to resist immediate deportation, the limitations of this practice were clear to see. As Kader reflected, while this exceptional spectacle may have assisted his case, countless others remain beyond the pale of such protection. And for those who are able to take sanctuary, Kader pointed out, many voluntarily leave on account of feeling trapped.[1] For Kader, and for many supporting him, sanctuary space offers nothing more than a highly restrictive 'last resort.'[2] Observing these paradoxes, I was struck by the possibilities that an emergent variant of sanctuary, sanctuary as a city-based practice, promised. Unlike contained sanctuary understood as a last resort, city-based sanctuaries, as represented by the UK sanctuary city movement, and, as we have seen, Glasgow in particular, intimate precisely the kind of welcome that exceeds the confined space-times of church sanctuary. As such, it purports to offer a sustainable, indefinite kind of support to migrants facing exclusion.[3] This vision gains power not only through a hope for the future, however, but also through an appeal to the past.

Although the sanctuary city aims to revive this ancient practice, this movement also aims to 'add to it.'[4] In particular, this movement moves beyond the enclosed church sanctuaries often framed as part of sanctuary's ancient roots. Images of church doors, church knockers and the Greek temenos (a place cut off) circulate in such a way as to elucidate sanctuary as having been 'originally' a spatially contained practice. The sanctuary city, it would seem, has progressed beyond these physically contained sites and instead is enacted as a network of practices focused on normalizing the presence of refugees and asylum seekers. Here 'the city' is posited as an idealized site through which sanctuary may extend a universal hospitality. As a city-based approach, a more welcoming politics that exceeds a conditional, prison-like ethic is said to emerge. It comprises a fluid and diffuse assemblage of practices that works to shift relations at a systemic level. The sanctuary city, it would seem, creates sanctuary as a flexible, enduring and 'durable' process with no immediate end to its hospitality.[5]

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0011

Perhaps most significantly, this movement is framed as a challenge to a hostile asylum regime often associated with 'the state.'[6] Rather than a secular asylum regime, the sanctuary city claims to offer a more sacred alternative. This sentiment is encapsulated in the following statement about city-based sanctuary practices: 'Sanctuary work is a positive statement by people of faith that moral authority is protected, not owned by the State.'[7] This is summed up in Linda Rabben's account of sanctuary. She contends that sanctuary is quite distinct from the contemporary asylum regime that she associates with the state. Illustrative of this, she presents the following schematic:

Sanctuary	Asylum
Outlawed 17th century	Emerging statist practice
Moral and religious	Legal institution
Patchwork of authorities	Singular sovereign
Open to otherness	Territorial exclusionary

This visualization depicts a stark distinction between, on the one hand, asylum, which is bound up with a statist imaginary, and on the other, sanctuary, which challenges the sovereign order. This way of framing the relation between sanctuary and asylum, where the former is conceived as an escape from the exclusionary logic of the latter, is not unique to Rabben but rather is a standard trope within the literature on, and indeed practice of, sanctuary.

The underlying argument that this book proposes is that this understanding is problematic. It contends that the sanctuary city should not be understood as opposed to, or an escape from, the state; rather, it is better understood as a site through which the state is produced. Accordingly, the sanctuary city is not an alternative to government but instead operates as a kind of governmentality, or 'art of government,' that is a site through which a dangerous governmentalising state of suspension is produced.

Governmentality

A brief discussion of governmentality is in order before we proceed further. A set of lectures delivered by Michel Foucault at the Collège de France between 1976 and 1979, and later published as *Security, Territory, Population*, furnishes the most nuanced account of this concept.[8] Foucault offers us no direct 'theory of the state,' he explains that any such 'theory

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0011

would suggest that the state has some sort of eternal essence that persists across space and time.'[9] Indeed, Foucault questions conventional account of 'the state' as a thing that simply exhibits sovereignty. He presents an account of the state as a process—a process connected with various kinds of ruling: sovereignty, discipline *and* government. These processes combine to effect the 'governmentalization of the state.'[10] This is a vital change, yet one we are likely to overlook if we approach the state as if sovereignty were its most defining feature.[11] Governmentality, after all, is not a power that operates from on high, authorizing right/wrong or dispensing punishment; rather, it operates by inducing subjects to freely govern themselves. In this sense, then, this type of government governs best by governing least. This form of power both posits and relies upon an aspiration subject geared towards self-betterment. Thus understood governmentality functions through a proliferation of subtle *techniques* that shape and regulate populations from a distance, beyond disciplinary power and even beyond 'the state' or 'government' per se.[12]

Foucault's framework enables us to observe how, in a case such as Glasgow, sanctuary functions as a form of governmentality. It does so by inviting 'the' asylum seeker to become a good aspirational citizen, even while being denied full citizenship. The effect of this, in the first instance, is to cast asylum seekers in a situation where, in exchange for a promise for a better future, their lives are put on hold and endlessly deferred. On a deeper level, it is precisely through these processes that the asylum seeker is produced as a supplicant who must wait in limbo.

This problem is exemplified in a story that John, a sanctuary city delegate from Wakefield, shared with me. He recounted his experience of working closely with a failed asylum seeker, providing mental, emotional and monetary support to her over a three-year period. Over time, he explained, 'our group has shown her that it is in her best interest to depend on us so that she can think about other things.'[13] He explained that now she happily comes to a drop-in center every week where provisions are allocated. This 'allows us,' he claims, 'to maintain a continual relationship':

> We cannot just forget our obligation. Sanctuary means providing something to those in need. This may seem difficult at first, but eventually even those who are resistant to this idea come around and are much more content. It was very difficult for this woman to live in this city partly because she had a different ethic. By managing her... we not only teach her, but we gently integrate her, so she can live more easily here. And meanwhile, she can volunteer

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0011

> at the local church and gain valuable skills for the future when she can work. The Council sees the benefit in this too, we can offer a cohesion that would be otherwise unfathomable.[14]

This vignette highlights how sanctuary may function as a tool to hold asylum seekers in place and render them compliant subjects.[15] It is not about absolute exclusion, but rather a gentle integration into becoming a particular kind of good, ethical citizen—even when legal rights to that citizenship are denied. Here, a governmentalising process operates in such a way as to incite a commitment to the rules of the game, where one willingly submits and indeed invests in the suspension, the roundabout.

Temporality

This governmentalising process of sanctuary bears directly on *temporality*. While there may be a tendency to conceive of sanctuary as first and foremost a territorial practice it is only by understanding its temporal dimensions that we can fully grasp its deployment as a powerful technology of government. The issue of temporality has been raised by scholars, such as Saulo Cwerner, in relation to asylum practices. His article 'Faster, Faster, Faster' argues for developing a 'time politics of asylum.'[16] He asserts that due to the 'globalization of migration the nation-state's traditional form of control over population movements in its territory has been challenged and thus we need to think more seriously about time.'[17] This analysis, however, tends to view a temporality of speed as the main concern,[18] what I have suggested as particularly troubling in relation to these governmentalising practices of sanctuary, however, is a politics of suspension.

This notion of suspension extends work by others such as Nick Gill and Jennifer Hyndman, on the temporal-spatial problems of waiting. Based on extensive interviews with those he calls 'intermediary actors'—those people between state and society, such as local government employees, asylum interviewers, and security staff—Gill provides a nuanced and often-overlooked aspect of UK's asylum regime. Gill effectively demonstrates the ways in which asylum seekers are held static through institutionalized timing and spacing. In a similar vein, Hyndman has addressed how millions of refugees are stuck in camps and cities of the global South without permanent legal status. Hyndman illuminates how an international regime holds refugees 'in limbo,' waiting without status

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0011

as 'protracted refugees.'[19] This book hopes to contribute to this body of work by analyzing how suspension emerges at the level of everyday life, through a language of hospitality as a seeming response or even sacred remedy to both 'intermediaries' and those top-down policies of hostility. As well intentioned as this discourse may be, sanctuary nevertheless functions as a supplicatory ritual that eases the problem of waiting without calling into question this problem that it gives rise to.

Although this politics of suspension may not resemble blatantly exclusionary technologies of security (such as deportation, detainment, dispersal) I suggest that we examine further how these practices are entwined, and function as a larger apparatus that denies the right to leave, return and stay.[20] Where critical attention may magnetize towards a politics of unease—those technologies and practices that situate certain migrants as a threat to be deterred—I have shown that sanctuary's easing language of welcome also demands critical work.[21]

Minor politics

This analysis of the sanctuary city as a technology of government reveals that sanctuary does not evade the statist logic of asylum. This does not, however, render it a futile or impotent practice. Although the sanctuary city vision may have a tendency to ameliorate the problems associated with waiting, thereby enabling and perpetuating them, it is also generative of a range of practices that interrupt this process. Consider for example the instance of forum theater produced and performed by asylum seekers based in Glasgow, and examined in Chapter 3. This performance laid bare the effect of being put on hold, which is the daily reality facing many asylum seekers. Similarly, *The Mapping Project* conducted under the auspices of the Glasgow sanctuary movement countered narratives of the sanctuary city as open and revealed the exclusionary temporal logic that asylum seekers confront. Viewed together, these artistic interventions problematize the asylum seeker as both subject and supplicant, and challenge the ways in which asylum seekers are rendered emblems of victimhood. Such activities expose the nightmares too often eased away by the ideal dream of the sanctuary city.

These cases invite us to think about how politics, understood as interruptive force,[22] emerges even within the depoliticized sanctuary landscape. It is at the margins and in-between spaces, or to borrow the

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0011

language of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, 'chocked passages' and 'lines of flight,' that the sanctuary city movement creates the possibility for transformative encounters.[23] They signal a dual shift in relationality: from, on the one hand, giving/receiving to taking, and, on the other, from waiting to claiming. To return to our examples, there is a certain impatience, designed to rebound the frustrations of waiting upon the audience as proxy for the recipient city, performed through *The Roundabout*. With respect to *The Mapping Project*, a determination to be counted on their own terms informed how asylum seekers counter-mapped Glasgow. In these very small but nevertheless significant ways the sanctuary city movement creates the conditions for unstitching the dominant asylum order. These practices signify a meaningful opening for a different kind of sanctuary politics.

The sanctuary city vision thus reflects what we might refer to as a form of minor politics. What is meant by minor politics? This notion has featured *sotto voce* throughout this text. Developed by Deleuze and Guattari, it denotes a 'cutting across' of the grand, simultaneously celebratory and escapist rhetoric of a major politics.[24] As such it intimates a modest, continual, inventive, de-territorialising and subversive politics, one that resists the language of escape in favor of a critical attitude.[25] Applied to sanctuary politics, it signals a determination not to discount or overlook prevailing hierarchies, but to work both within and against them. It is in this key that the sanctuary city movement has the potential to make meaningful difference. Channeling the spirit of Deleuze and Guattari, 'Create the opposite dream: know how to create a becoming-minor.'[26]

Sanctuary as minor, then, is attentive to the ways in which claims of escape are themselves pernicious as they enable forms of violence. Minor politics such as these do not temporarily resolve the problem of waiting that confront asylum seekers, but rather question it. These politics do not provide a mechanism for assuaging the unsettled experiences associated with an exilic condition. Instead, they seek to continually unsettle the very processes that produce exile. While sanctuary may be celebrated as always protecting the stranger, this book has revealed how this can function as a misleading myth. To understand sanctuary as minor is to continually reveal the fractures and frays masked through such idealized claims. It is to cut across, de-territorialize and to become 'a stranger in one's own language' of hospitality, of the city, of sanctuary and the seemingly hospitable sanctuary city itself.[27]

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0011

Conclusion

The city, Foucault has suggested, is intimately connected to the modern art of government, and the 'governmentalization of the state.'[28] Indeed, the city is a key site through which the state is produced. For it is through the dispersed, everyday sites that the conduct of conducting oneself as a proper subject is rendered particularly effective. In this sense, rather than a solution to the problems associated with 'the state,' the city is a problem we are invited to carefully think through, for it is ripe with political possibilities and also restrictions. I have suggested that the sanctuary city might also be understood as embodying this sort of problem. One might see this is an anticlimactic conclusion, banal even. Where does this leave us? Might this form of analysis that aims to illuminate the rich modalities of governing, in fact simply flatten out our worlds and leave us with nowhere in particular to turn for answers? Rather than surrendering to such blandness, however, this book has carefully traced the variegated ways that sanctuary is deployed and experienced. In particular, I have demonstrated how the well-intentioned sanctuary city can operate as an especially troubling technology: one that produces good waiting subjects while assuaging the very problem of indefinite waiting. It is vital, I suggest, to remove the scales from our eyes about the innocence of sanctuary as an alternative to hostility, and to rather think about how this discourse can abet its production. Yet, in specific contexts I have also pointed to important minor, opportunistic sites that challenge the smooth operation of this technology. I wish to close this book with these minor practices, for they represent an opening. These practices are a vital opening in that they embody a way to interrupt the waiting state, refusing to abide to the soft yet restricting sanctuary promise: don't worry, hold on, and just wait.

Notes

1 Kader Belaouni, interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman. St.Gabriel's Church. Montréal, Canada. June 18, 2007. It has also been suggested that 42% of sanctuary case migrants 'voluntarily left the church, either to go underground or to cooperate with their deportation.' See: Sean Rehaag, 'Bordering on legality: canadian church sanctuary and the rule of law,' in *Refuge 26*, no. 1 (2009).

2 Ibid.

3 *City of Sanctuary AGM*, October 31, 2011.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0011

4 *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, October 31, 2011.

5 Sanctuary cities have been posed as an 'enduring' form of political organization, creating continual opportunities through an evocation of a more permanent set of sanctuary practices. Linda Rabben, *Give Refuge to the Stranger: The Past, Present and Future of Sanctuary.* (US: Left Coast Press, 2001), 206.

6 Linda Rabben, *Give Refuge to the Stranger: The Past, Present and Future of Sanctuary.* (US: Left Coast Press, 2001). Christine Goodall, *Sanctuary and Solidarity—Urban Community Responses to Refugees and Asylum Seekers on Three Continents.* (UNHCR: Sept 2011).

7 Jennifer Ridgley, 'Refuge, refusal, and acts of holy contagion: the city as sanctuary' in *Acme: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographers* 10, no. 2 (2011), 25.

8 Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France*, 1978–1979. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). This sequence of lectures pivots around a discussion of governmentality that spawned a whole school of 'governmentality studies.'

9 Warren Magnusson, *Politics of Urbanism: Seeing Like a City*. (Routledge, 2011).

10 Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France*, 1978–1979. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). This sequence of lectures pivots around a discussion of governmentality that spawned a whole school of 'governmentality studies.'

11 Of course, sovereignty is still a key question for Foucault; however, what this lecture series points out is that an infatuation with sovereignty eclipses other types of analysis which may be increasingly important. As Warren Magnusson has put it: 'Foucault is not challenging the idea that sovereignty is a defining feature of the state. He is happy to accept the latter assumption for the purposes of his analysis, although he is at pains to remind us what the character of sovereignty—sovereignty of whom in relation to what?—is bound to change over time, and moreover that modern sovereignty has distinctive characteristics that we need to analyze. In any case, sovereignty is not really his subject here, nor is discipline. He thinks that it is the third thing, government, which requires our attention, because the balance between the three aspects of ruling—sovereignty, discipline and government—has clearly shifted in favor of government in the modern era.' Warren Magnusson, *Politics of Urbanism: Seeing Like a City*. (Routledge, 2011).

12 This has been part of a 'widening' approach to security, conceived not simply as a traditional focus on (for instance) military, or even exceptional 'speech acts' but rather complex techniques of government that infiltrate everyday life. See: Jef Huysmans, *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU.* (London: Routledge, 2006).

13 John (pseudonym), City of Sanctuary delegate, *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham. October 31, 2011.

14 Ibid.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0011

15 Vicki Squire and Jennifer Bagelman, 'Taking not waiting: space, temporality and politics in the City of Sanctuary movement,' in *Migration and Citizenship: Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement,* ed. Peter Nyers and Kim Rygiel. (Routledge, 2010).

16 Saulo Cwerner, 'Work faster, faster and faster: the time politics of asylum in the UK,' in *Time & Society* 13, no. 1 (2004), 71–88.

17 Ibid.

18 Nick Gill, 'Presentational state power: temporal and spatial influences over asylum sector decision makers,' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 34, no. 2 (2009), 215–233.

19 Jennifer Hyndman, 'Waiting for what? The feminization of asylum in protracted situations,' *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 18, no. 3 (2011).

20 See: Sylvie Da Lomba's 'Legal status and refugee integration: a UK perspective,' *Journal of Refuge Studies* 23, no. 4 (2010), 415–436; Margaret S. Malloch and Elizabeth Stanley 'The detention of asylum seekers in the UK: representing risk, managing the dangerous,' *Punishment & Society* 7, no. 1 (2005), 53–71; Alice Bloch and Liza Schuster, 'At the Extremes of Exclusion: deportation, detention and dispersal,' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 3 (2005), 491–512.

21 See: Guy Goodwin-Gill, 'After the Cold War: Asylum and the refugee concept move on,' *Forced Migration Review* 10, (2001), 14–16. Guy Goodwin-Gill, *The Refugee in International Law*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). James Hampshire and Shamit Saggar, 'Migration, integration and security in the UK since July 7,' Migration Information www.migrationinformation.org (accessed on May 16, 2009).

22 Throughout this text I am drawing on Rancière's understanding of politics as that moment and space of 'interruption' in the given. Politics as the staging of disagreement as 'an interrupted current' that 'short-circuits' the social order. Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement*. trans. Julie Rose. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 13.

23 Deleuze and Guattari call us to think through these minor activities that occur both on and off central stage. Quite fittingly in their work, *Towards a Minor Literature*, they evoke Kafka whose art was cobbled together in the shadows of the night. Kafka created not in a space of abundance and autonomy, but in-between: in-between work and sleep, in-between worlds and in-between languages. This type of liminal zone, or what Guattari refers to as 'choked passages,' maneuvers around and confronts liberal humanist notions of freedom and creativity (as a space of individuality and self-expression).

24 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Pour une littérature mineure*. (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1975).

25 These minor politics, Deleuze and Guattari tell us, do not aspire to a teleology that comfortingly regulates and at the same time do not gain comfort from a

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0011

place of absolute or idealized belonging. What unfurls from the pages of Kafka is not a sense of being 'at home'—but continual unsettlement. He exists in languages that are 'not [his] own' (Kafka, a Jew in Prague, writes in German). Insightful in this respect are Kafka's reflections on Yiddish: 'It consists solely of foreign words. But these words are not firmly rooted in it, they retain the speed and liveliness with which they were adopted. Great migrations move through Yiddish, from one end to the other. All this German, Hebrew, French, English, Slavonic, Dutch, Rumanian, and even Latin, is seized with curiosity and frivolity once it is contaminated with Yiddish' Franz Kafka, 'An introductory talk on the Yiddish language,' in *Dearest Father: Stories and Other Writings* (New York: Schocken, 1954), 382. Minor politics is in this sense pastiche. It is a collage of forces that traverse various histories, places and contexts. It does not exist 'in itself: it only exists in relation to a major language [practice] and are also investments of that language [practice] for the purpose of making it minor.' Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. Brian Massumi. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 105. As such, for minor language-politics, one cannot easily or necessarily find an Author (certainly not the aggrandized Kafka that rises from the ashes posthumously). Indeed, 'there isn't a subject' at all, there is no public voice booming from the transcendental, sovereign individual (ibid). Rather, as with the figures in *The Suppliants*, the cunning gadfly is constituted by disparate often ignoble, and even abject, forces

26 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Pour une littérature mineure*. (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1975).

27 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. *Kafka: Pour une littérature mineure*. (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1975).

28 Warren Magnusson, *Politics of Urbanism: Seeing Like a City.* (Routledge, 2011), 90.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0011

Appendices

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0012

Appendix 1: reflections on method

This book commences with a Preface that was initially written as part of a journal entry, never intended to be part of this book. After struggling to find a way to start writing, however, I realized that this was my sincere starting point. I had tried to begin many times by situating my work in relation to the following: citizenship studies, security studies and urban studies. Each of these starting points opened up some intellectually stimulating questions for me; however, this led me into languages that insulated me from the questions I was really trying to grapple with.

In thinking about how I came to the question of sanctuary I ended up starting in *medias res*, in the middle of things. I began thinking about memories of my mom, whom I just lost. This is where I really was: swirling in memories of her, lessons from her that seemed more present than the presence of pressing literatures or debates. I realized that these memories, and the myriad of other stories and experiences—which seemed closer to the surface of my mind than usual—could not be trimmed out. But then I was confronted with the question of method: how can I bring these experiences into my work; are they part of an analysis; what role do they play in the research project? A nagging voice reverberated in my mind: beginning with these personal fragments is self-indulgent and simply non-academic.

Thankfully other voices tempered this one. I began to take comfort in the self-reflexive methodological writing taking shape within disciplines such as International Relations, Political Science and Geography. A number of insightful accounts have emerged suggesting the 'I' in 'IR,' for instance, needs to be thought about more carefully.[1] This provided some encouragement to think about how other forms of writing might be academically relevant. I began to experiment by writing reflexive pieces (or 'vignettes'). Thinking seriously about the vignette has helped me identify my methodological approach. A vignette can mean: short, impressionistic scene that focuses on one moment or gives a particular insight into a character, idea or setting. Thus, a vignette is not simply a narrative with a tidy beginning, middle, end; it embodies a variety of forces that collide to create a scene. Although a vignette paints a picture and a world in which one is invited, this is not a complete picture or world. In photography, for instance, vignetting is a verb that implies a process by which there is a loss of clarity towards the corners and sides of an image. In this vein, while a vignette captures a scene it does not

claim to tell a total story, the edges are always hazy. So too, while this vignette may appear as a sort of personal account it does not privilege the authority of an 'I' who is complete, whose subjective stance somehow becomes a more objective or uncontested point of entry into the world simply because it is 'mine.' I have written these vignettes as reflections on experiences I have had, yet these scenes also introduce an uncertainty with regard to the very I who reflects upon them.

Many of the scenes I conjure up (for instance, stepping into a meeting where I feel both pulled towards and uncomfortable with certain activist languages) introduce a trembling of this I who writes. This is in keeping with what Jacques Derrida has referred to as a process of learning to live with ghosts.[2] That is a process whereby one learns to coexist with all the forces, memories, and traces that haunt us (those forces, memories and traces that we can too often push aside and exorcise so as to speak as a coherent and stable Author). As one who found himself arbitrarily 'stateless' I suppose it is unsurprising that Derrida so clearly articulates the problem of imposing a static identity (national, occupational...) as ontologically given. What traces must be submerged, and what violences emerge in the crystallization of such categories? In writing with vignettes I hope to keep open this type of questioning about the subject who writes. This style also relates to the theme of minor literatures, which runs throughout the book. As Deleuze and Guattari write, a 'minor literature' refers to no subject. 'There isn't a subject' per se, Deleuze and Guattari write, 'there are only collective assemblages of enunciation.'[3]

This vignette-style represents part of my methodology: the method of beginning in the midst of a scene or site which triggers a feeling, a discomfort, an intuition, a source of inspiration that then invites further inquiry to unfurl the questions and tensions this scene provokes. Many of my chapters commence with this kind of affective vignette, a relational site of encounter that has shifted me and stayed with me. To my mind what makes a vignette a vignette (perhaps differentiated somewhat from certain forms of narrative) is that it is partial. This is important for two main reasons. The first, which I have already gestured at, is that in many cases vignettes are not simply a personal encounter, they are an assemblage of forces, scenes in which the 'I' is in question. In the second instance, these fragments are not emerging from one static position. They are not arising, for instance, from an entirely personal stance somehow devoid of or removed from 'intellectual' sources and forces. In fact, it is the blurring of: experiences, theoretical insights, discussions with

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0012

other academics and those self-identifying as activists that constitute the vignette. At times I was tempted towards writing a more 'pure' narrative: a narrative devoid of footnotes that privilege academic authority. Elizabeth Dauphinee's work that follows a personal thread and circumnavigates around theoretical head nodding was inspirational to me in this respect.[4]

However, in my case I felt it was vital for the theoretical dimensions to be explicitly entwined into the vignettes. The reason that I decided to research was because I felt the need to step back in some small way from the mobilization of sanctuary. Perhaps the phrase stepping back is not quite right, I never felt that I would approach this topic with objective distance; rather, I hoped I might glean another layer of understanding into this notion of sanctuary if approached from a different angle. This desire was fueled in part by a frustration I felt during my involvement as an activist engaged in sanctuary practices. In this position I felt that a lot had to be taken as given, if anything was to get done. And we are lucky that many people are getting things done. But, for me mobilizing sanctuary as a tool to prevent deportation in Kader's case, for instance, did not really provide space for digging into the questions that I felt compelled to push at, such as: how is this notion of sanctuary being deployed? What historical assumptions does this invoke? What stories does it overlook? Who and how are certain figures excluded from this conception? Rather, as an activist involved in mobilizing this term—for a given end—sanctuary was often regarded as a 'thing' intact, which we can all refer to as if it has one solid meaning: a positive practice of providing protection which extends back to ancient times. Within the terrain of mobilizing sanctuary it often felt I was in the business of promoting a noble tradition worthy of reviving, rather than investigating how this tradition functions and what it produces.

In order to begin grappling with how I might pursue these interrogative questions—which aim to investigate sanctuary more as a complex problem rather than a given solution—I found the genealogical insights from Michel Foucault, Raymond Geuss and Gilles Deleuze particularly provocative and helpful. The more I read, the more I realized that a genealogically inspired approach was vital in terms of facilitating the kind of questions about sanctuary I wished to pursue. This method is not simply interested in how a thing called sanctuary might be best used today in order to promote a certain cause; rather this approach hopes to investigate how sanctuary is being shaped and what implications this

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0012

might have. This approach is concerned less with advancing a political program, and more with denaturalizing and disrupting taken for granted truths of modernity. When I say modernity here I draw on Foucault's understanding of modernity not as a historical epoch, but as a (western) attitude: a way of thinking, acting and behaving.[5] The point of doing a genealogy (or effective history) is to draw out the variegated ways that certain attitudes are produced and normalized. In this vein, Foucault suggests that:

> History has a more important task than to be handmaiden to philosophy, to recount the necessary birth of truth and values; it should become a differential knowledge of energies and failings, heights and degenerations, poisons and antidotes. Its task is to be a curative science.[6]

As we see here, Foucault questions a conventional historical approach that aims to find truthful origins. Instead, as Geuss similarly points out, this approach requires suspiciousness of trajectories that speak in terms of foundations that can somehow be revived—as if there is some legible linear path of history out there to be restored.[7] In other words, the task of a genealogy (in relation to the practice of sanctuary) is not to try to find the first, and therefore somehow most truthful, expression. For both Foucault and Geuss such claims to totalizing paths fail to consider the production of social norms; a production rife with breaks and ruptures. As David Campbell has pointed out, 'in considering the issue of where we go from here there is a tendency to uncritically accept a particular story of how we got to here.'[8] A genealogical approach does not take such a story for granted; instead, it is the constitution of the story itself that becomes a central focus for analysis. This encourages a critical re-reading of trajectories that evoke clean historical breaks and also seeks to look beneath what may appear to be a seemingly smooth continuity.

With this in mind, again, my aim is not to excavate the *true* institution of sanctuary. Rather, I am concerned with how this is expressed as a logic within a given moment. To do this critical kind of history, which aims to understand how particular practices have been shaped as dominant while other knowledges have been subjugated or overlooked, an exploration of diverse archives is necessary. Importantly, this does not require 'going back' in time to find meaning but rather digging into the very discursive fields in which we find ourselves situated, to consider how sanctuary is being constituted. Importantly, this requires being open to the fact that this expression may or may not owe itself to

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0012

an ancient history; our present expression of sanctuary may not be the pinnacle of some evolution of this term. Rather, the aim is to understand how certain traces have been taken up, incorporated and refashioned in certain moments. As Deleuze has put it:

> The history of a thing, in general, is the succession of forces which take possession of it and the co-existence of the forces which struggle for possession. The same object, the same phenomenon, changes sense depending on the force which appropriates it.[9]

Again, this does not require going back to some ancient past to find the true source; part of this genealogical approach requires attention to the dense fabric of power relations in the present moment. As Deleuze suggests above, we cannot assume that when a term (like sanctuary) is deployed today that it owes itself to some legacy that continues in an unbroken fashion. Considering how sanctuary is being evoked today, and drawing this out through particular sites is a vital part of a genealogical method.

As I began thinking about what sort of sources I would explore and how I would really do this, I came to realize that a genealogical approach actually demands the messy work of ethnography. As Foucault suggests, a genealogy is 'quite specific' and always must 'bear upon a material.'[10] And yet, somehow, genealogy and ethnography are often approached as if they are (and should be) separate approaches. Instead of starting from such a position, in this book I aim to do a genealogical-ethnographic investigation, or a grounded genealogy. The hyphen is significant as it indicates a symbiosis between the ways of doing research. I aim to plunge into sites in order to understand how, for instance, sanctuary is being shaped. In particular I ground my analysis in the UK sanctuary city. More specifically still I explore Glasgow's sanctuary city. I chose this site for a number of reasons. This city officially houses the highest number of refugees and asylum seekers anywhere in the UK.[11] It has been identified as one of the main cities where refugees and asylum seekers are relocated, or dispersed to, on a 'no-choice' basis from London.[12] In recent years Glasgow has attracted attention for its hostile reception of refugees and asylum seekers.[13] Yet, Glasgow's burgeoning sanctuary city movement, which has emerged partly as a way to respond to this policy of dispersal and has been widely celebrated in terms of leading the way for a more welcoming city-based approach to sanctuary, has not been examined in any sustained manner.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0012

This type of grounding should not be understood as a founding. In other words, although I situate my analysis in this site, this does not offer some fixed foundation upon which I then extrapolate generalizable principles about the world. To do so would be no less problematic, I think, than asserting that there is some origin back in time that we can recover in order to determine the truth of sanctuary. At the same time, the specificity of this grounded approach should not be understood as therefore reducible only to one site. As Foucault suggests, it is through studying how rules of action, modes of relation and objects are constituted through specific sites that we can 'analyze questions of general import.'[14] In other words, then, to study how a discourse of sanctuary is being deployed in Glasgow is to gesture at a larger question of import about how this discourse of 'sanctuary' constitutes certain modes of action, rules, and relations.

So, what does the ethnographic-genealogical research comprise of? What are the sources that I draw on as part of this archive of sanctuary? I started with what seemed most obvious: texts produced through the sanctuary city movement. I also explored speeches and policy documents. I reflected on the visual imagery produced through the movement, how certain icons were circulated as to 'capture' an important vision. In addition, I did a close reading of those texts that tend to be taken up in a number of theoretical accounts of sanctuary. For instance, I was drawn to the play *The Suppliants* because it has been itself a source of inspiration regularly invoked to tell us the story sanctuary's ancient Greek roots. In exploring this text, and illuminating elements that have been sidestepped, I call into question this invocation.

The more explicitly ethnographic exploration began when I also attended a number of official meetings to understand how the discourse was being articulated, mobilized and embodied. I participated in a meeting in Sheffield, the first official sanctuary city, and I attended a national meeting in Nottingham. I also reflected on sanctuary city email correspondences. In order to trace how the sanctuary city movement in Glasgow is being constituted, I also attended a variety of events in Glasgow, from the first official sanctuary city meeting to follow-up discussions and activities. During the second sanctuary city meeting a speaker from the United States, Linda Rabben, was invited to discuss the sanctuary city conception as it relates to a worldwide city-based sanctuary movement. The way in which she situated the development of sanctuary as a challenge to a statist asylum regime was introduced as a

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0012

central way to frame an understanding of the sanctuary city, not only as a local project but global movement.

While these sources were illuminating, I came to see that what was largely missing were the voices from those people taking sanctuary. Where policy documents have been widely critiqued for occluding those whose lives are immediately affected by the very policies enacted, I noticed that a similar pattern was evident in these sanctuary meetings.[15] Although not outwardly excluded, many of the voices on display in these meetings seemed to be brought within a particular frame of celebrating empowered migrant communities. All of this suggested that in order to critically examine what threads might be trimmed from the official discourse I was going to have to create more room for dialogue with asylum seekers and refugees. I felt this dialogue would need to be pursued in a context that enabled a diversity of experiences that might not fit this official city of celebratory sanctuary frame. Such a shift is not intended to offer a totalizing 'view from the margins' but rather, as Kathleen Coll has put it, aims to re-center an exploration of asylum on experiences of asylum seekers themselves. As Geraldine Pratt has passionately suggested in her work with Filipino domestic workers in Canada, it is essential to 'assemble an archive of migrant testimony that speaks to their lived experience' on the assumption that they should be provided a space to 'participate equally in debates about the effects of this…migration.'[16] This shift of focus, I hope, can contribute to a growing body of migration and asylum literature that engages the experiences of those for whom sanctuary claims to take as its object of protection.

Yet, this represented another methodological problem: how does one explore these sidelined voices? Interviews seemed like an obvious starting point to generate a more inclusive discourse; however, this raised some serious problems. Many asylum seekers, for good reason, are quite reticent to discuss their 'experiences' in a question/answer setting. And so, I began to consider other ways of doing research. Many of these other ways organically emerged. I was particularly fortunate to meet a number of people through Glasgow Refugee Asylum Migrant Network (GRAMNet) which is based in the University of Glasgow and brings together: community groups, researchers, practitioners, NGOs and policy makers working with migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in Scotland. What was striking about GRAMNet is the way they continually experiment with research data gathering tools that do not merely mimic those used by authorities (e.g. recorded interviews or surveys using a clipboard). As Convener of

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0012

GRAMNet Alison Phipps points out, such tools can often raise unpleasant associations for people who have been through traumatic deportation interviews. In her piece, *Drawing Breath: Creative Elements and their Exile from Higher Education*, Phipps illuminates the importance of considering different, more embodied, modes of academic engagement. So too, she describes the importance of thinking about our 'objects' who we interview and their corporeal experiences of interviews. Here, she highlights alternative pedagogies that take into account that some people will have a visceral resentment for a formalized interview style and that many participants might more than

> dislike the bullets,
> the hierarchy,
> the numbering down from top to bottom,
> with closed bracket, and colon and dot...
> the roman numerals which tell of imperial strength,
> decimated,
> shot.[17]

Considering some of the problems associated with formal interviewing styles I felt a participatory observation approach was more appropriate. I did not know exactly how this would unfold. I began meeting a number of refugees and asylum seekers as I volunteered for two years with the organizations: Unity and the Govan Integration Network. Both of these organizations are vital sources of support for refugee and asylum seeking communities in Glasgow. In this book I reflect upon two specific projects led by these organizations: *The Roundabout* and *The Mapping Project*. During these events the problem of waiting was powerfully articulated by a number of asylum seekers. I came to understand these events as testimonial spaces, where problems associated with waiting were articulated and where embodied practices of experimental 'partial transformations' emerged.[18] Rather than creating a new project or program that claims to emancipate, these minor practices challenge the roles of provider/recipient and offer new modes for engaging questions relating to asylum. To become attuned to these practices it is not sufficient to simply listen with one's ears to words being spoken but, as Diana Coole has suggested in her discussion of ethnography as a corporeal practice, it is about 'listening with one's whole being.'[19]

This genealogical-ethnographic investigation was clearly not a process of reading theory and then going to 'the field.' To some degree this

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book is a desire to understand fields that I have always been immersed in —fields of charity and activism, for instance. This positionality I found to be difficult and productive. Working in and through this positionality I experienced a sort of back-and-forth process: between participating in this field, and also reflecting on how this field is being actively shaped. Again, a genealogical method was helpful here, encouraging a relentless questioning, denaturalization of what we take as natural. In so doing, I felt I was able to begin to understand how a certain story of sanctuary was being told, how a particular appropriation of forces was being enacted. In particular I came to understand how sanctuary, which is often posed as challenging the state, has been appropriated as a governmentalising practice that encourages both those 'helping' and those 'helping themselves' to see waiting as a productive state.

While the theoretical insights have helped me in this back-and-forth process, at other moments these theories have become cumbersome, and have impeded the complexity I am trying to unravel. The moments of disjuncture between the theoretical insights and the sites I explored were just as, if not more, provocative for me. For instance, Foucault's language of governmentality was helpful in understanding how the sanctuary city functions as a discourse that encourages asylum seekers and refugees to constitute themselves as empowered subjects. However, in this work I could not find a sufficient language to describe the way in which a relationship towards time (particularly waiting as a productive time) could help analyze this site. And, although there are a host of other theoretical lenses considering temporality, these too seemed to not quite fit. So, rather than impose a principle onto this context, the context itself became a site for learning. This was particularly the case with the *Mapping Project*, where temporality, rather than territoriality, emerged as a key question for the refugees and asylum seekers involved. Thus, my research aims to embody a methodological feedback loop: where theory informs the empirics and empirics informs theory.

Given that much of this text is guided by the stories shared by asylum seekers I met during my research a challenging question emerged: how to cite in a way that maintains their anonymity? After reading a portion of my text a number of asylum seekers asked to have their names revealed. I had to explain that, in order to adhere to the ethical procedures prescribed through the university, I am required to use a pseudonym—for their own safety. I doubt I need to spell out the hypocrisy I felt when having to explain this, given that my work, in part, problematizes the

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0012

entrenched fiduciary relationship between asylum 'seekers' and 'providers.' In explaining this as a conundrum, rather than simply as a fact, it was suggested that perhaps participants might be given the chance to choose their own nom de plume. I decided to do just that. In many cases this was met with enthusiasm: the names used in this book often hold some meaning to the participant. Although this in no way solves this problem, in this way the secrecy of one's identity is maintained (in accordance with formal ethics requirements) while allowing for those participants to have some nominal connection to the stories they shared in this book.

Appendix 2: interview data

Sarah Patricia (pseudonym), No One is Illegal Activist, Interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, Toronto, Canada. June 17, 2007.

Mark Penner (pseudonym), No One is Illegal Activist, Interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, Toronto, Canada. August 12, 2007.

Jatana Surdey Singh, Gurdwara Kalgidhar Sikh Society Secretary, Interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, Abbotsford, Canada. June 17, 2007.

Belaouni, Kader, Asylum seeker living in church-sanctuary for over three years, Interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, St. Gabriel's Church: Montréal, Canada. November 15, 2008

Marie Williams (pseudonym), No One is Illegal Activist, Interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, Vancouver, Canada. November 11, 2008.

Craig Barnett, City of Sanctuary co-founder, interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, Sheffield, United Kingdom. May 18, 2009.

Omar (pseudonym), asylum seeker in Glasgow, interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, Pearce Institute, Glasgow, United Kingdom. October 18, 2011.

Jamal (pseudonym), asylum seeker in Glasgow, interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, Glasgow, United Kingdom. December 10, 2011.

John (pseudonym), City of Sanctuary delegate, *National City of Sanctuary AGM*, Nottingham. October 31, 2011.

Amid, (pseudonym), asylum seeker in Glasgow, interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman. Glasgow, United Kingdom. January 12, 2012.

Mehdi (pseudonym), asylum seeker in Glasgow, interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, Glasgow, United Kingdom. January 30, 2012

Tiffy Allen, City of Sanctuary National Coordinator, Interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, *National City of Sanctuary AGM*, Nottingham. United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.

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Gareth Mulvey, Scottish Refugee Council researcher, interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, Glasgow, United Kingdom. January 12, 2012.

Participant observation

I volunteered at three main centers in Glasgow: World Café at St. Michael's church, the Women's Support Network located in the Red Road flats, as well as a Drop-in Center at the Pearce Institute in Govan. These are run by two main organizations: Unity and Govan Integration Network who provide incredible support to asylum seekers in the city. I volunteered with these organizations for two years, from July 2010–July 2012.

Meetings and events attended

Sheffield City of Sanctuary Celebration, Quaker Meeting House, Sheffield, United Kingdom. May 18, 2009.

Glasgow's City of Sanctuary Meeting, Scottish Trades Union Congress (STUC), Glasgow, United Kingdom. July 13, 2010.

Glasgow's City of Sanctuary Meeting, University of Glasgow, September 15, 2011.

National City of Sanctuary AGM, Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011

Glasgow's City of Sanctuary Meeting, Offshore, Glasgow, United Kingdom. November 11, 2011.

Glasgow's City of Sanctuary World Ceilidh, Garnethill Multicultural Center, Glasgow, United Kingdom, December 16, 2011.

Dialogue for Destitution, Pearce Institute, Glasgow, United Kingdom. October 15–December 18, 2011.

The Roundabout, Pearce Institute, Glasgow, United Kingdom. December 18, 2011.

Mapping Project, Glasgow, United Kingdom. August 16, 2011

Scottish Refugee Council AGM, City Hall, January 16, 2012.

Appendix 3: roundabout script

Characters:

Refugee family:	Mama	(M)
	Papa	(P)
	Son	(S)

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Home office—official (o)
Lawyer's office—solicitor (so)
Medical clinic—doctor (d)
Housing office—bureaucrat (b)
The community—(silent actors? Media, shopkeepers, youth etc.) This is going on all the time/scenes behind 'the home office wall'

Scene 1—at 'home'

(S): Why don't we have a TV!?
(M): I've told you before darling, we don't have enough money to pay the license.
(S): Papa, why aren't you working?
(P): Because I am not allowed to, my son.
(P): *(to mama)* Tomorrow we have to go to the home office...
(M): Well, I'm taking the boy to school tomorrow, and then I have to go and collect our food parcel from the drop-in people at the church...
(S): *(muttering to himself)* All my friends have bicycles...
(The next day....walking to the Home Office)
(P): *(to mama)* I hope they give us right to remain this time...
(M): *(under her breath to papa)* I'm tired of all this! It's driving me crazy...toing and froing...not knowing anything... I'm fed-up!
(S): Why can't we just go home to our country!?
(P): Because it's dangerous son.
(S): But why!?
(P): I said it's dangerous son...we're safer here...

Scene 2—at the home office

(Son sits nearby in a waiting room looking scared and confused)

(O): I'm sorry, your request has been denied, we found the details that you gave during interview unconvincing.
(P): (utterly shocked, in despair, quietly) So what do we do now...?
(O): Well...you still have the right to appeal, but if you are willing to return voluntarily there is an organization that can assist you in this: you can contact them on this number (hands over pamphlet) it is going to be in your interests to do so. Please sign here... (indicates the form).
(P): (Silent pause...then whispering) No...this can't be...
(O): You must sign here, sir.

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(M): (Breaks down in tears, looks at her husband resentfully) I knew this would happen!
(P): I won't sign.
(o): Sir, we need you to sign now.

Scene 3—on the way to the lawyer's office

(P): Right, quickly everyone, we must go and speak to the solicitor to see about making another appeal.
(M): No, we really must take the boy to the doctor first...!
(P): No, no, no, leave that for later, this is more urgent!
(S): *(whining and stumbling a little)* Papa, I'm tired... really tired...
(P): hold on, son, you'll be OK
(S): We're just going round in circles... what is this all about!?
(M): *(looks at her son with worry, and then at her husband pleadingly)* My poor boy!

Scene 4—at the lawyer's office

(SO): Good morning!
(P): Good morning.
(So): It's—... sorry can you remind me of your name?
(P) *** ****.
(So): Ah yes Mr. *** ******, What can I do for you?
(P): As you probably know, our case has been rejected, we need you to represent us in a fresh appeal to the Home Office regarding our asylum case?
(SO): Ahh, (looks at watch). Ah, well you'll need to make an appointment. Jenny (*calling through to office)* Jenny, when's the next available appointment?
(J): Two weeks from now—the 13th of November.
(P): But that's far too late—we need to submit an appeal in three days...
(SO): Don't worry, I will try my best to help you. You've got plenty of time. We'll be in touch with the home office—don't worry.

Scene 5—on the way to the medical clinic (walking)

(M): This boy is very sick, we must go to the clinic immediately!
(P): Right, okay then, I need to ask the doctor some things too...

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Scene 6—at the medical clinic

(D): *(Looking at the computer)* Good morning, what can I do for you?
(M): My boy is very sick…
(P): Yes, and I have had a very painful back for many days…
(D): Can both father and son take their upper clothing off please so that I can have a look and listen to the boy's chest.
(P): *(confused)* But there's nothing to see…there's no blood, no cut, it is inside!
(D): *(impatient)* Yes, but I need to check your son's heartbeat and chest with the stethoscope, and check your back for any swelling.

(Papa and son remove outer clothing, doctor carries out checks)

(D): Right, I'm going to write each of you a prescription…your son has a case of flu, so he needs plenty of rest and to take this medicine in the morning and at night, and I'm prescribing you some anti-inflammatory pills, take one after every meal please.

(Scribbles prescriptions and abruptly rips them out and hands them to papa)

(P): Will these affect my heart problem?
(D): What heart problem? Why didn't you tell me of this at the beginning? What are you taking for it—is it a cholesterol problem, blood pressure, tremor? *(getting exasperated)* You should have informed me of this when you came in!

Scene 7—on the way to the housing office

Scene 8—at the housing office

(B): Hello, how can I help?
(M): We received a letter saying we have to leave in one week…how can we leave in one week? It's winter, where are we going to go?
(B): I'm afraid you can't stay here anymore, your support has stopped…perhaps because your asylum case was rejected…
(P): We don't understand…!?
(B): We can't help you anymore, I'm afraid, you have to leave, or I suggest you go to the Scottish Refugee Council, they can explain the situation to you.
(P): *(desperate)* We can't leave!
(B): I'm afraid that if you do not leave your temporary accommodation you will be removed.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0012

Notes

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DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0013

DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0013

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DOI: 10.1057/9781137480385.0014