City of Sanctuary: A State of Deferral

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For Mom

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Abstract

Over the last decade, sanctuary has been evoked as an alternative to the problems associated with an exclusionary statist asylum regime. In Canada, the United States and Europe the 'cities of sanctuary' movement, which is articulated through various political vocabularies, has emerged. This movement conceives of sanctuary not simply as a church-based space where asylum seekers may be secured, but offers a host of welcoming practices within and beyond cities. This thesis specifically explores the UK-based City of Sanctuary movement, with a focus on the case of Glasgow, which has widely been read as exemplifying hospitality towards and empowerment of asylum seekers. Whilst a statist discourse of fear, a 'politics of unease,' positions migrants as a threat to be policed the City of Sanctuary aims to stimulate a softer approach. Yet this thesis illustrates how the City of Sanctuary is also mobilizing a deeply troubling 'politics of ease.' Based on a genealogical-ethnographic investigation, which traces an array of ancient and modern practices, I show how the politics of ease renders intractable the serious problem of protracted waiting that many asylum seekers face. In so doing, I demonstrate how the seemingly hospitable City of Sanctuary in fact contributes to a hostile asylum regime by indefinitely deferring and even extending a temporality of waiting. Although the City of Sanctuary may serve to smooth over and ease away this serious problem, this thesis also explores a myriad of minor practices that I indicate as challenging this waiting state.

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Acknowledgments

Preface

The poignant stories were inscribed across her face. This countenance was familiar, one that often led to conversations over dinner and out the door into late-night walks in the woods near our home. Working closely with refugees fleeing Kosovo meant that Mom's work was rarely left at the desk. She invited home many of the stories, and some of the people she came to know.

Caring activist: this is a term some use to describe her way of life, a way of life that inspired my own involvement in a well-known migrant activist network No One is Illegal (NOII) five years ago. Participating with this network I became especially interested in the concept of sanctuary. I learned that this form of protection could be traced to 'ancient' pasts, and that this tradition experienced a re-emergence in Canada, the United Kingdom, and European countries around the 1980s.[1] Working with NOII, I learned how active this network was in supporting the mobilization of sanctuary in particular sites – often religious – across Canada in order to protect failed asylum seekers from deportation. The ancient resonance of sanctuary seemed to open possibilities for contemporary migrant activism. Even police were known to turn around at the threshold of churches housing 'illegal' migrants in tacit recognition of this historically 'sacred' tradition.[2]

This strange and subversive borderland of sanctuary intrigued me. A vaguely bridled hope for this practice led me to make contact with Kader Belaouni, a man living for more than three years in a church-sanctuary in the small, impoverished town of Pointe St. Charles in Montréal. As telephone bills mounted after a few months of speaking with Kader, I arranged to fly from my home on Vancouver Island to meet with him in St. Gabriel's church – 'his church' as he called it.[3] During my stay with Kader I was heartened by the gentle clout he wielded on a daily basis. He taught members of the community how to play the piano and provided massages to his friends on a table that was donated. Within St. Gabriel's church, he organized a variety of community projects to

promote awareness about local politics. Kader explored many of these community issues through his radio-program, *Radio Sanctuary*, broadcasted on Campus Community Radio (CKUT). I was also moved by the community support that rallied around and with Kader to prevent him from being sent back to Algeria: a place that his passport called 'home' but that Kader feared.

As Kader made dinner for the clergy and myself one night in his church-home the complexity of this borderland, and Kader's position in this site, became clear. At one level, he expressed a sense of feeling 'trapped' inside a physically contained place; 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] 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 sometimes leave the church for a few hours thereby challenging this sense of total imprisonment. Although Kader did view himself as a sanctuary 'seeker' he did not see himself as simply waiting for others to act on his behalf, nor did he see himself waiting for his life to begin.

In 2006 I went to visit another person, Laiber Singh, living in a different sanctuary space. Laiber stayed in a Sikh temple in Abbotsford, a region located on the outskirts of Vancouver and brimming with many non-status seasonal-workers. Abbotsford is an area that, despite being rife with destitution and exploitation, is rarely brought to the public's attention by the media or government. This is, of course, save the exceptional sanctuary in which Laiber resided. It struck me as odd that this small sanctuary, wrapped in a region of regularized 'illegal' labour, was depicted as exceptional. Indeed, if anything, this site seemed iconic of Abbotsford more generally as a complex site of legal and illegal ways of belonging.

The Sikh temple where Laiber stayed was one of the first non-Christian sanctuaries in Canada.[6] As was the case in Montréal, I was deeply affected by the compassionate community that surrounded Laiber. The story in the Abbottsford temple was different than the one I witnessed in the Montréal church in many ways though. To begin with, the general support for this case paled in comparison. As an activist who has been passionately involved in NOII for over 15 years, Marie Williams bemoaned the fact that religious and racial components played out so strongly in Laiber's case. She explained that people supporting sanctuary sometimes questioned whether this non-Christian space could be a *'true'* sanctuary, and also worried if it would demean the effect of deploying this ancient tradition within a contemporary context. Those sympathetic to the sanctuary movement questioned whether this might 'water down' the principle.[7] In addition, Laiber experiences severe health problems, and supporters were also concerned if sustained care could be provided or whether it may become a 'drain' on funds thereby further fueling negative images of an over-burdened asylum system.[8] These liquid metaphors all too easily flowed into larger fear-mongering discourses about 'floods' of migrants entering Canada.[9] As the temple's secretary, Surdey Singh Jatana, pointed out to me this notion of a 'drain' was indeed contrived. To begin with, the community was raising funds entirely on their own accord, and regular support was provided on a volunteer basis.[10] Unlike in Montréal, a heavy tone of inevitability lingered here. A prevailing sense was that this sanctuary was merely delaying a deportation that would inevitably eventually come to pass.

In 2009 Kader was granted refugee status. On International Day of Human Rights in 2007 Laiber was ordered removal from the same Vancouver International Airport where the 'Taser incident' occurred only days previously. The Vancouver airport became a contentious site after Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) tasered a Canadian Polish immigrant to death, and thousands of Laiber's supporters banded around him on the day of his removal at the airport

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capitalizing on the painful ironies of these events. Through such efforts Laiber was allowed to remain in Vancouver, at least for a little while. However, only weeks later Laiber 'voluntarily' returned back to India.[11]

Despite these different outcomes, my time with Kader and Laiber left me feeling encouraged by the support mobilized in communities across Canada: from the far west coast to Québec. However even in recognizing the amazing lives being lived in such spaces, I still felt perplexed by this type of protection that demanded a prison-like ethic. Those living inside must heed to the ominous realization that they are almost always being watched, or least threatened with the possibility, and cannot leave – their 'home' is a place where walls are a predominate feature of life. Whilst encouraged by the creative tactics to resist deportation, this practice seemed more spectacular in a sense than politically effective: these were just a few very grand cases being pursued as many others were facing similar fates of deportation across the country with little attention. For instance, what about the exploited migrant workers just outside the church doors in Montréal, or the temple gates in Vancouver? Though incredibly important in terms of helping those people who made it within such spaces, was this serving as a distraction from the countless others? Did this practice function as a kind of minor divergence (or exception) to the Canadian state as that final judge on such cases? Was this a hiccup that was tolerated – perhaps even normalizing – a state power that is often identified as hostile towards asylum seekers? Given that this supposedly subversive borderland was tacitly accepted by state officials seemed to signal that this space was literally a *contained* disturbance: an acceptable aggravation to 'normal' statist rituals.

I was also struck with the way that many activists mobilizing sanctuary simultaneously felt compelled and dismayed by the fact that they were required to publicize Kader and Laiber as helpless 'victims' in order to gain the attention of a wider public audience and, ultimately,

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). Kader himself was not shy to say he did feel helpless some days: inside the cobblestone walls, accepting charity. I wondered, whilst this was an important 'last resort' effort to avoid deportation, how rupturing was it? And, paradoxically, how sustainable?

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 troubles. This spurred a problematic line of debate that Williams gestured at: if this is understood as an ancient Christian tradition, can sanctuary be offered to an Indian man in a temple?

At another level, I was disturbed to think that even if sanctuary was 'granted' in different denominational settings was a deeper relation of the sheep-like 'seeker' still deeply entrenched in this practice? Even if this space did challenge statist authority, the problematic determination process of differentiating those who are deserving and those who are not remained intact. In a sense, this discriminating process merely transferred to another, (religious) authority. To be sure, the sanctuary where Kader and Laiber found protection also denied countless others. I wondered: is this practice tethered to government technologies that it attempts to challenge?

During discussions with NOII organizer, Williams, some of these limitations came to a head. She suggested that in certain cities across Canada, most notably Toronto, a more open textured practice was afoot. Although still recognizing the need for contained sanctuary in certain contexts, Williams suggested that many of the limitations of this practice might be assuaged by a different application of sanctuary: the city of sanctuary.

Randy Lippert has suggested 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 as: universities and whole cities.[12] In his recent article entitled: *Wither Sanctuary?* Lippert suggests that there has been a decrease in the number of new sanctuary incidents taking

place in exposed and contained spaces.[13] 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.'[14] The growing city of sanctuary represents such a strategy, pivoting on less spectacular forms of protection and instead stimulating widespread 'regularization from below' made possible through migrant activism.[15]

Intrigued by the city of sanctuary, 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 not to ask people about legal status. If a person presents themselves in an emergency unit in the hospital, do not ask about their status. If a student divulges in class that she is seeking asylum, do not ask about her legal position. The hope is to prevent employees from becoming entangled in sticky legal webs that require them to report the presence of 'illegal' people, which can contribute to the deportation of those people. This has become one of the central principles steering city of sanctuary efforts in Canada. Indeed, it opens up a more fluid terrain, a more sustainable way to protect people without status. Rather than a distinctively religious practice located in fixed spaces, the city of sanctuary is supposedly more 'political'.[16] Although still connected with religious organizations, and dominantly Christian ones, this movement appeared relatively open in and so far as it functions as a multi-faith, mobile network of people and places committed to providing support within and between cities. Furthermore, as a city-based practice this movement was aimed at a less spectacular, single case. Yet, although this movement has enabled certain migrants to access municipal services, troublingly 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?'[17]

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During my time in Toronto a number of activists I met suggested that the official City of Sanctuary movement in the United Kingdom (UK) was developing a different, and more effective kind of response. In the UK a systematic grassroots practice of city-based sanctuaries were bringing *presence and celebration* into central focus.[18] This UK practice attracted attention through its explicit empowerment of migrants themselves in solidarity with a host of supporters.[19] This process is about building networks rather than holding certain figures within a confined space, or a restrictive secrecy exhibited by the DADT campaign. This was regarded as a promising practice, worthy of further study.[20]

This thesis really emerges out of these experiences and is fueled by a curiosity about how sanctuary is being mobilized and deployed as a diffuse and public practice that seeks to challenge the exclusion of asylum seekers and refugees within and across cities in the UK. [21] In exploring how this movement is being framed I consider: is this movement effective in achieving the aims it sets itself? Through my involvement in the UK City of Sanctuary I have grown sympathetic to the genuine efforts on behalf of those people mobilizing this practice as a way to publically offer support to and solidarity with refugees and asylum seekers. In a variety of respects, this support seems necessary to the daily lives of many. Indeed, at first glance this open sanctuary that flows through and across cities appears to rupture some of the problems associated with the sanctuary-container that I was initially drawn to.[22] 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 problem of temporality, which this thesis aims to address and investigate.

Notes

[1] *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.

[2] 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 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. Kazemian had been living in this church sanctuary for nearly three years. There was no indication that the police had premeditated a breach of sanctuary in this case. In fact, it was Kazemian who called the police to the church to investigate a complaint about a client of an online business he ran from inside the church. When the police officer arrived at the church she discovered Kazemian's outstanding deportation order, which led to her promptly arresting Kazemian; this was met with surprise by Kazemian's supporters as police officers were known to interact with Kazemian at the church on several occasions prior to this arrest. 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 Westminister News.* bit.ly/Qx5q1m (accessed February 12, 2007).

[3] Kader Belaouni. Interview 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.' This is one of the few details of his life that is acknowledged while the article goes on to highlight the efforts made on his behalf.

[6] 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.

[7] Marie Williams. Interview by Jennifer Bagelman. Vancouver, Canada. November 11, 2008.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Jan Armstrong, 'Refugee Seeks Asylum in Sikh Temple,' *The Globe & Mail*, July 2007.

[10] Jatana Surdey Singh. Gurdwara Kalgidhar Sikh Society Secretary. Interview by Jennifer Bagelman. Abbotsford, Canada. June 17, 2007.

[11] Jan Armstrong, 'Refugee Seeks Asylum in Sikh Temple,' *The Globe & Mail*, July 2007.

[12] Randy Lippert and Sean Rehaag, 'Introduction,' *Refuge* 26 (2010): 3-6.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] 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.

[16] Sarah Patricia. Interview by Jennifer Bagelman. Toronto, Canada. June 17, 2007.

[17] Peter Nyers, 'No One is Illegal Between City and Nation,' *Studies in Social Justice* 4, no. 2 (2011), 127-143.

[18] For an in-depth exploration of the UK-based city of sanctuary's commitments see: 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.

[19] 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. Interview by Jennifer Bagelman. Toronto, Canada. August 12, 2007.

[20] 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 See Randy Lippert, *Sanctuary Sovereignty Sacrifice: Canadian Sanctuary Incidents, and Law* (Toronto: UBC Pres, 2005). Whilst each of these contexts reflects diverse deployments of sanctuary, none seem to pose such an explicitly public, multi-denominational and diffuse component as the City of Sanctuary movement in the UK.

[21] My research does emerge from a particular Canadian context and goes on to explore in more depth the UK expression of the Cities of Sanctuary; however, this thesis does not claim to offer a 'comparative' study of sanctuary. Rather my initial experiences in Canada offer a contextual springboard, or background into this topic. I locate the emergence of my research in the context of Canada, where I first became engaged in sanctuary politics. I do so to reveal my own background into this area, as well as to gesture at some of the challenges I became aware of, many of which were identified by activists that I met in this context. Particularly questions regarding the fixed, contained and religious nature of the church-sanctuary movement, and the 'secret' dimension of the DADT campaign emerged. It was partly in and through experiencing the limitations of these practices, and speaking with activists in the field, that I was led to explore the UK deployment of sanctuary as a diffuse and public practice. 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.

[21] Peter Nyers, 'No One is Illegal Between City and Nation,' *Studies in Social Justice* 4, no. 2 (2011): 127-143.

[22] 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).

Chapter 1: The Deferral: Hurry up and Wait

Bustling through Nottingham's city center I eventually find my way to the Quaker House, tucked away behind vines on a quiet road. Inside, delegates from across the UK are positioned in a large circular room, waiting for the *Annual City of Sanctuary Meeting* to commence. In the absence of a traditional seating formation that might indicate a 'head' of the meeting, the space feels welcoming. In many respects this physical layout is emblematic of the principles guiding the City of Sanctuary movement that eschews hierarchical arrangements. I step into this space with an eye to explore one of the first questions that this thesis asks: is the UK City of Sanctuary movement being effective – at least in terms of the aims it sets for itself?

In order to pursue this initial question I also take the reader to Sheffield, where I attend an annual *City of Sanctuary Celebration*. Here I discuss the movement with one of its founders, Craig Barnett. In order to get a sense of the aims, and discursive terrain, of this movement I also turn to a variety of written texts.[1] Books, pamphlets, national and city-based reports, and the official City of Sanctuary website are the central sources I analyze. I also consider how other artistic materials, such as stickers diagrams and placards, perform the City of Sanctuary discourse.

Furthermore, I offer an in-depth exploration of a particular site: Glasgow's City of Sanctuary. This particular grounding is not an accident. I chose this site as Glasgow officially houses the highest demographic of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK.[2] 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.[3] 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 centre 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.[4] In recent years Glasgow has attracted attention for its hostile reception of refugees and asylum seekers.[5] Yet, Glasgow's burgeoning City of Sanctuary movement, which has emerged partly as a way to respond to this policy of dispersal, has not been examined in any sustained manner. In order to map the official movement in Glasgow I attend a variety of events: from the first official City of Sanctuary meeting to follow-up discussions and activities.

I use a number of techniques to 'translate' this diverse archive of materials. Reviewing my field journals that I kept throughout my research I identify particular themes that emerge in various sanctuary texts and events. Some of these themes present themselves in terms of specific language, phrases, or questions that are regularly deployed. For instance, a language of 'hope' permeates these sources. Other patterns manifest in terms of visual imagery (in print form or metaphors circulating in discussion). I also pay attention to the oft-cited strategies used as part of the City of Sanctuary and also the closures that are sometimes subtly, and other times actively, posed as beyond the scope of the movement. I identify a trend in terms of the particular actors participating in the City of Sanctuary as well as their roles and remits. Although the City of Sanctuary aims to establish non-hierarchical relations, uneven dynamics are palpable in certain contexts. Particular figures seem to play a 'steering' role, whilst others are invited to contribute in a more peripheral, or 'collaborative', capacity. Going one step backwards, I explore how these invitations materialize in the first place: are particular groups or people actively recruited to participate? In mapping these components I began to sketch the City of Sanctuary as a discursive field.

Through this process, one of the themes I identify is the emphasis placed on making the City of Sanctuary a *public* and official status. This often involves gaining the City Council's support, although this is not necessary. In many ways the City of Sanctuary is evoked as a flexible practice,

embodying a 'starfish' quality.[6] That is, it is a decentralized, non-hierarchical and non-bureaucratic organization.[7] Indeed, a site need not even be a 'city' to become a City of Sanctuary; instead, boroughs – as in London's Hackney – or towns or regions are considered viable sites for this movement to take place. This flexible quality is central in promoting the tagline of City of Sanctuary as a process that: shifts 'cultural attitudes' towards 'welcome and inclusion.' [8]

Although flexibility is a key principle, a specific historical trajectory of sanctuary is often performed; it is posed as a positive practice from the beginning. The term sanctuary incites a claim to a proud history and maintains this history is a source of honour.[9] Reviving this 'ancient' practice is conveyed as only *natural*, a revival that is 'in [our] bones to pursue.'[10] Biological metaphors are repeated to emphasize the natural essence of sanctuary.

Additionally, sanctuary tends to be understood as always having promoted safety and protection – originally in enclosed religious places. In relation to this historical tradition, the contemporary sanctuary city is seen as progressing 'beyond' such physical containment.[11] It is now more political: it is about shifting attitudes, engaging various spaces and linking them. Furthermore, there is an opening of the time restriction sometimes associated with sanctuary. Where sanctuary was supposedly once limited to 30 days of safety within a given church, the City of Sanctuary does not assert such spatial or temporal limits.[12] As the City of Sanctuary National Coordinator, Tiffy Allen, said 'it is not enough for our churches to be sanctuaries, our whole cities need to become sanctuaries.'[13] The icon of the sanctuary door and the 'sanctuary knocker' is often mobilized, both through discussion and through printed visuals in pamphlets and books. In a sense, this door is an icon of the power and longevity of sanctuary as space cut off from other secular authorities. This image also serves to indicate how the City of Sanctuary is, in comparison, more open today. Stickers

on clear windows that bear the words 'we welcome refugees and asylum seekers' are a vital tool used in the City of Sanctuary movement which stands in stark contrast to the bolted, closed church door.

There is a sense that whilst sanctuary is age-old, the City of Sanctuary is a contemporary and timely practice. The context of economic recession functions as a springboard for a lot of discussions about the City of Sanctuary. Many reflect that hostility towards those seeking sanctuary can increase during such a time. Glasgow's City of Sanctuary specifically identified this as one of its primary issues to address.[14] In this context Bhogal – founder and the original Chair of the movement – describes that, 'cities and towns are grateful that we're giving them a model for cohesion strategies.'[15] Bhogal suggests that the government is interested in how to engage a strategy that enables cohesion and the City of Sanctuary demonstrates what this looks like. This theme reveals that the City of Sanctuary is an important practice to unpack as it is functioning partly as a brand to which governments can and do 'attach.'[16] Although the City of Sanctuary does offer some inspiring visions as to how this will look, the way in which the movement flags its ability to offer 'cohesion' and 'inclusion' strategies raise some questions.

Within the official discourse, the term 'sanctuary' is portrayed as having a 'positive' connotation (as opposed to asylum), which is considered an important fact in terms of this movement gaining public support.[17] In this thesis I also demonstrate that this framing is evident beyond the City of Sanctuary. For instance, this type of positive deployment of sanctuary is explicit in sources produced by city councils as well as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and a wider literature on sanctuary. Here the term 'asylum' is often understood negatively, whilst 'sanctuary' is posed as an adequate alternative. In relation to this move I ask: does sanctuary risk becoming a depoliticized alternative that implies a somewhat unproblematic and 'noble tradition' to which a variety of agendas can and do attach?[18]

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Tracing Sanctuary

In order to gain some critical distance from the contemporary debates, I chose to conduct a genealogical (or critical historical) reading. A genealogical reading requires tracing a diverse archive of some of the minor developments, or sidestepped stories, within this dominant discourse of a 'noble tradition.'[19] This type of genealogy has not yet been written of sanctuary, and is a central contribution of this thesis.

Through genealogical explorations this thesis illuminates how sanctuary is a practice embroiled in complex power relations. In particular, sanctuary has often been tethered to a ritual of supplication (hiketeia).[20] In various contexts this ritual implies that a person seeking protection must appear as a humble and helpless victim before a 'provider.' A process of determining the worthiness of this person must follow before he or she becomes a recognized recipient (or supplicant). If the supplicant is determined worthy for protection they must literally embody helplessness: a cross might be branded into the skin or they may be required to don a cross-embroidered gown.[21] Where this process is identified, it is often posed as one of honour for those providing sanctuary. That is, for the provider this sense of sacrifice of offering protection represents a great source of pride, whilst the 'seeker' is framed in passive terms.

This genealogy suggests that under certain conditions sanctuary, and particularly this ritual of supplication, has functioned as a hierarchical and even violent apparatus of control. Some may see this as a benign point, contending that most practices are at some level entwined in forms of control, so it should be no surprise that sanctuary would be as well. However, my research suggests that sanctuary is often shaped as a positive practice in such a way that may risk effacing its more troubling effects. Especially in the official City of Sanctuary discourse, sanctuary is regularly positioned as 'outside' certain oppressive forms of power.[22] Traces of these rituals of supplication

are evaded in the official City of Sanctuary discourse and other historical accounts of sanctuary. This genealogy illuminates how such a deleterious approach is dangerously misleading.

Violent expressions of sanctuary are not simply confined to demarcated sanctuary spaces. That is, this notion of supplication is not restricted to the inside of guarded church walls. As will be shown, sanctuary has been deployed in such ways that restricts certain figures even as a mobile and seemingly open process. Yet, I suggest it is also important to note that various deployments of sanctuary have cut across some of these expressions of supplication. Various sanctuary practices have been deployed in such ways that, whilst sometimes laying claim to a language of victimhood, none-the-less challenge such asymmetrical power relations.[23] What this genealogy shows is the way in which a 'positive' framing of sanctuary is far too simplistic, and so too is an entirely 'negative' story of passivity or abjection. What is central is that in certain contexts, under certain conditions, sanctuary has emerged as a device that controls and represses. Rather than glossing over these traces – in order to strengthen the appeal of contemporary deployments of sanctuary as a solution – this thesis pays particular attention to these processes.

Glasgow: A Grounded Exploration

These traces that emerge through such a reading encourage a second, deeper look at the contemporary City of Sanctuary. I consider genealogically what minor threads might be foreclosed or inadvertently sidelined in this discourse?[24]

This exploration of contemporary practices requires going beyond the official City of Sanctuary story and looking for the cracks; however, doing so poses some methodological problems. If there are minor traces, which do not fit neatly within this story, they are inherently difficult to address precisely because they are minor and even marginalized within this field. However,

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throughout my observations of the official discourse in Glasgow some clues as to where and how these margins might be explored began to take form.

In meeting Johannes, an organizer for Glasgow's City of Sanctuary, for coffee one day he explained that having been an asylum seeker in Glasgow for six years he was very suspicious of the celebratory quality of this practice. He explained that many asylum seekers are tired of 'tokenistic shows' that are 'doing this and that but to what effect really?'[25] Related to this he said that he was skeptical about how the City of Sanctuary might be part of a larger process of charity which 'dumps help whether people need it or not' just because it 'sounds catchy.'[26] He expressed a lack of confidence as to whether there is a space to express this within City of Sanctuary events. I was curious, how did he get involved in the City of Sanctuary? Johannes explained that a local integration network funded him to create an event that celebrates City of Sanctuary.

This encounter pointed to some important routes that cut across the official City of Sanctuary discourse.[27] Although the official discourse does focus on refugees and asylum seekers as its object of support and creates space for their voices, this space has a tendency to be peripheral, and packaged. The City of Sanctuary meetings I attended did not seem especially open to candid skepticism from the perspective of one receiving support. Crucially, this did not seem merely coincidental. Interesting, there is a tendency in official discourse to evade this word 'receiver' or 'seeker.' Founder of the movement Bhogal rejects these terms in favor of a language of active *participants* working in solidarity.[28] The aim is to have a de-victimizing outcome; however, does this also have a silencing effect? For instance, how might Johannes' experiences of being made to 'receive' be fully heard? Although this term 'receiver' is rejected in the official discourse the terms 'host' communities and the phrase 'we welcome' is prolific. Does this not imply a 'receiver' even whilst denying it? Many of the voices on display in the dominant discourse seem 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. This dialogue would need to be pursued in a context that gives space to a variety of experiences that might not fit this official city of celebratory sanctuary frame.

In order to open up this central facet of my research I decided to supplement my genealogical investigations of the idea of sanctuary with an ethnographic approach, engaging in participant observation across Glasgow. I met a number of refugees and asylum seekers during two years volunteering with Unity and the Govan Integration Network. Both of these organizations are central sources of support for refugee and asylum seeking communities in Glasgow. I have been involved in projects such as the World Café at St. Michael's church, the Women's Support Network located in the Red Road flats where many asylum seekers are dispersed to, and a Drop-in Centre in Govan.[29] I was also involved in organizing and facilitating a number of events. In particular, I assisted in the *World Ceilidh* that was intended to raise awareness about Glasgow's City of Sanctuary. Finally, I helped facilitate the events: *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. The preparation for these events, even more than the events themselves, turned out to be a very important component of my research. Instead of conducting a typical focus group led by myself as the research who poses questions, I observed the discussions that emerged between the asylum seekers, noting what issues they raised themselves and how they decided to represent these experiences.[30] I also paid attention to the experiences they felt they would be uncomfortable re-presenting or acting. With the permission of the participants, my observations from this process became a central element of this thesis.[31]

Observing and participating in these ways enabled me to 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, that came up again and again, struck me. That is, the problem of being forced to wait. 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.[32]

Perhaps not surprisingly, this experience tends to be more amplified when the tenuousness of one's status is heightened. For those on Section 4 relief who are waiting for Refuge Status, and perhaps even more so for those refused asylum seekers who are no longer receiving this meager assistance, this problem is especially strong.[33] As one refused asylum seeker put it: 'the waiting is a psychological holocaust.'[34] 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 looking for work and an impending sense of waiting persists. Integration too often means integrating into destitution or chronic dependency on charity.[35] 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, and wait, and wait....

I call this a problem of *deferral*. A great deal of attention has been placed on the punitive practices of deportation, detainment and dispersal, said to constitute a 'three-pronged restriction regime' in the UK.'[36] This thesis does not dispute that these three-prongs represent violent practices that demand critical study; however, I suggest that the dimension of deferral, which implies a temporality of waiting, requires further investigation particularly for its seeming innocuousness.

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Where temporality is explored in relation to asylum I suggest it is often brought within the remit of speed: that is, how increasingly accelerated technologies enact violent restrictions and exclusions. This thesis explores how a slow, elongated temporal process also enacts a hostile politics.[37]

What is particularly challenging about this problem is how this can be entangled with well-intentioned forms of pastoral support or charity-like work.[38] For many asylum seekers and refugees, dependency on charity is required during these long periods of waiting; indeed, in some cases it is expected. As vital as this charity work can be in providing urgent support 'right now' in the moment, this too can be blind to the broader, long-term picture whereby people are being forced into a position of waiting for, sometimes, many years. This work that aims to help those in need can silence, or at least quell, the way in which rights are being indefinitely deferred whilst 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 this serious problem of deferral.

Given this context I consider, what is the relationship between the official City of Sanctuary discourse and this problem of deferral? The contemporary City of Sanctuary claims to promote welcoming attitudes towards those people in this waiting zone. And, vitally, the City of Sanctuary seems to straddle a kind of charity work that aims to 'help' but also goes beyond this, promoting practices whereby refugees and asylum seekers are encouraged to help themselves. This is a practice that is about empowering people to gain control over their lives whilst they wait, under terms gently and subtly suggested to them. Or, as a recent study suggests, sanctuary practices in the UK provide asylum seekers who are waiting for Refugee Status with an 'opportunity' to construct social ties, to enhance their education, undertake cultural-social adaptation, and ultimately resume 'normal lives' for which they have been waiting.[39] However a central question I explore is whether, under certain

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contexts, the well-intentioned City of Sanctuary discourse, which pivots on 'self-help,' might also be complicit as a technology of deferral. Especially given that the term 'sanctuary' tends to foster positive connotations, does the City of Sanctuary potentially risk smoothing over and giving a softer face to this problem of protracted waiting? Whilst this movement is premised upon public presence, at the same time how is this problem being made invisible and intractable through this official act of sanctuary? Following from this, if it is the case that the official discourse is partially complicit as a technology of deferral I ask: are there any 'minor' City of Sanctuary practices traversing and even cutting across this problem?[40]

These questions are caught up in a broader tension about activist knowledge that speak in the language of empowerment, yet at the same time may be complicit in the practices of government it explicitly challenges.[41] In other words, this thesis 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.'[42] That is, a form of government whereby people are encouraged to govern themselves through a language of freedom. In particular, I draw attention to how sanctuary is functioning as a technology that incites those people who are 'seeking' asylum to become subjects aspiring to become good citizens. 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.' This is the spirit of the thesis, one that is haunted both the political possibilities and restrictions that this type of governmentality implies. My own research positionality is shadowed by this specter, as I am at once drawn to and disturbed by various modes of sanctuary support.[43] 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] Please see Appendix 1 for an in-depth discussion about this methodological approach.

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

[3] 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).

[4] 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).

[5] Glasgow became known as the city of 'dawn raids,' early morning deportations where families are dragged from their beds. Glasgow was also stained by the 'red road' trauma, where asylum seekers threw themselves from buildings to avoid deportation. As a city where many asylum seekers were involuntarily dispersed to and deported from, Glasgow has often been depicted as the UK's grim poster-child of a harsh asylum regime. 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).

[6] Whilst this language of flexibility is part of the City of Sanctuary discourse, it is important to note that there are very specific criteria that a city or town must meet in order to qualify 'officially' as a City of Sanctuary. In particular it must follow the four following goals: (1) "Resolutions of support from a significant and representative proportion of local groups and organizations"; (2) "The support and involvement of local refugee communities, and refugee representation on the local City of Sanctuary working group"; (3) "A resolution of support from the City Council (or other Local Authority)"; (4) "A strategy, agreed by the main supporting organizations, for how the city is to continue working towards greater inclusion of refugees and people seeking sanctuary." See: Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: a practical handbook with inspiring examples* (Plug and Tap, 2009), 79.

[7] *City of Sanctuary.* http://www.cityofsanctuary.org/node/555Website (accessed: March 15, 2010).

[8] Ibid.

[9] Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: a practical handbook with inspiring examples* (Plug and Tap, 2009). In this text the phrase 'proud to be a city of sanctuary' is consistently regularly.

[10] Tiffy Allen, City of Sanctuary National Coordinator. *National City of Sanctuary AGM.* Nottingham. United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Matthew Price, *Rethinking Asylum: History, Purpose and Limits* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[13] Tiffy Allen, City of Sanctuary National Coordinator. *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham. United Kingdom. October 31 2011.

[14] Mary Elice, *Glasgow's City of Sanctuary Report*. June 25, 2011.

[15] Inderjit Bhogal, *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham. United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.

[16] Ibid.

[17] 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.' See: Jonathon Cox, bit.ly/Oqi2Tf (accessed March 15, 2011).

[18] The following statement from the oft-cited work poses a rather unproblematized evocation of religious community's support of refugees and asylum seekers: 'In the past (and to some extent still today) the Christian Church has played an important role in encouraging sympathy to those in need, and affirming members for their good deeds (or chastising them for their bad ones). The Church provides a good example of affirmation...Its commitment to duties of universal benevolence and the alleviation of suffering constitute shared norms and a set of collective goals that help shape the values and interests of its members, and its positive achievements in this sphere are a source of pride and affirmation for its members. It encourages its members to act in a morally commendable way, providing spiritual or social affirmation to those who extend duties to those in need.' See: Christina Boswell, *Ethics of Refugee Policy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 151. Also see: Linda Rabben, *Give Refuge to the Stranger: The Past, Present and Future of Sanctuary* (US: Left Coast Press, 2001). Here a prolonged discussion about the 'positive' history (as starkly opposed to the legal institution of asylum) is detailed.

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

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

[21] Ibid

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

[23] Sylvia Lambert, *Sanctuary: Reflections, Implications and Cohesions* (University of South Carolina: 2004), 21.

[24] I borrow this framing from Raymond Geuss, in the following 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, 322-340. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[25] Johannes Smith, City of Sanctuary organizer and asylum seeker who has been seeking Refuge Status in Glasgow for six years. Interview by Jennifer Bagelman. Glasgow, United Kingdom. September 3, 2011

[26] Ibid.

[27] By official, I am referring to the way in which this movement represents itself as the legitimate and dominant body which has the power to determine what constitutes sanctuary. Whilst 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*: To be recognised as an official Town or City of Sanctuary, the local City of Sanctuary working group will need to achieve these four essential goals: (1) Resolutions of support from a significant and representative proportion of local groups and organizations. These should include a commitment to welcoming and including people seeking sanctuary in the groups' activities, and evidence of practical efforts to build relationships between those seeking sanctuary and local people. (2) The support and involvement of local refugee communities, and refugee representation on the local City of Sanctuary working group. (3) A resolution of support from the City Council (or other Local Authority). This will include a specific commitment to becoming a welcoming city for refugees and people seeking sanctuary, as well as co-operation with the local City of Sanctuary movement in policy and strategy making. (4) A strategy, agreed by the main supporting organizations, for how the city is to continue working towards greater inclusion of refugees and people seeking sanctuary. Continued progress will be measured by an annual review process.In addition, the town or city should be able to demonstrate public awareness and involvement in support for people seeking sanctuary, through meeting a range of goals from the following list (or similar): Workshops for schools on sanctuary issues; Social and cultural events where people seeking sanctuary and local people interact; Speakers' events for local people to hear from those seeking sanctuary directly about their experiences; Concerts and drama productions by refugee artists; Signs displayed by supporting organizations to welcome people seeking sanctuary; Interfaith events promoting sanctuary and hospitality; Community conflict resolution services for areas experiencing tension over new arrivals; Work with local media to publicise positive stories of people seeking sanctuary; Involvement of refugees in media production; Civic receptions for new arrivals in the city; Refugee community involvement in festivals and cultural events; Programme of events and activities for Refugee Week; Programmes for employment training and voluntary work placements for refugees and those seeking sanctuary. The process for recognition of a City of Sanctuary includes: (1) The local working group develops its own goals and strategy for meeting the criteria outlined above, in a way that is relevant to their situation. The group maintains regular contact with the national network in order to share reports on progress, ideas and resources. (2) When the local group has achieved its initial goals, it reports to the national network group (composed of all City of Sanctuary working groups) and proposes holding an official launch. (3) The national group may ask questions, make suggestions, or recommend further work that may need to be done. (4) When there is agreement by the national network group that the criteria have

been met, the local group holds an official launch, which will be recognised and publicised by the national movement. Following recognition as an official City of Sanctuary, the local group will continue to support the development of a culture of hospitality and to monitor continued progress. Recognition as a City of Sanctuary is not the end of the process, since there will always be further work to do towards the aspiration of being a fully inclusive town or city. City of Sanctuary, http://www.cityofsanctuary.org/(accessed July 12, 2012).

[28]City of Sanctuary, http://www.cityofsanctuary.org/ (accessed December 12, 2010).

[29] Please see Appendix 2.

[30] One of the problems identified by many refugees and asylum seekers is the that although the interview processes can be delayed, there is a sense that one must capture their experiences in a brief fashion, little room is afforded through interview processes for extended discussions (i.e., with the Home Office during a determination process). Due to the traumatic experiences of such 'interviews' I deemed this to be a less valuable research tool. Instead, I chose a more continual observational approach that took place over two years at drop-in centers and at various events. Ongoing discussions with refugees and asylum seekers emerged from these participations.

[31] During these activities I disclosed my own research to participants at all times. Permission forms are available, which can be 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.

[32] 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 Germnay and the UK* (London: Anglo-German Foundation, 2001).

[33] I think citing the UK Border Agency's description of Section 4 in detail is worthwhile to give a sense of the extreme limitations placed on such 'support.' Section 4 is articulated in the following way: If your asylum application has been rejected and you have exhausted your appeal rights, you must make arrangements to return to your country of origin as soon as possible. However, you may be able to receive short-term support while you are preparing to return to your country. This is known as 'section 4 support', because it is given under the terms of section 4 of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999. You must meet strict requirements in order to qualify for section 4 support. You must be destitute and satisfy one of the following requirements: a) you are taking all reasonable steps to leave the UK or you are placing yourself in a position where you can do so; or b) you cannot leave the UK because of a physical impediment to travel or for some other medical reason; or c) you cannot leave the UK because, in the Secretary of State's opinion, no viable route of return is currently available; or d) you have applied for a judicial review of your asylum application and have been given permission to proceed with it; or e) accommodation is necessary to prevent a breach of your rights within the meaning of the Human Rights Act 1998. If you are already receiving section 4 support and you want to apply for additional services or facilities, use the section 4 provision of services or facilities application form on the right hand side of this page. Please note that if you intend to apply for section 4 support on the basis that you are unable to leave the UK because of a physical impediment to travel or for some other medical reason, which does not relate to pregnancy, you must submit with the section 4 support application form a completed section 4 medical

declaration, which is located on the right hand side of this page. You will not receive any cash. You will be provided with suitable accommodation and will receive a section 4 Azure payment card to use to buy food and essential toiletries to the value of £35.39 per person per week. In some cases you may be allocated full board accommodation where all your meals will be provided. The list of supermarkets and other retail shops where you can use your Azure section 4 payment card (PDD 28KB) is on the right hand side of this page. You cannot use your Azure payment card to obtain cash from a cash point nor to purchase petrol or diesel. For detailed policy guidance on section 4 support, see the Section 4 page in the Working with migrants from outside the EU section. Please see: *UK Border Agency: Home Office*, http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/asylum/support/ (accessed July 22, 2012).

[34] Sam. Interview by Jennifer Bagelman. October 21, 2011

[35] Gareth Mulvey, Scottish Refugee Council researcher. Interview by Jennifer Bagelman. Glasgow: United Kingdom. January 12, 2012.

[36] 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.

[37] 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 Virilio'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 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: Cwerner's 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 acknowledgement that asylum seekers often experience lives in a state of 'indefinite temporariness.' See: Rigo, Enrica. (2011). Citizens despite borders: challenges to the territorial order of Europe, 199-215 in *The Contested Politics of Mobility: Borderzones and Irregularity* ed. Vicki Squire. New York: Routledge. It remains unclear whether speedy technologies are the most effective in understanding how such liminality are being produced and normalized. This thesis 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 thesis 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 thesis 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 moments while one must wait. This thesis considers: how might this temporal politics pose asylum seekers' presence as enduringly temporary and contingent? Does this normalize a presence trapped in the present?

[38] Charity is often 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 more inclusive policy. What is interesting is that charity is often framed not simply as a passive process, but a form of self-help. Troublingly, the ways in which this supposedly temporary type of support is extended indefinitely (thereby extending temporariness as a protracted ways of being) is often overlooked. Christina Boswell, *Ethics of Refugee Policy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 151-152. In Chapter 5, I discuss how a charitable hospitality has a tendency to resemble hostility.

[39] Rebecca Rotter. *Hanging In-Between': Experiences of Waiting among Asylum Seekers Living in Glasgow.* (PhD diss., Edinburgh University: 2010).

[40] I borrow the term 'minor' from Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. *Kafka: Pour une literature mineure* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit. 1975). Minor literature is the language of the border zone, that which blurs and always deterritorializes (major) languages. Minor literature is a subversive tongue that may speak a major language (such as the 'major' language of German, Deleuze suggests) but perverts it, producing new creative meanings and even new language (for example Yiddish). To understand minor sanctuary practices requires being open to these types of subversions that might cross the City of Sanctuary's official discourse. What type of conceptual troublings, un-captured lines of flight might destabilize this major articulation, this major act? To resist the urge to settle on sanctuary as a major concept or act would be to insist on exploring how sanctuary engages and troubles major language and politics. These too might be caught up in the problematics of official discourse, but perhaps these practices offer new challenges. This seems vital to consider, for if sanctuary is said to protect the stranger, its politics might reside in its ability to cast critical light on how and what is rendered strange in the first instance.

[41] This discussion contributes to a larger body of literature exploring governmentalizing processes. That is, an exploration of power which tends to function through freedom and agency where freedom becomes an instrument of control not operating from above (telling subjects what to do) but operates through a language of normalization and choice. For instance: 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.' 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* 25:3, 327-56.

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

[43] I use the term 'specter' from 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. This type of spectral, in-between reading may be complimentary to investigating the City of Sanctuary's 'minor' practices.

Chapter 2: A Vision: Sanctuary's Sacred Promise

I have just arrived in Nottingham to attend the National City of Sanctuary Annual 2011 Meeting. The event takes place in the Quaker Meeting House, a cozy converted home just off the main street. This location is reminiscent of the ignoble and warm Meeting House in Sheffield, where I attended a City of Sanctuary Celebration in 2009. During this event I learned that this UK-based movement emerged in solidarity with the Quakers in Sheffield, and it appears that this relationship persists today.[1]

I am ushered into the annual meeting by the City of Sanctuary National Coordinator, Tiffy Allen, who invites me to take a seat in the main hall where representatives from cities from across the UK are situated in a circle. I find my spot next to a woman from Edinburgh who tells me that together we will be representing the Scottish contingency during today's discussion. The event commences with Allen providing a brief background, a portal into how this movement began. Allen explains that it emerged in September 2007 with Sheffield becoming the first official City of Sanctuary. Ultimately, she suggests, this practice is about 'providing a vision.'[2] This vision is not meant to be over-determining, for every City of Sanctuary will grow according to its own unique ecology; however, there are certain foundations that provide a source of connection between the cities. Most importantly, it provides guidelines for how places may become 'safe and welcom[ing] for people whose lives are in danger in their own country.'[3] A place of safety need not be a confined church, as we might be tempted to think about when we hear the word 'sanctuary,' this place need not be a confined location at all. In fact, the notion of a City of Sanctuary is more premised upon a fluid set of practices that create patterns of welcome, especially to those who are fleeing forms of violence.[4]

Amidst encouraging nods, Allen passionately extols the movement explaining that it creates

an opportunity for people to challenge some of the hostile attitudes that drive government policy

and to create a culture of hospitality.[5] Vitally, Allen explains this is a grassroots project, which offers

those people seeking safety a home where they are valued and are able to contribute to life of the

city.[6] She introduces the City of Sanctuary Practical Handbook as a touchstone that will be referred

to throughout the meeting. This text highlights the importance of promoting the unheard voices

that are too easily drowned out by the 'loud and aggressive voices of hostility towards refugees.'[7]

This echoes a discussion I had with co-founder Craig Barnett during my Sheffield visit when he

described his approach to the City of Sanctuary as a subtle, and even silent one.[8] This was embodied

in the Sheffield meeting that began with two minutes of silence, followed by a gentle discussion

where people exchanged stories. Whilst this silence was punctuated with exuberant celebration, the

overall tone was notably different from other activist events I had attended: in the place of rallying

cries, and anti-deportation rhetoric a calm meditation-like session unfolded. Rarely have I been quite

so aware of my propensity towards loud, North-American chatter. In a soft-spoken voice Barnett

explained that the Quaker tradition of quiet reflection influences the tone of Sheffield's City of

Sanctuary. As I listened to Tiffy speak in Nottingham, this hushed vision that Barnett shared with

me in Sheffield resonated here.

As the opening session came to a close, members representing 18 different Cities of

Sanctuary begin to describe the highlights and challenges their city faces. 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 a City of

Sanctuary. A discussion ensues as to whether these places, not officially considered cities per se,

should qualify as part of the movement. 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.[9]
Whilst one might associate with being a Londoner, in terms of attending or organizing an event
people more likely to do so in their neighborhood, their borough or other area often tread.[10]

The woman from Hackney goes on to describe her borough as an industrial and low-income
area, one that is recently being gentrified and energized by a burgeoning art scene.[11] It is a complex
space, one that brings in a mix of people, among them she notes: young art students, and refugee
families or those seeking asylum. She paints a picture of Hackney as humming with creative activity
exhibited by projects such as the 'Hackney Farm,' a community garden owned and operated by
'locals'. There is a distinctive quality about Hackney.[12] She speculates that this distinctiveness is
amplified given that many people living here find other parts of London far removed: the cost of
travel means that many end up socializing in their own local borough. Bus is the most common
mode of transportation to and from Hackney, which follows circuitous routes requiring transfers
and extended waiting periods at bus stops, as such a sense of distance between the 'here' of Hackney
to the 'there' of central London, for instance, is accentuated.[13]

Whilst distinctive and set apart in some ways, Hackney is of course also inexorably entwined
in a larger fabric, and Hackney's City of Sanctuary encourages thinking through these connections.
As the representative from Hackney suggests, their City of Sanctuary 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.'[14] Yet, she explains this conversation is connected to a
much larger network. Indeed, exploring the nuances of daily life in Hackney reveals a complex
connectivity; tugging on some of the challenges in Hackney uncovers snags that might otherwise be
less visible in other areas. When exploring the experiences of asylum in Hackney, larger UK-wide
political processes and modes of managing migration are tangibly evident. For instance, the effects

of a policy of dispersal are highlighted here in this borough. 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) provide some form

of housing. Since the 1999 Asylum and Immigration Act, NASS dispersal accommodation has been

provided on a 'no choice' basis to asylum seekers, who are given no control over where they are

sent.[15] This policy is sharply felt in Hackney since 2000 when many families and communities in

Hackney were torn apart, as they were no longer to be 'concentrated' in London boroughs but

spread out across the country.[16]

Hackney's City of Sanctuary illuminates the ways in which political activity may emerge in a

particular place but are not confined to it. As a City of Sanctuary there is an attempt to work across

these various registers. Whilst 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.[17] As people living in Hackney gather in the community garden,

digging into the soil that provides produce to many of its residents, there is an appeal to a very

grounded, place-based politics. Yet, this is a politics that also politicizes the extended and

overlapping roots and routes that connect this borough to a larger flow of capital, people, places...[18]

As the conversation at the annual meeting continued 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 referred to the Handbook that

states:

> . A city which knows how to welcome people seeking sanctuary is a better place for everyone.
> The focus on City of Sanctuary 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* [emphasis added].[19]

All of the representatives expressed this theme at some point during the meeting. One of the Sheffield representatives, Sarah, explained their 'community café network' and radio show are both partially designed to embrace the talents and creativity that those seeking asylum in Sheffield offer. As well, Radio Leeds broadcasted a live interview of a sanctuary seeker from Iran, which was said to provoke 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 dialogue in classrooms.[20] In Huddersfield a sports groups welcomes asylum seekers to teach new activities at a recreational centre. 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 'myth busting' initiative.[21] In Leicester, a drop-in center that provides food and clothing also hosts art classes and computer workshops taught by asylum seekers. And, in Coventry an arts grant has been received to promote storytelling workshops.[22]

All of these sanctuary practices were framed as opportunities to deepen a more rich and 'outward-looking' community.[23] That is to say, these practices ostensibly develop communities that challenge the preservation of a mythical and 'traditional' way of life and rather open up towards shifting flows.[24] During this discussion, one of the members from Bristol encouraged everyone to visit their City of Sanctuary website which documents their first event. The Bristol representative suggested 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.'[25] The tea and cake in the Council House 'symbolized a traditional English

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welcome' meanwhile 'the umbrellas used in a dance and procession across College Green denoted shelter.'[26] Furthermore, the Bristol Cathedral itself 'represents sanctuary.'[27] During this event a 'diversity of Faith Statements' was also introduced, to propose the universal and non-denominational nature of the City of Sanctuary. 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 whilst the Cathedral bells were half-muffled to signify both celebration and reflection.'[28]

During this conversation about the City of Sanctuary's commitment towards celebrating a myriad of different cultural practices, I wondered how these practices might also tend towards reifying supposedly essential, 'symbolic' qualities. On the one hand there is a vision to recognize how the City of Sanctuary is a fluid and 'outward-looking' place; however, at certain moments a central or original vantage point from which one might gaze out is assumed. This tendency to situate a certain way of life as the fixed center seems to be typified by the allusion to (or illusion of) a 'traditional English welcome,' scattered with tea and scones.

It became apparent as members from various cities described how they celebrate the 'flow of new ideas,' that this vision is closely linked with an emphasis on celebrating those people seeking asylum as active political members of community. Vitally, the City of Sanctuary movement is posed as challenging the portrait of asylum seekers and refugees as victims. This de-victimizing vision is expressed in the Handbook:

> City of Sanctuary aims to emphasize the positive values of hospitality and friendship with people seeking sanctuary. We want to promote a discussion that emphasizes a community's sense of pride in the way it responds to new arrivals. This approach 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.[29]

Throughout the annual meeting, the political agency of people 'seeking' asylum was emphasized. It was suggested 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. Rather than mobilizing a language of victimhood or danger, there is an emphasis on asylum seekers as 'already productive citizens', who might contribute to community.[30] An advertisement for Sheffield's City of Sanctuary was read out during the meeting, which captures this sentiment:

> 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.[31]

Here, emphasis is placed on the 'role that flows of people play in the constitution of the city'.[32] 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 contributes and is involved – even when full rights have yet to be granted.[33]

Whilst this distinction between citizen/non-citizen was actively challenged, the conversation of contribution was 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 was deployed on numerous occasions.[34] In fact, an email sent prior the meeting from the National Coordinator seems to typify 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.'[35] The question lingered in my mind: is there really a 'refuge world'? Might the experience of a separate 'world' be made more real by contrasting it with a notion of an already 'established community'?

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There was a smooth transition from this conversation about contribution into how the City of Sanctuary might offer city council a 'useful' cohesion strategy model. In Bradford, for instance, a representative explains that the council has adopted some of the ideas from the City of Sanctuary in its 'New Arrival Strategy.'[36] The City of Sanctuary's goal of 'celebrating the huge contribution that asylum seekers and refugees bring to the city' has been recognized through this strategy.[37] 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.'[38] Sanctuary insists on a grassroots approach that, as a member from Coventry claims, shows that 'refugees and asylum seekers have something to contribute.'[39] The Handbook suggests that a council in many cases has an interest in partnering with City of Sanctuary, as this network offers grounded ideas for how to implement strategies of incorporating refugees and asylum seekers.

This importance of gaining support from city council is also reflected in the City of Sanctuary Handbook. Here it states that 'formal support of the city council…is one of the criteria for becoming an official City of Sanctuary.'[40] As is pointed out, the council is a major employer and service provider for the city, and its policies – although unable to over-ride central government decisions – greatly influence the lives of those who are seeking sanctuary.[41] As such, it is vital to establish a working relationship with council in order to stimulate meaningful change.

During the annual meeting the Huddersfield representatives reflected on how their City of Sanctuary decided not to approach the council, for fear that they had not developed a strong enough grass-roots basis. They were concerned that getting involved with the council may derail their vision. This concern is mirrored in the Handbook, which encourages a local City of Sanctuary initiative to:

> Make a decision about the right time to approach their Council for a resolution of support because the 'process of 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.[42]

So, whilst the official guidelines in the Handbook do 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 City of Sanctuary approach becoming 'hijacked by local government as a way of covering up its own shortcomings.'[43]

A Story of Safety

Occasionally during the annual meeting conversations veer from present sanctuary practices to *'The History of Sanctuary.'*[44] This history appears to serve as an anchor, grounding the contemporary City of Sanctuary movement. The fact that sanctuary has 'always existed' seems to give rise to the importance and 'duty' of its 'revival' today; the City of Sanctuary represents the continuity of this vital practice.[45]

Throughout the meeting sanctuary is articulated as having been diversely represented through various faiths (Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, Baha'i, Sikhism and Hinduism) in different contexts all over the world for thousands of years.[46] As distinct as these paths may be they seem to merge together to tell a unified history of sanctuary. What strikes me is this word 'the' - implying a singular historical narrative of sanctuary.[47] Whilst it becomes apparent in this meeting that there 'are different cultural routes that one can follow', these paths eventually come together in that, 'at the end of the day,' all of these expressions provide a form of *safety* to prosecuted peoples.[48] The cultural and religious specificities of this practice are packed together in the fairly universal claim that sanctuary is a practice of protection, 'rooted in universal human experience.'[49] As Tiffy explains, sanctuary is 'age-old' and is a fundamentally 'precious history' presenting us with great opportunities for how it might be used today.[50] The purpose of the City of Sanctuary movement is to draw on 'the tradition of providing sanctuary for people whose lives are in danger'.[51]

For further reading, Allen suggests that members might consult the City of Sanctuary Handbook where an extended history is offered. Exploring this text Allen suggests that we find that the 'roots' of sanctuary can be traced to ancient Egyptian, Hebrew and Greek culture.[52] One of the first expressions of sanctuary is supposedly based 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.'[53] 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.'[54]

This tradition is posed as the 'basis' or backbone for the development of sanctuary into 'Western European society.'[55] The Handbook, which Allen continues to refer to, traces the first legal recognition of 'sanctuary' to the Christian Church in 392 CE, when Theodosius enshrined it in law. Where sanctuary was previously a more fitful process, the church's adoption of sanctuary rendered this a practice that was defined in specific church-based boundaries and under church authority.

After laying out the legal emergence of sanctuary, summarized in the Handbook, the historical narrative then jumps to practices in England. The Handbook claims that sanctuary first emerged in 600AD in England, under Norman rule and took on two forms: a general right to sanctuary which belonged to every church, and a particular right to sanctuary which was granted to some cities by Royal Charter. The number of sanctuaries were eventually reduced by Henry VII and in 1623 the 'general right to sanctuary was abolished.'[56]

Like the words to a well-worn children's storybook, 'the' history recounted at this event wash over me with routine familiarity. I have heard this tale before, many times in fact, in various

historical accounts written on the topic of sanctuary. A pattern is evident in various sanctuary histories. To begin, much like as is expressed in this meeting, sanctuary tends to be posed as experiencing a 'revival' today. Sanctuary is posed as the most ancient form of safety and protection practice that is supposedly re-emerging in contemporary politics.[57] In his Introduction to a recent issue of 'Refuge,' which is dedicated to the topic of sanctuary, a singular line is paved from 'ancient' practices of sanctuary to those occurring in Canada today.[58] Lippert assets that, '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].[59]

I am curious about this term revival that is also evoked here in this 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.[60] What occurs to me in terms of this claim to 'revival' is that 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.[61] 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.[62] 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.'[63] Whilst this distinction is made in particularly thick terms here, this is also implied in a more subtle way in other sanctuary literature. 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.'[64]

Another familiar chorus is repeated in the annual City of Sanctuary 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' that were physically 'cut off' from violence.[65] This assertion is also reflected in a growing body of literature on sanctuary tends to suggest that when we go back in time we find that sanctuary emerges 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 recent book '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.[66]

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. [67]

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).[68]

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

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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.[69]

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 centre) and sanctuary.'[70] 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 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.'[71]

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.[72] 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 does pose this as a dialectic 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.[73]

Jonathon Darling's work on the Cities of Sanctuary movement in the United Kingdom represents an important shift towards understanding a more complex expression of sanctuary.[74] 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.[75] Indeed, this notion seems reflective of the comments made by the representative from the Hackney City of Sanctuary. It is in the productive fusing, rather than in the privileging of either/or that Darling offers a persuasive account of the Cities of Sanctuary practices in the case of Sheffield. Darling suggests that these cities operate through networks creating an openness to otherness by fostering physical proximity between people with varied experiences, what Jane Jacobs calls 'proximate diversity.'[76] 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.'[77] 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 will be explored in the following chapters, a genealogy of sanctuary reveals that a more fluid dimension, which exceeds physical containment, can hardly be described as new. These more dynamic dimensions are often side stepped; however, there are various traces that require attention. It will be shown that although such expressions of sanctuary were perhaps not physically contained, they did embody serious restrictions. I suggest that the assertion that sanctuary has always been an inviolable, safe and neutral place (or a place at all) is indeed anything but neutral. The myriad of practices that do not fit neatly within a notion of inviolable place must be actively cut out to tell this flat and stable trajectory of sanctuary.

Conclusion

Observing and participating in the National City of Sanctuary Annual Meeting in Nottingham a number of themes underlying the movement's 'vision' became apparent. First, the notion of the 'city' as an amorphous set of practices that defy bounded territorially and cemented culture becomes apparent. The notion of 'fortress Britain' – a unified and territorially confined place – is challenged directly.[78] In some respects the fluid notion of the City of Sanctuary is held up in juxtaposition against a history of sanctuary, which from the beginning is said to be a delimited to an enclosed territory. Uniquely, the vision for City of Sanctuary is to produce an open network that welcomes all. The city is understood in flexible terms, a space where people live and interact. Although there is an emphasis on the grounded locality of a city, this is not a bounded conception of locality but supposedly one part of a larger flow. This fluidity is celebrated, for it is through such interconnectivity with other places and people that 'new ideas' and different cultural practices enrich people's lives. At the same time, however, there is a tendency towards a notion of this same fluid place as somewhat pre-given and 'established.'[79]

This celebration of flow is aligned with another key component of the City of Sanctuary vision; namely, the emphasis on recognizing how asylum seekers and refugees offer 'new' energy. Rather than viewing 'new-comers' as passive victims or potential threats, the City of Sanctuary focuses on celebrating their productive and active membership. It is acknowledged that in practice the City of Sanctuary will be expressed in complex and varied ways, dependent on the contingencies of particular contexts; however, as one of the founders suggests, the aim is to 'hold onto these over-arching visions, and not get side-tracked.'[80] For these, it seems, are key pillars designed to fuse diverse expressions of sanctuary together as a movement.

This vision for the future, I have suggested, appears closely tied to a particular history of sanctuary. During this annual meeting the history of sanctuary plays a foundational role in justifying the contemporary City of Sanctuary movement. Sanctuary has a 'precious' past, a past of providing security and protection that supposedly predates the emergence of the modern state, sovereignty and restrictive asylum system this implies. The 'original' expressions of sanctuary are on the one hand posed as diverse in that they are expressed in different faiths and in different cultural contexts; however, as unique as these threads may be they seem to come together telling a particular overall story of sanctuary as a practice that originally provides protection in a fixed place.

During this annual meeting it is suggested that when we look back in the history of sanctuary what we find first is: a fixed, enclosed physical site that offers safety. As was shown in this chapter, such a historical trajectory is not limited to this City of Sanctuary meeting, but seems to be woven deeply and widely across many other historical accounts of sanctuary.

After having sketched the City of Sanctuary vision, the following chapters step back from this particular view. Where the City of Sanctuary explores sanctuary as a ritual of providing safety, I suggest that perhaps a more complex picture has been sidelined. In particular, I show that what has been forgotten in this vision of City of Sanctuary – which appeals to a particular past – is sanctuary as a ritual of supplication: a ritual that positions the 'seeker' as a spectacle to be marked as a humble recipients in need and dependent upon a provider's charity. This is a ritual that provides 'help' yet in so doing contains certain 'needy' figures in a restricted space and time. This sanctuary ritual has been deployed through physical boundaries drawn up and around 'recipients.' Vitally, however, this ritual also operates through more invisible and fluid technologies that encourage forms of 'self-help.' These rituals require more careful consideration.

Having offered a glimpse into a slightly more complex portrait of sanctuary, I will now turn to the grounded case of Glasgow to consider whether this City of Sanctuary is also caught up in these rituals of supplication. If supplication as a practice has been partially forgotten in terms of being part of the rich historical fabric of sanctuary, perhaps we risk overlooking the continuity of such processes in the City of Sanctuary today.

Many of the people I have met in Glasgow who are 'seeking' sanctuary have had their asylum cases rejected. This means they are not able to work, or gain any access to government services; they are often held in an invisible destitution. Many of these people are also not able to go 'home,' and are forced to depend on charity for an indefinite length of time. This life in waiting is inscribed into the very architecture of Glasgow for many of these people. This temporality of waiting seems to take on a harsh material form. Without access to financial support for transportation the size of Glasgow can be experienced as very small, confined to a few locations offering charity. At the same time, given the challenges of transportation for instance, the distance it takes to move between these locations often instills an the impression of this city as fractured and sprawled out. The distance between a church providing breakfast, and a drop-in providing second-hand clothing may be over an hour walk. Anyone who has spent time in Glasgow knows this is likely a rain-drenched walk, and many with a refused asylum case will know that the clothes being worn during such a journey are likely insufficient to protect against such weather. This fractured impression of this city is further cemented given that particular areas of Glasgow are seen as 'off-limits.'[81] In this sense, the city is both confined and dispersed in an inaccessible and often tiring manner. In a position of waiting, many people who are seeking asylum see Glasgow as a loop, or a roundabout.[82] They are limited to a regular and tight circuit where they can receive support and they carefully avoid other areas where their tenuous legal position may result in confrontation with police or other authorities that threaten detainment or deportation.

The patchwork of sanctuary moments and spaces offered through the City of Sanctuary may provide routes around threats of detainment and deportation. These practices may provide basic necessities for survival. So too, they may help people create roots in Glasgow: opportunities for people to connect, make friends and even provide an empowering platform to actively challenge a system that enforces dependency. Chronic waiting is partly eased by spaces and moments of support offered through the City of Sanctuary movement in Glasgow. However, the following chapters will explore how sanctuary might also serve to ease the very political *problem* of this chronic waiting imposed on so many people. In other words, I will explore how the severe problems associated with waiting indefinitely, such as destitution, are being made less blatant and relations of supplication are rendered more normal through sanctuary practices. I will consider how, in so doing, sanctuary risks deferring the problems of enforced liminality and indefinite waiting.

Notes

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

[2] 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).

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal. *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: a practical handbook with inspiring examples* (Plug and Tap, 2009), 11

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

[9] *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Deborah Phillips, 'Moving towards integration: the housing of asylum seekers and refugees,' *Britain Housing Studies* 21 (2006), 539–53.

[16] 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, 235-54.

[17] Key organizer, Jonathon Darling, of the City of Sanctuary movement that began in Sheffield reflects on this suggesting that the City of Sanctuary exhibits a 'relational' notion of space. That is: 'political negotiations…are sensitive to, and informed by, both the interconnections and the specificities of place. What a relational account of spatiality challenges then is a sense of "closed" or "introverted" spatiality through which places are seen to maintain a homogenous and primordial identity. Relational thought suggests that local specificity and place uniqueness are not simply "out there" waiting to be discovered but are the product of inter- action.' 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. Darling goes on to suggest that as such, 'places are viewed as both the products of an array of relations and connections to other places and as effects upon these flows. Politically, the challenge becomes to consider how such processes of spatial articulation might be harnessed to make spaces differently, through political projects that are "place-based" rather than "place-bound." A relational viewpoint affirms a place-based politics where local needs are pursued by constructive engagement with translocal forces and non-local constituencies. Yet a relational politics is also about tracing those moments of constructive engagement outward, as well as inward. The political challenge of relational thinking might be captured in accommodating the negotiations of both proximate diversity and distant connectivity that construct specific places.' See: 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. As this passage suggests, thinking space relationaly is helpful as this perspective does not romanticize either fixed place nor flow and it encourages us to think about place-based politics, rather than place-bound. However, throughout this thesis I raise as a question whether this relational account may, in some contexts, also risk flattening out an analysis of exclusion through such fluid place-based practice. It would seem there are practices of containment being enacted through a language of openness, and flow. Even if the politics of City of Sanctuary are not place-bound (in a container) it would seem that what demands further attention is how control persists, especially through temporal restrictions. It is perhaps by looking more towards these temporal flows that we can gain more insight into this problem. Here I follow an approach that is purposefully less celebratory of the relational move, and more attuned to the continual violences implicit therein. See: Warren Magnusson, *Politics of Urbanism: Seeing Like a City* (Routledge, 2011).

[18] For more on roots/routes see: James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Twentieth Century*, Harvard University Press, 1997. The argument that 'both the romance of the bounded place and romance of free flow' hinder engagement with 'the necessary negotiations of real politics' especially resonates here. See: Doreen Massey, *For Space*, London: Sage, 2005, 174. As Rob Walker has pointed out, however, we may wish to challenge this claim to the 'necessary' and 'real' in thinking about contemporary spatial temporalities, especially in terms of thinking that 'place is somehow more real and less political constructed than abstract concepts of space.' See Rob Walker, *After the World/ Before the Globe*. Routledge, 2010.

[19] Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: a practical handbook with inspiring examples* (Plug and Tap, 2009), 9-15

[20] *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.

[21] Ibid

[22] Ibid

[23] Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: a practical handbook with inspiring examples* (Plug and Tap, 2009), 5-20

[24] *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011

[25] *City of Sanctuary*, http://www.cityofsanctuary.org/bristol (accessed: October 27, 2011).

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] 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.

[33] Nikolas Rose, 'The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government,' *Economy and Society*, 25, no. 3 (1996), 327-356.

[34] *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31 2011.

[35] City of Sanctuary, email message to author, October 15, 2011

[36] *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011

[37] *City of Sanctuary*, http://www.cityofsanctuary.org/bradford (accessed November 1, 2011).

[38] *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011. Important to note the use of 'strategy' rather than a 'tactic' being deployed.

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

[40] Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: a practical handbook with inspiring examples* (Plug and Tap, 2009).

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid, 68

[43] Ibid, 69

[44] *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011

[45] Ibid.

[46] Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: a practical handbook with inspiring examples* (Plug and Tap, 2009).

[47] *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011

[48] Ibid

[49] Ibid

[50] Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: a practical handbook with inspiring examples* (Plug and Tap, 2009).12

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid, 24.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Randy Lippert, 'Wither Sanctuary?' in *Refuge* 26, no. 1 (2009).

[59] Randy Lippert, *Sanctuary Sovereignty Sacrifice: Canadian Sanctuary Incidents* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2005). Also see: Christopher Mitchell and L. Hancock 'Local Zones of Peace and a Theory of Sanctuary' in Zones of Peace (USA: Kumarian Press, 2007).

[60] Randy Lippert, 'Wither Sanctuary?' in *Refuge* 26, no. 1 (2009).

[61] *National City of Sanctuary AGM.* Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011

[62] Linda Rabben, *Give Refuge to the Stranger: The Past, Present and Future of Sanctuary.* (US: Left Coast Press, 2001).

[63] Ibid, 217

[64] Charles Statsny, 'The Roots of Sanctuary,' *Refugee Issues* 2, no. 4 (1987), 294.

[65] *National City of Sanctuary AGM.* Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011

[66] Matthew Price, *Rethinking Asylum: History, Purpose and Limits* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009), 26.

[67] Sylvia Lambert, *Sanctuary: Reflections, Implications and Cohesions* (University of South Carolina, 2004), 24.

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

[69] Michiel Dehaene, *Heterotopia and the city: public space in a post-civil society.* (Routledge: United Kingdom 2008), 12-32.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Christopher Mitchell and L. Hancock 'Local Zones of Peace and a Theory of Sanctuary' in *Zones of Peace* (USA: Kumarian Press, 2007), 189.

[72] Michael Innes, 'The Safe Havens Myth,' in *Foreign Policy* (2009), 2-19.

[73] Ibid.

[74] 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

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal. *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: a practical handbook with inspiring examples* (Plug and Tap, 2009).

[79] *National City of Sanctuary AGM.* Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011

[80] Ibid.

[81] Johannes Smith, City of Sanctuary organizer and asylum seeker who has been seeking Refuge Status in Glasgow for six years, interview by Jennifer Bagelman. Glasgow, United Kingdom. February 14, 2012.

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[82] To be explored in more depth in Chapter 3 based on observations from *Dialogue for Destitution*

Chapter 3: A Politics of Ease

'We need to make the waiting room look more uncomfortable,' Omar interjects as various ideas are scrawled down in a coil notebook.[1] The other 8 members of the group deliberate for a moment. The elected scribe crosses a few lines out with red ink and adds in a few more in its place. With only three more days before the first performance of their play, entitled *The Roundabout*, there is a heightened sense of nervousness and focus. Thoughtful eyes dart around the room when one of the men asks where they are going to get costumes for the play. Fits of laughter emerge as another man speaks 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 in the Pearce Institute. As the swirl of ideas shift to the silence of scooping spoons I find myself looking around and am reminded of our surroundings: a cold, yet friendly room where asylum seekers and refugees are welcomed to meet and eat once a week.[3]

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 welcomed into this creative space. The concept of this play was sown here three months previously. A group of men decided that they would like to create something, tell a story. This story was not designed for someone 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 their experiences of waiting they have faced in Glasgow. These stories resounded nuance, none of them could be stifled into an easy catch phrase, yet there were some striking similarities that they wanted to discuss. One of these similarities revolved around the

metaphor of a roundabout: 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 experienced the exhaustion of destitution (no access to government service benefits, no housing, no right to work – making the roundabout that much more poignant). In this situation many of these men expressed they were thus 'forced' into charity or, what they refer to as, forms of sanctuary.[4] Sanctuary and charity are often spoken in the same breath: that kind of support one seeks when there is nowhere else to turn.[5] Sanctuary support is described to be their sole recourse, tending to elicit dependency, a sense of uselessness and invisibility. At the same time, these men reflect on how the charity of sanctuary also seems to serve an empowering purpose: whereby they are encouraged to contribute in various ways to their society whilst they wait. Whilst sanctuary is seen as necessary, this practice is also bemoaned for it demands passivity: an expectation to take, and take. Or, in the case of the seemingly more empowering variety of charity, these men reflect on how they are expected to be productive whilst passively smoothing over or even ignoring the ways they are being forced to wait. The group discussed how there are some spaces which offer ways to 'come to terms' with the waiting they face, spaces which offer voluntary counseling support or places to discuss with others who have been through the asylum system – and gained Leave to Remain – what they may expect in the future.[6]

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 these 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, or tomorrow. Writing this play was not about charity, safety or hope per se. It was not even about those words: 'positive,' 'progress.' This play was about digging into the

experience of waiting, fleshing it out. It seemed to me that this was an experience, in part, of getting

angry. It was also a process erupting with moments of laughter.

After having written the play, the men decided they wanted to share it with others. However,

suspicions about packaging up these raw truths that they had dug fairly deep inside themselves to tell

were close to the surface. They were hesitant to put themselves on display as spectacles, partly out of

distain that this may just elicit pity (and so this roundabout of charity rotates on and on). On

reflection, it was decided that if they were going to face the discomfort of waiting, so too were those

people invited in to watch. It was determined that they would not invite others to watch at all.

Instead, those people coming to 'see' 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 who volunteer at the drop-in centre, and who have had experiences working with

'forum theatre.' This mode of theatre may be traced to Augusto Boal who was influenced by the

Latin American radical educationalist Paulo Freire, and especially Freire's idea that 'the teacher is

one who learns.'[7] Drawing on Boal, the volunteers suggested that forum theatre refuses to allow a

passive audience to consume a moral, or end that is projected.[8] Rather this type of theatre creates

space where it is possible for people to 'transgress, to break conventions, to enter into the mirror of

theatrical fiction, to rehearse forms of struggle' and friction that may incite an uneasy sense of

incompleteness that seeks continual consideration and action.[9]

This theatre 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 theatre, a

shift from voyageur to voyeur.'[10] Their play challenges this shift by unsettling the position of the

audience. It seeks to keep open and insist on the voyage and the encounters one may experience 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. One of the men explained to me that this is 'street theatre' not a shiny Hollywood version of their experiences captured on screen or on stage; it is theatre in the most mundane daily sense of the word and designed to be as much of an unknown encounter as one might experience on the sidewalk.[11]

To me, this was exemplified the day of the 'performance' when the men welcome their 'audience' into the room in a way that seems perhaps less than welcoming to many of the English-speaking crowd. One of the actors begins a monologue in Swahili. A few people in the crowd look to one another, searching for a glint of meaning. Challenging a model of communication that presumes that a linguistic consensus is required for politics to emerge, here the actor seems to assert political voice by challenging 'those who claim to speak correctly.'[12] This monologue trundles on to the point a few people in the audience begin to squirm and riffle through pockets, looking for scraps of paper as if to make sure 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![13]

The man 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,

> 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![14]

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This scene refuses to take solace in waiting and hoping. There may be 'plenty of time' for some, 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 programme offered through the play to 'resolve' this nausea inducing roundabout, rather 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?' [15]

A long pause follows, but he does not revise the question in order 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.'[16] This leads to a debate, back and forth between a few people in the room. There is no resolution: some feel it is too bleak, others – not bleak enough. The play continues and stops again with another query to the audience: 'and what are your experiences with destitution?'[17]

There is no obvious 'end' to the play. There is no obvious conclusion, no exit to *The Roundabout*. What seems to be another interruption in the sequence of acted events turns out to be an opening to a conversation that bleeds into smaller groups of people discussing how they experienced the play. The woman I end up speaking with is a resident of Bearsden, a relatively posh residential area of Glasgow. She tells me that when she first arrived here today she was quite confused, also a bit 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.'[18]

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 or theatre, 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.'[19] 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.'[20]

Mediating Waiting

One of the elements that emerge from *The Roundabout* is the way in which charitable practices of

sanctuary, promising hope in the future, are entwined with this problem of waiting. One of the

paradoxes surfacing in this play is that the very practices of sanctuary that are supposedly temporary

and offering safety can end up functioning as a permanent state of liminality that hold these men in

suspense. Though appearing temporary, sanctuary actually risks operating as a permanent limbo. In

this context, it seems, sanctuary is anything but safe.

Recalling the discussion in the previous chapter, we may remind ourselves that at the

National City of Sanctuary AGM sanctuary was posed as that which provides safety to persecuted

peoples.[21] What is key to remember from the previous chapter is that this safety is very much linked

to a vision. Sanctuary is not simply protection in a physical place (i.e.: a church); rather, it is a set of

practices that aim to ultimately shift hostile attitudes. As the previous chapter illuminated, the City of

Sanctuary is understood to be complex and expressed in varied ways; however, as one of the

founders suggests, the aim is to 'hold onto these over-arching visions, and not get side-tracked.'[22]

Sanctuary provides a vision: a hope, a future promise.

I recently attended a City of Sanctuary *World Ceilidh* event in Glasgow where sanctuary was

similarly posed as a practice of safety and hope. Bagpipe music streamed out of the Multicultural

Centre, welcoming participants into this event.[23] Inside, confusion met laughter as kilt-clad aficionados spun around less coordinated beginners to the fast-passed dance, 'strip the willow.' Amidst this swirl of activity, another group of people are circling around a large table where a poster lays. 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 City of Sanctuary'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 City of Sanctuary is a place of safety because it offers *hope* – hope for the future and for being part of a community.'[24]

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 being forced to wait for extreme lengths of time whilst their asylum cases are considered, or after their cases have been rejected. Some have waited in this liminal state for nine years. The difficulty of this waiting is exemplified 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.'[25] 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.[26] Echoing the views expressed at the AGM and 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.'[27] 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].[28]

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.'[29] Sanctuary here is depicted as a valuable site offering connection and reprieve from an otherwise quite bureaucratic and marginalizing experience of waiting seems well supported.

It seems vital to consider the way in which these practices do help to 'mediate' the experiences of waiting. Indeed, as Rotter points out, many people who are seeking asylum find these spaces of sanctuary as crucial means to 'cope with the uncertainty and powerlessness of their predicament, to improve the circumstances of everyday life, and to enhance possibilities for the future.'[30] What I want to draw particular attention to here is how 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.'[31] Sanctuary, in this sense, is seen as a tool for those people who are seeking asylum to come to grips with the groundless-ness of waiting, the limbo zone.

The value placed on this kind of hope is echoed in the Scottish Refugee Council's (SRC) recent study on mental health. In this study an asylum seeker living in Glasgow states that waiting means that 'you feel you are under pressure and you don't have any job here and you're wasting your life here. To keep myself busy that's my point is that I should be, otherwise I should be psychologically depressed.'[32] Rotter draws a comparison between this kind of experience of waiting with research 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.[33]' 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.[34]

Rotter goes on to suggest that although narratives communicated waiting as an overwhelmingly negative condition, for many, it was overall

> Possible to transform this 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. Through this   exploration, it was possible to reconsider what the object of waiting – gaining Leave in the UK – symbolized, in a clearer light [emphasis added].[35]

Here sanctuary is constituted as a reclaiming of, what Rotter poses as, 'positive' and 'progressive' time, that is: time as understood as moving forward towards some end.[36] Or, perhaps in the words of the City of Sanctuary's official goal: it is about providing a *vision*. Here waiting is shaped 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.'[37] The problem here, perhaps, is that the City of Sanctuary perhaps risks providing a sort of false hope, without affecting change.[38]

Whilst creating opportunities for 'making sense' of extended periods of waiting and providing 'positive' hope for the 'desired future' may be important, I wonder if in certain contexts might this also serve to assuage the serious problems of waiting?[39] Going back to *The Roundabout*, how does this hope-filled sanctuary also serve to add momentum to the revolving problem of waiting?

Sanctuary and Supplication

I would like to turn towards the following image that may help to draw out how sanctuary, which is often deployed as providing hope, also functions as a more repressive type of power. In a sense the image below, from *The Sanctuaries and Sanctuary Seekers of Mediaeval England* written in 1911, embodies the ubiquitous portrait of sanctuary as an expression of welcome, safety and even hope and yet it also it also exceeds this, gesturing at a more complex story.

Figure 1: Sanctuary: The Hexham Frith Stool

What occurs to me is how the 'seeker' (as he is referred to in a passage accompanying this image) literally clings to the frith (in Old English, hope) stool beside the altar in an act of desperation. Meanwhile the sanctuary 'providers' stand above and over, indicating a position of authority.[40] This image points to the intricate procedures that tended to regulate medieval sanctuaries in England. 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 used, the name of the victim etc.).[41] And in certain churches (such as in Durham) the person seeking sanctuary had to toll a special bell as a formal signal that he prayed for sanctuary.[42] In addition, the seeker was often expected to bear his inferior position on the body. Douglas Smith suggests, 'in medieval England the branding with a hot iron of the letter 'A' upon the flat of the thumb of the fugitive's right hand was commonplace.'[43] In other instances, those entering sanctuary were 'to wear a black gown with a large yellow Cross of St. Cuthbert upon the left shoulder' to clearly mark out the person seeking sanctuary as a supplicant.[44] These practices have been suggested as an imperative symbolic ritual central to sanctuary.

As well, in his work on Greek sanctuaries, Rob Schumacher has depicted supplication as a standard ritual (known as hiketeia) whereby those seeking protection sought a symbol (such as a cross) in order to become part of the sanctuary and, consequently, 'sacred.'[45] 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.'[46] 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. Another act of immunity, theoria, has been situated against that of hiketeia, or supplication. Theoria is said to be a form of immunity granted to delegates sent by the Greek polis to observe a community, or particular events such as festivals. It is often suggested that the theoros (one receiving theoria) did not 'request' protection formally; they did not have to undergo a public ritual whereby their case might be approved or denied. 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*.[47] 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.'[48] 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.'[49]

The purpose of alluding to these practices is not to suggest this is a more accurate historical depiction of sanctuary than the sometimes quite nurturing and safe image conjured up at the beginning of this chapter.[50] Rather it is to provide a more textured understanding of how this practice has been deployed and the way sanctuary can function. As will be drawn out later in this chapter, this linkage between sanctuary-safety-supplication can also be further troubled. What is interesting at this juncture is that even in what is often posed as a 'noble' and welcoming sanctuary tradition (which, if we recall from the previous chapter, is 'in our bones' to continue) what is elided is a ritual whereby one is also rendered dependent and passive.[51] Here, clinging to the hope that sanctuary offers requires that one take on a passive 'humble' role that publically marks out the supplicant. This is one thread worth contemplating given the relative evasion of these more oppressive qualities of sanctuary. What seems to be forgotten, or at least undermine, in the City of Sanctuary discourse that has been explored is how sanctuary (as a safe and hopeful practice) may be entwined with a process of supplication. When we go 'back' to expressions of sanctuary, what we find is a complex set of practices – those that do not escape *from* hostility (as Rotter suggested) but may be tied up with asymmetrical and even hostile power relations.[52]

A Politics of Ease

With this image in mind I would like to continue to explore the how sanctuary, deployed as a practice of safety and hope, might function. Refining one of the central research questions of this thesis: how might the City of Sanctuary imply a form of supplication and passivity? In the context of the problems raised in *The Roundabout*, does sanctuary risk *easing* the problem of waiting such that it makes it an intractable problem?

During the City of Sanctuary National AGM, 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.[53] The Glasgow City of Sanctuary aims to link people seeking asylum with a myriad of internship positions. This allows people to develop networks and experience for potential work in the future. So too it is hoped that this may contribute to a sense of productivity and agency whilst one waits.

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

> 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.[54]

What partially emerges in Amid's statement is that whilst 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 tight: 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 sometimes it feels like 'there are just little hopes, little

things that keep me busy, keep me from making some really different life.'[55] 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 migration policies, Didier Bigo suggests that it is a 'politics

of unease' largely governs migration in Europe and the UK.[56] 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 asylum seekers, which 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.' I think 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.

Yet, I think that Amid and Jamal's comments above reveal another facet worthy of

consideration in relation to this politics of unease. What is hinted at through certain deployments of

sanctuary is that there is also an easing, or domesticating, of the problems associated with waiting.

Sanctuary holds out potential, and yet in so doing it may justify a 'suffer[ing] in the present in the

hope that enjoyment will come later.'[57] Sanctuary, in some cases, seems to ease a system that

operates by holding certain people in-between. Of course, this does not replace Bigo's politics of

unease; rather, it seems that sanctuary is, in some contexts, another tint in the exclusionary pallet

controlling migration. Sanctuary, it seems, risks playing the softer face of this kind of control. In

some cases it challenges the discourse of fear with hope, yet might the two can also become

intimately interwoven to produce an even more exclusionary politics?

As we see in the case of internship programs, waiting can be re-packaged within a narrative of

'progressive' and 'positive' time.[58] Indeed, there is a productivity implied in this waiting. However, this offer of productivity also serves to encourage people to retain in, what Bourdieu terms, the *illusio* – 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 simply to illuminate how in certain contexts a particular articulation of hope may be, inadvertently, functioning as a technology that controls through a type of deferral. These particular sanctuary practices, that instill hope, may mediate and 'ease' the problems associated with waiting. Yet, perhaps this easing is not as challenging to a hostile or 'indignant' politics as it first appears. Indeed, easing the problem of waiting invests a hostile waiting game with meaning, with hope.

Easing Unpredictability

In relation to this question of a politics of unease, Bigo's concept of prediction is also worthwhile to consider in the context of the temporal aspect of waiting and how it may serve as a technique of control. I recently attended a public seminar *Security, Prevention, Prediction* where Bigo explained that a politics of unease is justifying the production and use of technologies that claim to better predict the future. He contended that our lives are looking more and more like the science fiction movie *Minority Report*, where pre-cog-like technology is deployed to monitor and foresee the future. In and through the application of such technologies would-be criminals are *deterred* even before acting. We are witnessing an expansion of 'technologies of anticipation' to which we willingly submit precisely because of a politics of unease – the fears infiltrating everyday life – seem to dominate our lives.[59]

In leaving the lecture theatre I found myself in conversation with a man named Medhi who explained that he is an Iranian asylum seeker living in Glasgow. He said that he was not sure about this notion of prediction. For Medhi, having waited for nearly 5 years in Glasgow for Refuge Status, the future is quite unknown. Given this he feels cast into a system of *unpredictability*. This parallels the

concerns which other asylum seekers have shared with me; namely, that a deadline for the hearing of their case has not been provided by the Home Office and that appeals seem to be indefinitely suspended. This is also encapsulated by Jan-Paul Brekke's observation 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.'[60]

Now, on the one hand the predictability that Bigo describes does seem to speak to Medhi's experience of waiting. As Medhi suggested, he feels that as a person who is seeking asylum he has been made into a 'criminal' without ever having committed a crime.[61] We might view this imposed criminality as exhibiting Bigo's notion about a specific future projected upon certain populations (those people seeking asylum high among them). Medhi has not committed a crime; however, as Bigo argued this is exactly how the logic of anticipation operates – it is not a question of 'if' one commits a crime, but an assumed question of 'when.'[62]

Whilst this application of prediction may shed some critical light, it seems that what requires more thought is how an *unpredictability of the future* also functions as a way of controlling certain migrant categories. It seems important to consider how an unknown future (and the continual deferral of a known future) plays out in governing people like Medhi. Here, Bourdieu's conception of power also is helpful to shine critical light on this practice. 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.'[63] 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' which maintains the 'durably' of this formulation of power.[64] Again, a person can be durably 'held' only insofar as s/he possesses the *illusio*, commitment – in this instance – to the waiting game.

So where does sanctuary fit in here? In a sense, sanctuary – as understood as safety and hope –

can feature as a tool that eases the concerns of unpredictability. Whilst this may serve a necessary role, I have also showed this can also neutralize or domesticate the dissatisfaction with this unpredictability (as Jamal explained, he 'could not scream' about his frustration of waiting). Here, perhaps these sanctuary practices may be tied up in the problem deferral: sustaining a condition of waiting through mediating its affect. Sanctuary may offer 'hope' which is both vital to daily life, but in so doing risks playing into a politics of deferral, and troublingly making it more durable. Perhaps where sanctuary practices are concerned we need to think more seriously about these processes of *easing unpredictability* rather than merely a politics of unease that governs through prediction?

Reclaiming the Unpredictable: Uneasy Interruptions

As I have shown, the City of Sanctuary tends to deploy sanctuary as a vision of safety and hope that may function in such a way that it serves to ease protracted waiting. For some people who are cast into a position of waiting, where the predictability of the future is fragile, sanctuary is offered as a tool to 'mediate' and 'make sense' of this experience.[65] I have also suggested how this deployment of sanctuary may be implicated within a process of supplication. That is, a process that situates those people seeking sanctuary in a position of passivity. In particular I suggest how sanctuary is deployed as a tool to alleviate the concerns of waiting, thereby rendering waiting more durable and intractable. Helping – yes – but in some contexts also holding certain people in a gripping passivity. This passivity is difficult to address in some ways in relation to the City of Sanctuary partly because as the problem of waiting may be eased and depoliticized, it does so often through the promotion of supposedly 'active' citizenship (such as internship programs, or as we say in the previous chapter: forms of 'cultural' citizenship). I suggest it is vital to consider the supplicatory vein that runs through the seemingly warm-blooded sanctuary linkage: sanctuary-safety-hope.

At this point, however, I would also like to turn our attention back to the vignette of *The Roundabout* commencing this chapter. At the same time this play highlights the problem of deferral,

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it also embodies a 'detour' or what Deleuze and Guattari's might term, 'lines of flight': minor practices that cut across.[66] Whilst the drop-in center, where this play emerges, may exhibit Rotter's 'sanctuary spaces' (a place that seems to reconcile the problem of waiting) this place and this play also cut across this rather depoliticized reconciliation.

The Roundabout illuminates how these 'sanctuary spaces' (such as the drop-in) are indeed complex. Whilst these spaces extend a hand of safety and hope (to 'mediate' and 'understand' the waiting process) may be vital in some respects, this process also implies a sense of passivity for many asylum seekers and refugees. This features heavily as a kind of supplicatory ritual: where one is identified as in need, perhaps even marked as needy and left to clutch onto hope. In extending this kind of helping hand, these sanctuary spaces also seem to extend a hold. In a sense too, this practice may also assuage the problems associated with waiting. Perhaps, one might argue, this activity is just a release valve for a systemic process of deferral and unpredictability facing asylum seekers in Glasgow. So too, one might suggest this theatre 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. They showed how they were asked to 'just be calm sir, we will know later.'[67] This was not okay, and demonstrated as such. 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 abjecthood. Although this project brought people together, this was not primarily 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 deferral.

If we understand sanctuary as predominantly functioning as safety and hope (as it seems there is a tendency to do) then perhaps this somewhat incoherent art form is not so much about sanctuary. However, exploring sanctuary as a richly textured practice, I think we also see how sanctuary also implies a set of practices that may challenge supplication.

For instance, sanctuary has also been deployed as a kind of meeting place of unlikely forces. John Pedley has gestured at Greek sanctuaries that 'did no serve as a boundary marker, nor a place for display' rather they functioned as a place to 'gather, talk, exchange goods, make arrangements.'[68] They functioned, Pedley suggests, as a 'places of exchange...both among and between Greeks and others.'[69] They were, in a sense, 'sacred places' yet not devoid of the supposed 'profanity' of everyday life. This kind of sacred sanctuary was partly enmeshed with the so-called profanity of daily life: sacred/public or profane space; secure/insecure was perhaps not so clear-cut. For instance, in the Athenian marketplace an altar to Eleos (Mercy) was considered a transitory space of sanctuary.[70] Despite this, Greek sanctuaries are often imagined as entirely contained spaces, separate from public life. For instance, historical touchstone Herodotus is often evoked to ground an understanding of sanctuary as impenetrable through the image of it being a 'safety zone in the woods which provided absolute security.'[71]

As Ulrich Sinn notes in his minor study of Greek sanctuaries, this practice should not be understood as solely 'remote, peaceful place[s]'; instead, they lead us straight into the everyday world. The very existence of 'these sacred precincts were what made it possible for the Greeks to deal with the crisis of daily life with its private needs and general hazards.'[72] Sinn has also argued that in this sense, sanctuary is perhaps conceived of as shifting and more interactive 'meeting place.'[73]

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Sanctuary, in this regard, is less an absolute place of security provided by an ultimate authority but daily practices where a multitude of shifting and fluid forces rub.

It seems that these 'lines of flight' are part of the complex fabric of sanctuary and these are worthy of further attention. I suggest that the example of the 'street theatre' as a process and 'performance' illuminates how this is not simply a 'sanctuary space' offering hope and safety, but a kind of cacophonous *meeting place* where a myriad of unexpected encounters and detours may transpire. These encounters are not only an attempt to *ease* the problems associated with waiting (giving food, giving hope); these are sites where these problems might be unfurled in their depth. These problems are not just re-packaged for consumption, they suggest an interruption to the ways we do charity, the ways we might view asylum as an 'eventual' means to citizenship so long as one endures the roundabout just long enough.

Some might view this kind of meeting place in opposition to sanctuary space. Indeed, if we accept that sanctuary is (since its 'origin') all about safety and nurturing hope then this meeting place is clearly about something else: maybe politics, maybe disagreement? But, exploring a slightly more complex genealogy what is revealed is that these unpredictable meeting places of exchange have also been part of sanctuary's textured story. As a brief exploration of some of these Greek practices suggest, sanctuary is also circulated as complex interaction.

Conclusion

Founder of the City of Sanctuary movement, Bhogal, seems well founded in suggesting that today 'sanctuary is catching the imagination of people.'[74] It would seem that this term sanctuary is widely circulating today. Indeed, in my own ever-gentrifying neighborhood, spas boast services that provide a 'sanctuary escape.' Meanwhile, I find a brochure to the Edinburgh zoo that calls itself a place of safety, a sanctuary for its recent guest – the Chinese panda. At the 2012 Earth Summit in Rio de

Janeiro, celebrities such as Paul McCartney and Penelope Cruz join a Greenpeace campaign suggesting that we need to 'draw a line in the ice' and create an 'Arctic Sanctuary.'[75] And on another stage, politicians latch on to this notion claiming that by offering 'sanctuary' we might challenge a violent asylum system that seeks to deport innocent people. Member of the Scottish Parliament (MSP), Christina McKelvie, recently asserted that she 'hates the word asylum' instead we need to provide a more welcoming, universal and ancient 'practice of sanctuary' in the UK.[76] This is also conveyed in a statement from Margaret Curran, MSP Scottish Minister for Social Justice:

> Many asylum seekers and refugees come to Scotland fleeing from terrible oppression and persecution. In Scotland they seek the ancient practice of sanctuary and a place to rebuild their lives, a place where they can meaningfully contribute to the community they live in…We can learn much from the broad range of people who come from different countries. We can learn from each other and from all those who live within our borders. With the opportunity to live, without fear or persecution, asylum seekers and refugees have the potential to contribute greatly to the diversity and prosperity of Scotland.[77]

As I gestured at in the previous chapter, it seems that deep in these claims is a yearning to go back to a more romantic, safe time and place. There is a reminiscent call for the wonder years that were supposedly more humane, more open – even sacred. Crucially, this ancient past offers hope. There is an assumption that by resurrecting the ancient sanctuary we might escape from, or at least alleviate, this modern world and the problems it engenders. For the spa-goer perhaps he escapes work-induced fatigue; for the panda, the poacher; and for the politician, an appeal to ancient sanctuary seems to deal with the problems associated with complex asylum policy today. As Rotter suggests – and is implied in Curran's statement – sanctuary 'nurtures' hope for asylum seekers both as a way to deal with waiting and, potentially, to improve the possibility of a 'desired' future.[78] Yes, it seems that Bhogal is well founded in suggesting that sanctuary has purchase today. What this

chapter has considered is *how* this term is being captured as a place of hope and safety *from* hostile

practices. Furthermore, this chapter explores how this prolific framing might play into a supplicatory

(or victimizing) ritual, part of such hostility.

However, at this point it is important to consider that whilst sanctuary is often posed as a

welcomed hope, this is surely not the only framing. Like many I have been masochistically drawn

into the world of glossy podiums behind which contenders for the next American presidency stand

sentinel. Here, a seemingly different expression of sanctuary is notable. In recent debates Mitt

Romney ardently spoke against sanctuary cities as providing detestable safe havens for 'illegals.' [79] He

asserts that we need to control against this outdated religious practice with more strictly controlled

borders, stronger state immigration law. Whilst the stage and performance is different, the line is

strangely similar to those made by 'sanctuary supporters' at this ceilidh event. Sanctuary is still

framed as safety and hope from hostile practices; however, for Romney this is one that 'real'

Americans cannot tolerate. Sanctuary is still a kind of ancient authority that challenges the state, but

it is precisely because of this that we must wield the sovereign law that much more ardently. Indeed,

it would seem that the presidential debates are closer to that zoo brochure in more ways than one.

It could be argued that we also see a middle ground approach, one that neither celebrates

nor rejects sanctuary - but aims to tolerate it by indifference. Newt Gingrich's statement in the

recent presidential debate embodies this when he claims that: 'We are not going to rip some

grandma out of a church sanctuary.'[80] Some people without legal status are already here, in our

communities, and we are best off leaving them to these pouches and patchworks of charity.

Sanctuary here is posed in part as a tolerated reality, one that can comfortably fit within – what he

calls – his policy of 'indignation' towards 'illegals.'[81] Sanctuary fits in well enough with his

exclusionary approach. He captures sanctuary with the image of an 'old grandma in a church' which

he is not about to 'drag out,' in other words sanctuary is depicted as a passive and inconspicuous

practice that does not really cause a raucous to the general indignant order of things. I also notice

this view (articulated with a very different intended aim) being expressed at the annual meeting

where City of Sanctuary where a member suggested that this movement is best pitched as a 'non-

invasive' strategy to deal with asylum.[82] Here sanctuary is evoked as effective and it is precisely

through its claim to passivity and ability to fit into (and perhaps in and so doing, eventually shift)

what is more widely understood as a 'hostile' approach to asylum.

We might be tempted to view these as contradictory approaches to sanctuary. One the one

hand, sanctuary is posed as hope against exclusionary practices (such as deportation) and on the

other hand sanctuary fits into an exclusionary approach. What is striking, however, is the continuity

in these seemingly diverse depictions of sanctuary. It seems that sanctuary can be deployed in such a

way that aims to challenge an 'indignant' approach to migrants while simultaneously neatly fitting

within such an 'indignant' policy. Perhaps this is a tension that those identifying as 'sanctuary

supporters' need to reflect upon critically, lest their attempts to resist violent treatment of asylum

seekers and refugees ends up functioning as part of the apparatus that in fact sustains such

treatment. It seems that sanctuary may be approached more critically when we begin to understand

how it may actually hold those it claims to save when it appeals to certain forms of 'hope' and

'safety,' as was demonstrated in the opening *Roundabout* vignette.

It seems that although sanctuary, often deployed as safety and hope, may have a tendency of

easing and even elongating the problem of waiting it may also entail a more rupturing quality. The

aim here is not to fall into a definitional battle about the *true* meaning of sanctuary that we may yearn

to go back to; a genealogical investigation in fact peels away at the promise of such an aspiration.

Rather, the desire is to draw out these different inflections of this practice and, in so doing, draw out

some unfamiliar findings. For instance, the prevalent picture of sanctuary as a space of safety and

hope is revealed here to fit strangely well within 'indignant' rhetoric (a rhetoric that many sanctuary

supporters claim to critique). And whilst sanctuary spaces are often justified as a meaningful resource because they provide safety and hope, it is perhaps the detours that question the extended helping hand that render this practice more challenging to an exclusionary politics.

Notes

[1] Author observation, Govan Drop-in: Pearce Institute, Glasgow, United Kingdom. October 2011 – April 2012.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Pearce Institute, known as a 'House of Friendship' since 1906 located in Govan Hill, an area of Glasgow where many asylum seekers and refugees currently live.

[4] Author observation Govan Drop-in: Pearce Institute, Glasgow, United Kingdom.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. B. Ramos (New York, Continuum, 1997).

[8] Augusto Boal, 'Legislative theatre: using performance to make politics,' trans. A. Jackson (London, Routledge, 1998), 142.

[9] Augusto Boal, 'Augusto Boal, city councillor: legislative theatre and the chamber in the streets: an interview', TDR 42 (1998), 80.

[10] Michael Shapiro. *The Time of the City: Politics, Philosophy and Genre.* (London: Routledge, 2012), 164.

[11] Omar, asylum seeker in Glasgow, interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, October 18, 2011, Pearce Institute, Glasgow, United Kingdom.

[12] Jacques Rancière and D Panagia, 'Dissenting Worlds: A Conversation with Jacques Rancière.' *Diacritics* 30 (2000).

[13] *The Roundabout*, Pearce Institute, Glasgow, United Kingdom. December 18, 2011.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Maurice Blanchot, *The Infinite Conversation*, trans Susan Hanson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 23.

[20] Michael Shapiro, *The Time of the City: Politics, Philosophy and Genre* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 164.

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

[22] Ibid.

[23] Glasgow's City of Sanctuary World Ceilidh, Gartnehill Multicultural Centre, December 16, 2011.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Rebecca Rotter. *Hanging In-Between': Experiences of Waiting among Asylum Seekers Living in Glasgow.* (PhD diss., Edinburgh University: 2010).

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid, 48

[28] Ibid, 168

[29] Ibid, 135.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Scottish Refugee Council, Health Report. Scottish Refugee Council. http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/policy_and_research/research_report (accessed January 1, 2012).

[33] Rebecca Rotter. *Hanging In-Between': Experiences of Waiting among Asylum Seekers Living in Glasgow* (PhD diss., Edinburgh University: 2010) 10-43.

[34] Ibid. This framing of the city as a sacred sanctuary offering hope makes me wonder about Warren Magnusson's claim that: 'there is no promise of transcendence in the municipality, although there is the possibility of acting together on matters of concern' (Magnusson, Warren. 'The City of God and the Global City,' *CTheory*, http://www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=520 (accessed February 13, 2012). Where the City of Sanctuary movement is concerned there is an appeal to a politics of the everyday, an imminent order that challenges sovereign authority associated with 'the state'. And yet, with regards to the City of Sanctuary it would seem this supposedly imminent order is often tethered to a transcendental (sacred) promise. Magnusson persuasively suggests that the city is characterized by self-organization and a multiplicity of authorities which imply 'an indefinite deferral of sovereignty' (*Politics of Urbanism: Seeing Like a City*, Routledge 2011), 109. And yet, again, where the City of Sanctuary is concerned might this deferral itself function as a form of sovereignty or at least an ordering which dovetails with sovereign exclusions it claims to escape?

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

[37] 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.'

[38] Whilst 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 favour of a more subtle process of transforming culture. This effectively consists of a grassroots approach to political change, which is based on creating a culture of sanctuary or hospitality at a local level through coalition building and through the development of opportunities for building personal relationships between local people and those seeking sanctuary. See Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal. *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: A Practical Handbook.* (Plug and Tap 2009), 83.

[39] Rebecca Rotter. *Hanging In-Between': Experiences of Waiting among Asylum Seekers Living in Glasgow* (PhD diss., Edinburgh University: 2010).

[40] Several English churches had a similar stone seat beside the altar known as the frith-stool upon which the seeker of sanctuary sat. Examples of such sanctuary-seats still exist at Hexham and Beverley. See: *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th Ed. Vol XXIV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 129.

[41] CJ Cox, *The Sanctuaries and Sanctuary Seekers of Medieval England*, (Ballantyne: Hanson & Co. 1911).

[42] Ibid.

[43] Douglas Smith, *The Story of Sanctuary at Durham.* (United Kingdom, Northern History Booklets, 1977), 13.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Rob Schumacher 'Three Related Sanctuaries of Poseidon: Geraistos, Kalaureia and Tainaron' in Greek Sanctuaries New Approaches,' ed. Marinatos and Haag. (Routledge: New York, 1995).

[46] Ibid

[47] Ian Rutherford. *Pilgrimage Graeco-Roman & Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 6.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Also see: Linda Rabben, *Give Refuge to the Stranger: The Past, Present and Future of Sanctuary* (US: Left Coast Press, 2001).

[51] Tiffy Allen, City of Sanctuary National Coordinator, National City of Sanctuary AGM. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31 2011. Also see the City of Sanctuary website which identifies this long-term vision: http://www.cityofsanctuary.org/node/555Website (accessed: November 1, 2011).

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

[53] Ibid.

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

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

[56] 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 Didier Bigo and Anastassia Tsoukala, eds., *Illiberal Practices of Liberal Regimes* (Paris: L'Harmattan: 2006), 5-49

[57] 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).

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

[59] Dider Bigo, *Security, Prevention, Prediction: Impact on Human Rights,* Boyd Orr Lecture Theatre 611, January 30, 2012.

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

[61] Mehdi, asylum seeker in Glasgow, interview by Jennifer Bagelman, Glasgow, United Kingdom. January 30, 2012

[62] Dider Bigo, *Security, Prevention, Prediction: Impact on Human Rights,* Boyd Orr Lecture Theatre 611, January 30, 2012.

[63] Pierre Bourdieu 1999. *Pascalian Meditations.* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 228.

[64] Ibid.

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

[66] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. *Kafka: Pour une literature mineure* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit. 1975).

[67] *The Roundabout* (Pearce Institute), October 18, 2011.

[68] John Pedley. *Sanctuaries and the Sacred in the Ancient Greek World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 52.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid, 29

[71] Ian Rutherford, *Pilgrimage Graeco-Roman & Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods* (Oxford University Press: 2005), 1.

[72] Ulrich Sinn, 'Greek Sanctuaries as Places of Refuge' in in *Greek Sanctuaries New Approaches*. ed. Marinatos and Haag. (Routledge: New York, 1995), 90.

[73] Ibid, 107.

[74] Inderjit Bhogal, *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham. United Kingdom. October 31, 2011

[75] CBC, http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/story/2012/06/21/rio-earth-summit-arctic-canada.html (accessed July 12, 2012).

[76] Scottish Refugee Council AGM. City Hall, January 16, 2012.

[77] Margaret Curran MSP, Scottish Minister for Social Justice, cited in Scottish Refugee Integration Forum 2003.

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

[79] City of Sanctuary, http://www.sanctuarycities.info/sanctuary_cities_blog/?p=134 (accessed February 2, 2012).

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

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

Chapter 4: Drawing out Time

> He had brought a large map
> Representing the sea,
> Without the least vestige of land:
> And the crew were much pleased
> When they found it to be
> A map they could all understand.
>
> – Lewis Carroll[1]

Up until this point I have explored how a particular historical story of sanctuary as a practice providing safety tends to be secured. Sanctuary is often projected as a stable practice that supposedly harkens back to 'ancient' times.[2] As was evident in the previous chapter, this notion of sanctuary is deployed not only through a historical resurrection of the past, but gains appeal through a forward looking 'vision' of hope.[3] I suggest that sanctuary's promise of hope articulated through the City of Sanctuary tends to serve as a technology of control whereby the dissatisfaction of waiting in limbo is on the one hand, helpfully 'mediated' but on the other hand, mitigated and depoliticized.[4] It seems that sanctuary provides opportunities for changing ones' orientation towards waiting, without necessarily altering the wait itself.

This is a serious problem in that whilst sanctuary is framed as temporary (supposedly embodying the promise of a future that will eventually actualize after waiting, after gaining Leave to Remain, or perhaps in an after-life), sanctuary can become an enduring state that *extends* liminality. In this sense, I have suggested, sanctuary risks functioning as a 'politics of ease,' a supplicatory technology that assuages and thus protracts the problems associated with the unpredictability of waiting.

Although this is a deep-seated problem, I suggest various 'lines of flight' are cutting across this supplicatory function of sanctuary.[5] This chapter continues to explore how sanctuary may be functioning as a politics of ease and yet also considers the various detours that challenge this through, what I call, a reclaiming of unpredictability. This chapter explores this tension specifically in relation to the *Mapping Project*, implemented through Glasgow's City of Sanctuary. This project was initially designed to offer asylum seekers and refugees an opportunity to visually demonstrate how they experience Glasgow as a welcoming space.[6] In particular, its goal was to reveal how networks are being enabled, allowing a more connected and hospitable, or 'relational' city.[7]

Whilst the maps drawn out of this project demonstrate how certain spaces are opened up to refugees and people seeking asylum, what emerges most notably are experiences of time, as both restricted and restricting. Where *The Roundabout* that was explored in the previous chapter illuminated the experience and problem of indefinite waiting in relation to sanctuary's promise of hope, this chapter turns specific attention to the ways in which this spatio-temporal experience of waiting is inscribed in the very architecture of the city. This chapter explores how in the seemingly 'open' and 'fluid' City of Sanctuary, the spatio-temporal experience of waiting is viscerally written into the streets indicating persisting 'frontiers.'[8] Even in the absence of physical borders, like the walls of Kader's Montréal church sanctuary, this chapter shows how fluid frontiers are sustained in the City of Sanctuary, sometimes in surprising ways. These may be more insidious in some ways and, as the mapping process implies, it is precisely because of this that they warrant careful attention.

Various critical geographers have demonstrated that maps have the power to contain, generalize and erase the complexity of life and lived experiences.[9] As James Scott's analysis of cartographic methods suggests, maps can serve as a standardized technology to view life 'from above,' from a sort of ultimate perspective that blanches out everyday life.[10] 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.[11] The implication of this kind of statist, or sovereign, mapping is poignantly depicted in Edward Said's well-known work, *Orientalism*. Here Said shows how the 'orient' is constructed as an 'other' dependent upon how 'we' (that is, the British, French and latterly Americans) position ourselves in a particular temporal, spatial, and moral order. He refers to this as a process of violent 'imaginative geography.'[12]

In this chapter I show how mapping is also being used as an active site through which to cut across these imposed, over-simplified and violent imaginaries. This is not a new argument, indeed in recent years scholars from various disciplines have explored how mapping may be used in ways to illuminate diverse experiences of time and space, rather than flatten them according to transcendental narratives.[13] I add to this literature showing how a standardized tool of mapping may also be reconfigured so as to shift hierarchical power relations and cartographies, rather than merely cement them. Whilst the *Mapping Project* perhaps commenced from on high, with a desired outcome of producing an ironically closed story of Glasgow as open, this mapping process is also re-routed in various ways. To begin with, these maps traverse across what can tend to be an overly glossy narrative of cultural diversity that is part of the City of Sanctuary's vision. In this sense, this mapping process may be seen as a tool for challenging homogenizing narratives of welcome that may undermine the severity of unpredictability as a power that holds. I show how the *Mapping Project* opens up a continual discussion about the ways Glasgow is restricted and closed to many refugees and asylum seekers. So too, the creative ways in which a group of asylum seekers distributed their maps created conversations about the striated mobilities that are at play in what may appear to be a welcoming city, in so doing these maps served as a tool to interrupt the smooth flow of bodies in the city. In particular, I show how for the people creating the maps, the process is seen to operate as

a tool for challenging a politics of ease: a politics that defangs the problems associated with waiting, and a state of deferral.

Much like *The Roundabout*, the *Mapping Project* unveils the problems associated with waiting and emerges in what might be understood as a 'space of sanctuary': a space providing safety and hope. The artists drawing these maps show how sanctuary's hope can operate as a tool that contains the problem of waiting, the problem of asylum. And in so doing, the detouring maps seem to embody a political opportunity that exceeds a simplistic supplicatory relationality.[14]

Fluid Sanctuary Cities

'Promoting a *flow* of new ideas, talents and relationships' – this phrase streams throughout City of Sanctuary meetings, events and literature.[15] As I explore in Chapter 1, during the National City of Sanctuary Annual 2011 Meeting sanctuary was circulated as a means for opening up city spaces, this is reiterated in the Handbook that states:

> 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].[16]

This statement points to the 'role that flows of people play' in the 'constitution of City of Sanctuary' which are, as a result, 'outward-looking' in character.[17] That is: City of Sanctuary may be 'placed-based' (in that it emerges in particular locales such as Sheffield, London boroughs or Glasgow), but it is not 'place-bound.'[18] These dynamic practices reveal that whilst this movement makes use of spaces, it is not fixed in place; instead, it is a diffuse web premised upon shifting attitudes towards a politics and culture of welcome.[19] It supposedly exceeds the sort of physical containment that, say, Kader or Laiber might have experienced living in their church and temple sanctuaries.

These fluid practices are seen to cultivate communities that are open to shifting flows and challenge the preservation of a stable and 'traditional' way of life.[20] Vitally, flows of migrants are seen to be 'already productive citizens', who might add to community, rather than understood through a dyadic victim/criminal lens. We might recall how this focus on active contribution was evidenced in the hypothetical scenario raised through City of Sanctuary 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.'[21] As we see here, a xenophilic statement to combat xenophobia ends up reproducing a xenophobic difference.

It is important to note that this depiction of the City of Sanctuary as dynamic is linked with a wider approach to the city that suggests, especially in a context of globalization and interconnectivity, we need to understand the urban in more fluid terms. As the City of Sanctuary Coordinator explained during the National Meeting, this movement has been heavily influenced by Human Geographer Doreen Massey's work on the city.[22] In particular Massey's conception of a 'relational' approach to the city – that is that the city is not just a container but constituted through dynamic relations – has been summoned.[23]

Massey's relational account of the urban also challenges 'scalar thinking' – that is that the city is 'lower' then, for instance, the state – and suggests that the city conceived relationality opens up a solidaristic hope for political life. She suggests that this relational understanding implies a 'geography of responsibility, [whereby] we are increasingly outward-looking.'[24] We can see the resonances of this language in the City of Sanctuary Handbook in the passage above. Solidarity emerges through everyday grounded and imminent relations of the urban, which is less a physical place than a fluid way of life.[25] This suggests an understanding of 'place that is 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.'[26] This offers, Massey suggests, a 'wider distantiated politics of place.'[27] She claims this kind of 'political responsibility looks forward.'[28] There is an appeal to 'coexisting actors' rather than 'recipients,' it forces respect for coevalness.[29]

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.[30]

This language of City of Sanctuary as a fluid practice that is 'place-based' though not 'place-bound' comes out strongly in various City of Sanctuary meetings and events in Glasgow. In the next section I show how this relational view is particularly evident in the *Mapping Project* initiative organized through the City of Sanctuary. This chapter will explore how this relational understanding of the city evoked through the City of Sanctuary risks deploying this concept in ways that Massey warns against, that is: the construction of a simplistic relationality hat tends towards 'bland diversity.'[31]

Mapping Fluid 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.[32]

Every Tuesday, St. Michael's Church in the west end transforms into the Unity World Café; a space open to 'destitute' groups in Glasgow. On one side of the church-cum-café three tables are brimming with local produce nearing expirations dates that nearby grocers donate. Beside this, a dozen tables are set up with chairs all around where asylum seekers, refugees and volunteers mingle

over cups of tea, an assortment of biscuits and soup. On this particular Tuesday the attendees are invited by a City of Sanctuary volunteer to: 'map your city.' [33]

A volunteer from Glasgow's City of Sanctuary distributes pens and sheets of paper as she asks everyone in the room to show how they experience Glasgow as a space. A few people ask questions to clarify: 'how much detail…should it be all of Glasgow or just where we live?'[34] The volunteer encourages everyone to creatively convey their experience of Glasgow as they wish. Another person asks, 'why do you want this?' The volunteer explains that the maps are part of the City of Sanctuary's *Mapping Project* which hopefully will used during Refugee Week, an annual national event that celebrates the contributions refugees bring to the UK.[35] Eyebrows rise given that some of the people in the room are seeking asylum, on Section 4 relief or refused asylum seekers, 'but I don't have refugee status – do you still want me to do this?' The answer to this question was slightly delayed, but ultimately: 'yes.'[36]

During this discussion a few people are already sketching and labeling. In a matter of minutes everyone in the room is hovering over papers, chatting with one another as they draw their cities. After people finish their last bites of food, the volunteer looks through the pile of diagrams. 'Hmm, I don't know if we'll end up using these for the City of Sanctuary exhibit,' the volunteer mutters to me, 'they are a bit…abstract. I am not sure they really show spaces of Glasgow.'[37]

These maps were certainly not reflective of the familiar portraits of Glasgow many come to know through pocket maps and iPhone apps. The depictions, in this respect, do seem 'abstract.' Yet, these maps seemed to capture a more enriched portrait of the city in other significant ways. The maps perform stories of Glasgow rarely found in touristic information, or in the tales celebrated in Refugee Week. These creative maps seem to 'restore what scientific abstractions remove….[that is] the qualities which give [objects] all their poignancy and preciousness.'[38] These maps seem to

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illuminate 'the experience of things in their concreteness.'[39] Rather than reflecting smooth edges and right angles, these maps illuminate the frays of the city as experienced by those who are often trimmed out. In this way, these maps in fact challenge the 'abstract city' understood as a 'formal and qualitative' depiction that erases concrete lived experience.[40]

I was curious to hear more about the stories inscribed into these maps. If these were translating the city as it is experienced, it seemed that this translation was only just being opened up. In order to continue this process, I suggested that we run another mapping session for the artists at World Café the following Tuesday. This session would similarly ask people to draw how Glasgow as a space is experienced; however, this time a conversation would be opened up with the artists throughout and after the mapping process.

At this following session it struck me again that time featured into the maps as it did on the first mapping project. This first map is drawn by Mariam,
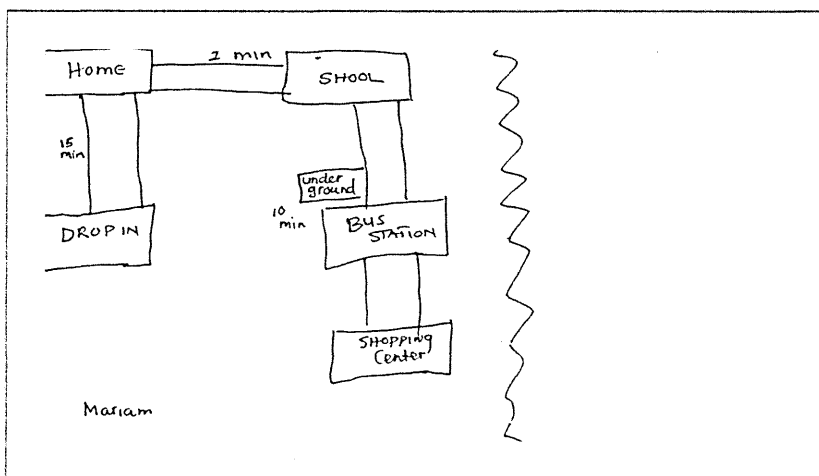

Figure 2: Mariam's Map

I asked Mariam if she could tell me about her map. She started first by explaining to me matter-of-factly: 'this is Glasgow.'[41] She described the 'wiggly line' separating one side of the paper from the other as the line where 'I don't really go' beyond.[42] Because she is waiting for her case to be reviewed Mariam explained that 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 travel widely across the city, she walks most places. Normally she will not travel more than 15 minutes because 'with two small kids, I cannot walk for too long.'[43]

Speaking with other participants about their visual narratives, it struck me how time tended to feature heavily. In the below map, sketched by Sekou, 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 Maryhil CAB [Citizen's Advice Bureau] for my 12.45 appointments. 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.[44]

Sekou explains to me that he uses arrows to show the 'circle of my day.' Sekou 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.[45]
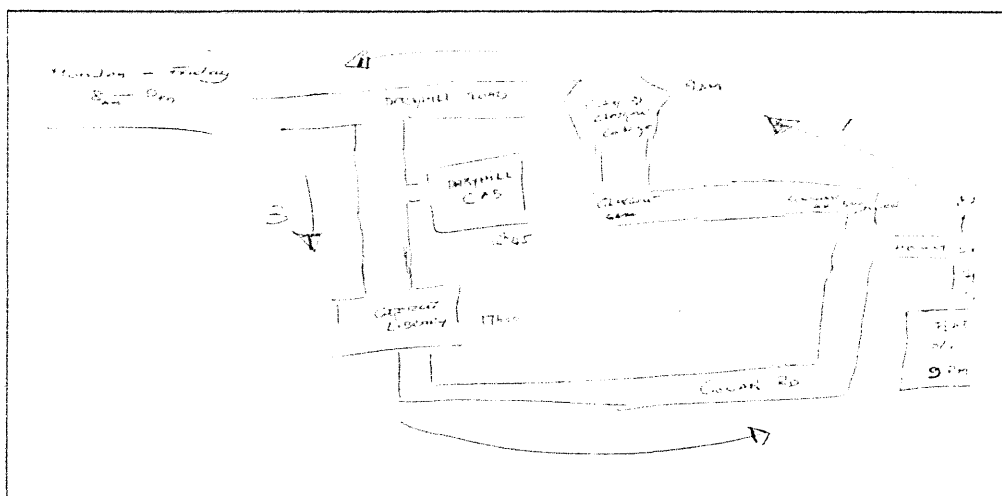
Figure 3: Sekou's Map

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

map below:
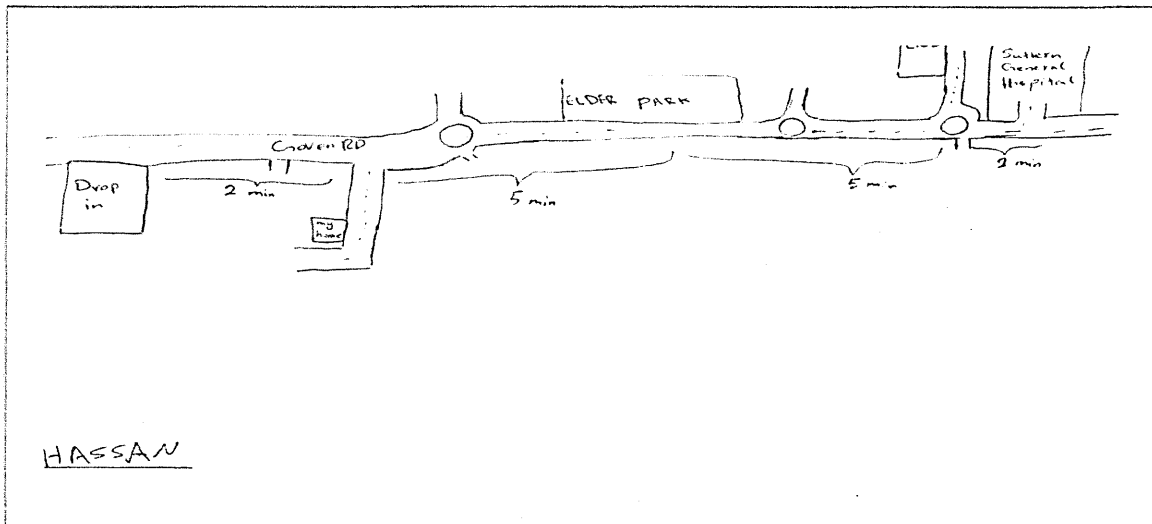
Figure 4: Hassan's Map

Similar to the Mariam and Sekou, Hassan'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. Hassan explains to me that, even though he has received

Leave to Remain four months ago, he still 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.'[46] So too, another participant, Salim, described his version of Glasgow in restricted terms.

Pointing to the arrows drawn onto her map, Salim said that these are 'my main routes, it is the same

every day.'[47]
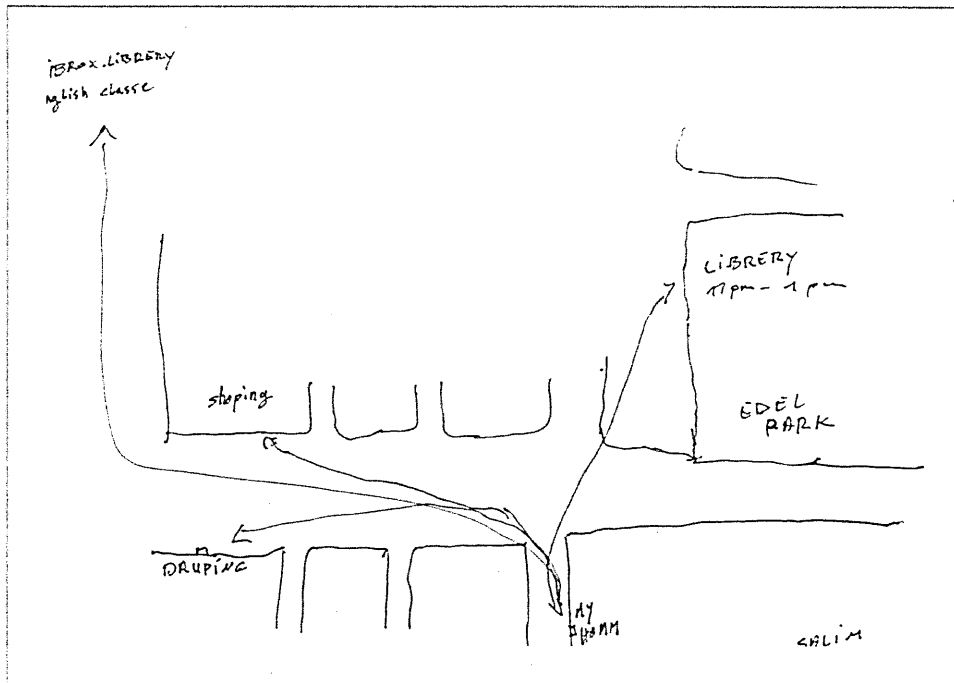
Figure 5: Salim's Map

Listening to these descriptions another participant, Michael, agreed that in Glasgow there are only a few places where he will visit with many more left as off-limit, 'scary places' he avoids. Laughing, he wrote down 'snow' as one of these scary places, and then in a more somber tone explained that many of the areas he avoids he would not write down. Hassan and Michael agreed that whilst 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.[48] 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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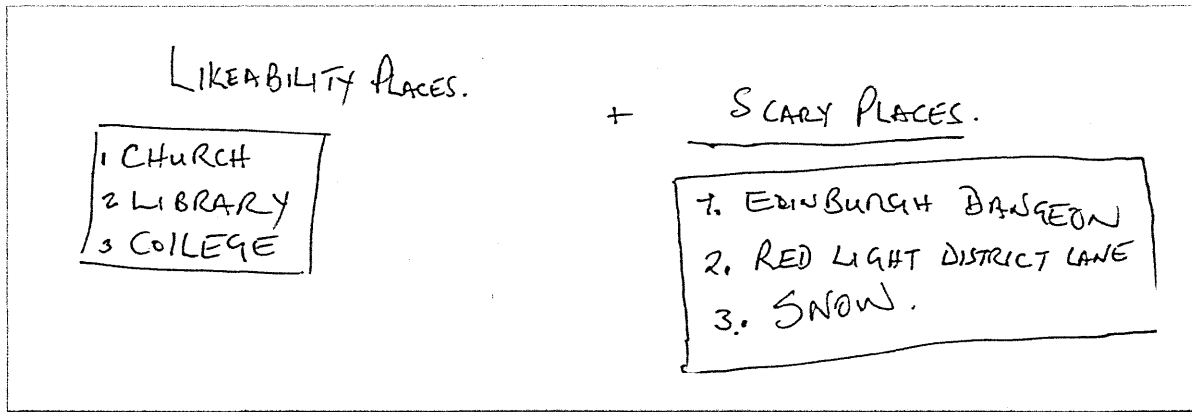
Figure 6: Michael's Map

Perhaps nowhere was this sense of being confined in Glasgow's seemingly 'open' City of Sanctuary more evident than in Lucumbo's map that exudes a labyrinth-like structure:
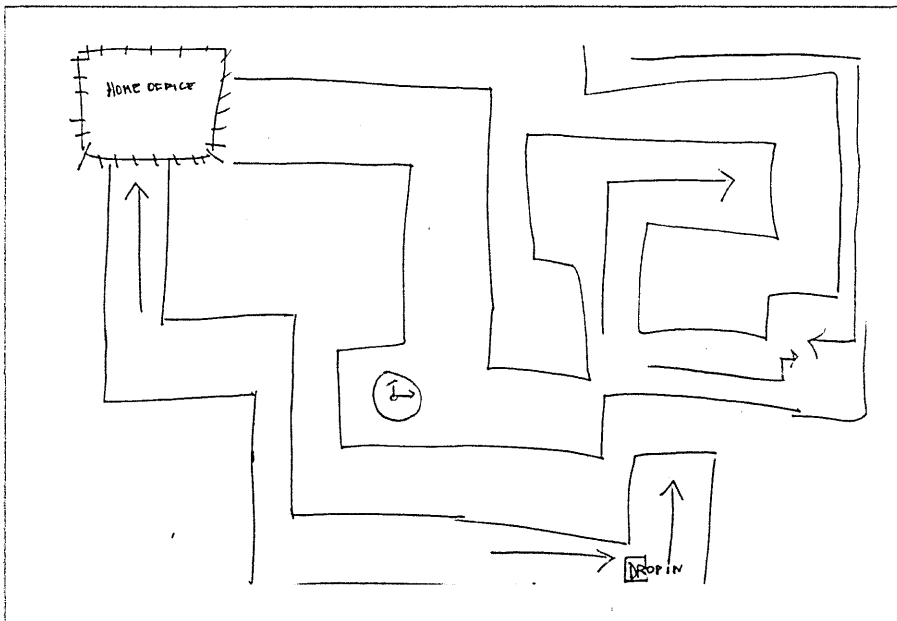
Figure 7: Lucumbo's map

Lucumbo emphasized the arrows as being central to how he sees and experiences the city: 'they are all caught up, they are dead ends.'[49] Unlike some of the other participants, who described areas of

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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.'[50] The clock in the centre of the diagram epitomizes this sense of uncertain waiting. It seems to reflect the imminent deportation that hovers unpredictably thereby making Lucombo feel he is never quite present in Glasgow. Crucially the clock is lodged between the drop-in centre – 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: where support may be received in certain spaces, other areas are excluded altogether from the maps. Unlike Kader's church where the walls of the building are the conditions of a form of imprisonment, here there is a different, and less obvious, bordering process that is explicated in, largely, temporal terms.

From the *Temenos* to the Open City?

In a few important respects, the stories and maps above are at odds with the vision of Cities of Sanctuary as spaces of 'open flow' posed at the beginning of this chapter.[51] I also suggest in this section that these maps are at odds with the story of progress that is often implied, sometimes subtly and sometimes explicitly, through the City of Sanctuary discourse. That is, that 'originally' sanctuary was a territorially fixed and temporally restricted site and *now* it is a more open set of networks and relations.

As explored in Chapter 1, this is a tendency that runs through the growing literature on sanctuary. The image of sanctuary as a temenos, a sacred place that is bounded, is often evoked as a historical touchstone upon which a more fluid practice of sanctuary is seen to develop and diverge.[52] In its 'original' manifestation sanctuary is habitually portrayed as a noun: a place, a site, a location

removed from the regular (secular, violent etc.) order of things.[53] From this perspective, life inside the sanctuary is conceived of as sacred, untouchable and pure not only from violence but also from movement and political agency. This spatial understanding of sanctuary as a place 'cut off' serves to cement an image of those seeking sanctuary as similarly cut off; those 'inside' sanctuary are positioned 'outside' the public or political realm.[54] This vision is reflected in Lieven De Cauter's view of sanctuary as a 'refuse, a safe haven, a protected space.'[55] De Cauter's suggests that sanctuary offers people 'shelter from seizure.'[56] Here we see this allusion to the temenos, they state that '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)[emphasis added].'[57] So too, Setha Low suggests 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.'[58] 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.[59]

According to Low, the sanctuary 'dramatizes' the perception of safety inside 'danger outside.'[60] De Cauter and Low argue that sanctuary functions in this respect much like Foucault's heterotopia, a space that they define as being set outside the normal order of things.

Whilst De Cauter and Low envision sanctuary as a practice that is *still* constituted through clear demarcations between the inside/outside, the City of Sanctuary evokes this notion of sanctuary as 'cut off' as a more outdated expression. In many respects, the temenos functions as a story of sanctuary's *past*. For instance, at the National AGM in Nottingham I spoke with a pastor from Watford, heavily involved in the movement, who told me that what makes the City of Sanctuary so

unique is that it 'reaches back' to a 'historical practice of providing safety' but it does so in a more 'contemporary and open way.'[61] He told me that medieval sanctuaries in the UK were 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. He suggested that the City of Sanctuary '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. [62]A clear trajectory from sanctuary as spatially confined to a more fluid process that attempts to change attitudes and create networks was identified.

It is striking how routinely the symbol of the 'sanctuary knocker' is evoked in City of Sanctuary movement. This image is in the Handbook, on the first page. It is also depicted in York's City of Sanctuary pamphlet entitled *York: Sanctuary for Refugees and Asylum Seekers* that is distributed throughout the city. In this pamphlet there is an image 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 is overlain with the bold words: 'Bring Hope All Ye Who Enter.'[63] This sanctuary knocker in Durham is a gripping visual that seems to physically ground this 'tradition' to an earlier time, in this case - the middle ages. I was fascinated during a visit to Durham how many locals asked if I had seen the Durham Cathedral and the sanctuary knocker, and this is without me having filled their ears with my own research interests. The door (a kind of temenos) seems to dramatize a particularly compelling story about a tradition of safety, how this tradition was 'originally' practiced in a very physical manner. As heritage tourist literature states:

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.[64]

It appears that this relic, from 1593, also serves another performative function. In the absence of
such a door and threshold actively regulating how sanctuary is enacted today, we might be tempted
to believe that sanctuary is longer restricted according to such spatial (and temporal) limits. As the
title of a paper written by the City of Sanctuary's Founder suggests – the emphasis for sanctuary
supporters today should be placed on *Unlocking the Doors.*[65] In this paper Bhogal suggests that we
must move beyond a logic of fortresses that close out people, or practices of safety that contain, we
need to move towards a more open culture of hospitality. Bhogal passionately makes an appeal to
'see the imprisonment of asylum seekers brought to an end. Unlock the doors! [66]

Figure 8: Durham's 'Sanctuary Knocker'

The City of Sanctuary is posed as a central modality through which a bridging of so-called
ancient practices with contemporary openness might be enacted. If prepositions are telling
grammars of space and time, then we are wise to pay heed to the shift of prepositions evoked in the
City of Sanctuary: we have moved from sanctuaries in the city to today's cities of sanctuary. It
seems this leads us to view whole cities engulfed and enacting the safety and sacredness supposedly

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associated with sanctuary. It would seem we are encouraged to think of sanctuary as moving beyond containment and beyond a physical presence in many respects.

And although the City *of* Sanctuary implies that the city is already a sanctuary, the preposition 'towards' is regularly deployed within the movement to emphasize its role in providing a future vision. This spatio-temporal grammar of moving towards gestures at the City of Sanctuary as a theological type of discourse that governs through an appeal to hope beyond (to be realized through the immanent practices of the city). Whilst many cities are celebrated as enacting sanctuary, they are also about a 'becoming,' as is identified in the sub-title of the Handbook: *Becoming a City of Sanctuary*. In speaking with an active member in the Leeds City of Sanctuary highlighted this aspect. Charles suggested that, 'it is important that the movement focuses on 'becoming' rather than 'is.' This shows that the City of Sanctuary is always 'striving to become a better city that is more welcoming.'[67]

This emphasis is significant especially when paired with the language of 'vision' and indeed 'hope' deployed as part of this movement. Whilst cities are already of sanctuary they are also, it seems, in a process of *becoming*. In a sense, this may promote a continual politicizing call. That is, this may encourage people to think about how new modes of exclusion are always being inscribed and that it is crucial to continue to unearth these processes without becoming complacent and self-congratulatory in the face of real violence. However, this too seems to play into a faith that orients one towards a future, perhaps easing persisting violences and evading the few changes actually made in the present. I notice this tendency to imply a trajectory that aims to smooth over the waiting at the SRC's general meeting. A woman passionately expressed her experiences of being an asylum seeker forced into destitution in Glasgow. At the end, the representative from SRC who introduced the speaker explained that: 'she made it' – in a sense encoding this complex story in a linear narrative of hope for others.[68]

Cutting Across

I wonder whether this forward-gazing vision may lean the City of Sanctuary towards a more placatory role, co-extensive with a state of deferral. In a sense, if the City of Sanctuary is enacting a progressive narrative does this function in such a way as to hold discontent still and stagnant in the present moment? Perhaps through an appeal to this language of 'becoming' the lines drawn on the maps above, for instance, might be re-interpreted not as maze-like roundabouts but paths towards something better? So too, the diverse histories of sanctuary are shaped into a particular path indicating progress towards more and more welcoming sanctuary practices, thereby evading the ways that dynamic enactments of sanctuary have always been part of the story: a story that is never far from supplicatory relations. Whilst such narratives may help to mediate the problems associated with waiting, might this also ease these potential sites of contestation?

Although a common story is often told of sanctuary as spatially fixed from the very beginning, thereby implying that sanctuary has progressed to a more open and fluid form today, I suggest a variety of sources trouble such a narrative. More dynamic enactments can indeed be found, suggestive of the partiality of a conception of sanctuary as originally spatially contained or enclosed. 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.'[69] In this expression of sanctuary, which was not physically contained, a process of supplication was none-the-less still evident. Those seeking protection were still expected to go through a process of identifying themselves as in need. This suggests the importance of considering how sanctuary has function as a technology that can limit not simply through spatially contained formulations, but also seemingly more mobile ones. This challenges the progress story that the City

of Sanctuary tends to shape: that fluid sanctuary processes are somehow new, and that these are somehow thus more welcoming and less entwined with asymmetrical power relations. It at the same time challenges the story of continuity: that sanctuary has always been a practice of providing protection and welcome for those in need.

As well, the trajectory of a spatially cut off sanctuary to one that is (or is perhaps becoming) 'open' seems anything but stable in the maps above. What the maps above seem to suggest is that spatial and temporal limitations are still enacted through the City of Sanctuary, though perhaps though less dramatic or obviously physically identifiable ways. These maps suggest that there is a proliferation of frontiers that require our continual attention. These maps illuminate a grounded way in which this attention might be drawn.

In some respects these maps challenge the progress story deployed through the City of Sanctuary and rather illuminate a *recalibration* of control that still functions even in the absence of certain forms of physical containment. These maps tell a story about being welcomed, but also 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 part of this maze.

These maps suggest a more complex relationality than is often depicted in the City of Sanctuary's vision. As was suggested at the beginning of this chapter, the City of Sanctuary 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

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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 City of Sanctuary 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.[70]

These maps reveal that perhaps the 'open' relational approach promoted through the City of Sanctuary does not fully address the uncomfortable, even conflictual, political position to which Massey encourages us to think through. Perhaps 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 legal rights? Does this move to celebrate 'already' (cultural) citizens who are contributing to the constitution of cities serve to distract and defer the problems associated with being denied legal citizenship?

Although the City of Sanctuary does not contain disturbance as obviously as contained church sanctuaries, the seemingly fluid practice of Cities of Sanctuary also appears to contain dissent through appeals to hope in some distant future: the *illusio*. We might think of this as the mortar of moments: where time is protracted in such a way that it takes on a physical form that entrenches material divisions in the city.

Whilst demonstrating these processes of containment associated with the problem of deferral, the mapping project also cuts across this restrictive waiting game. The maps challenge the

illusio – that commitment and faith in the waiting game. These maps visually cut across the familiar grain of Glasgow as a cosmopolitan city that implies smooth inter-connectivity. The *illusio* comes to the foreground in these maps telling a different story about Glasgow and, more widely, about migration and integration. These maps trouble time as a 'true historical time' - time as linear, leading to some positive end. This kind of temporal framing, Shapiro suggests, has tendencies 'towards false memories of stability.'[71] For instance, the maps destabilize the supposedly smooth history of migration that is encapsulated in the City of Sanctuary's smorgasbord of fish and chips and curry. It challenges the notion that Glasgow is a place of safety and the hope that it is 'becoming.' These maps importantly unearth other troubling processes: the repetitive routes, the production of a roundabout with no immediate end in sight.

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.[72] They enact heteroglossic temporalities, contending, temporal frames and narratives.[73] 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.[74]

These maps above also defy the kind of 'useful' time often imposed on narratives by institutions, such as the Home Office, where interviews supposedly revealing life-stories are restricted to those memories and moments deemed as bureaucratically relevant. Time in these interviews must confer to 'true historical time' in the most extreme sense: linear, purposeful, to the point.[75] Any deviations are seen to reflect on the character's lack of sincerity and ultimately will impinge on their case. Memories that are 'elliptical' or fragmented are often seen as indicators of a lack of factuality rather than reflecting potentially fragmented experiences.[76] Yet in the maps

revealed here, elliptical time is emphasized and represents a significant political function. The roundabout quality of Sekou'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 reveling a temporal power – one that holds through deferral. 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 interviews she is always subjected to that do not have space, or time, for 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 was initially set out. The group discussed sending these maps to Glasgow's City Council and the Scottish Refugee Council to visually demonstrate the problems many asylum seekers experience in relation to the waiting process they face. Whilst a few portraits were sent, in the end the group determined that they were more interested in opening up 'direct conversations.'[77] To achieve this, the group 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 regularly made present. The group passed 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 flow of bodies moving seamlessly along. 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 Balornock and Barmulloch 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.'[78]

These mapping practices seem to suggest important detours.[79] 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.[80] 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.[81] Although asylum seekers may experience a sense of permanent temporariness that requires greater attention, these larger journeys also reveal the way in 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 more 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.[82]

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.'[83] Here, technologies such as 'firewalls displace architectural walls.'[84] 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.[85] Bigo's work, which I 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 categories of migrants, everyday and everywhere.

Without making a claim about a shift away from materialized security barriers, I suggest that these maps reveal the importance of investigating fluid technologies that are enacted even in practices aimed at welcoming.[86] With the *Mapping Project* the initial design was to track and reveal the open-textured quality of Glasgow, to celebrate the City of Sanctuary. As was shown, this project may risk functioning as a way to ease the problems associated with waiting and the deferral. These

tracking devices function, in part, as a way to govern a politics of ease. At the same time, however, what these maps ended up tracking: variegated nobilities, depoliticized narratives and a politics of ease.[87] In this sense, these maps became a subversive tool resisting and reclaiming this easing of unpredictability.

Conclusion

This chapter follows a number of journeys that a group of asylum seekers and refugees living in Glasgow have experienced. Interestingly, these journeys that emerged from the City of Sanctuary's *Mapping Project* depart slightly from the intention of this project, as it was originally conceived. The City of Sanctuary aimed to track, or trace, the open networks that are connecting Glasgow in part to celebrate this hospitable space. These maps, it was initially imagined, might visually encapsulate this trajectory so often told through the City of Sanctuary movement; namely that we have moved from sanctuary as a cut-off temenos to a city of movement and flow. We are no longer so tethered to heavy church doors with 'sanctuary knockers'; now we are experiencing a more 'relational' sanctuary space that exceeds such a place-based notion. However the personal maps reflected a different set of stories. So too, this chapter points out other practices of sanctuary which trouble this notion of sanctuary as fixed, 'from the very beginning.'[88] This chapter troubles the familiar sanctuary narrative that sanctuary was originally a spatially fixed practice and now it is more fluid and open. Rather, this chapter reveals various traces of sanctuary as both fluid and fixed, which have both been implicated in supplicatory power relations. This suggests the importance of continually thinking through how sanctuary can function as a technology that can limit not simply through spatially contained formulations, but also more mobile ones.

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 ones orientation towards waiting, without altering the wait itself or necessarily shifting the conditions for a desired outcome.

In many respects, 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 deferral. 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 in claims to help *through* time.[89]

Whilst these maps point to such spatiotemporal restrictions, what is also significant is the way in which the maps also embody detours that cut across such practices. As was introduced at the beginning of this chapter, maps may be criticized as a tool that envisions space and time according to an exclusionary sovereign lens, which can erase the complexity of life.[90] Yet, as an embodied tool that translates daily experiences, the maps explored in this chapter also reveal a destabilization of this process of erasure and abstraction. Much like the fluid maps 'representing the sea' that Lewis Carroll's crew could 'all understand,' the maps of Glasgow drawn by asylum seekers and refugees

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offer an understanding of the city too often overlooked.[91] These maps are stories of the city as a lived experience. Crucially, the process of map drawing did not always translate into consensus, but they did function as a site through which some shared experiences of temporality of waiting might be exchanged and more deeply understood as a political problem.

Discussions also seeped out beyond the project itself; the artists considered how they might innovatively continue with this mapping project themselves. It was determined by the group that by distributing these maps on the busy streets of Glasgow that their experiences of waiting, which are often silenced or re-framed as productive, might serve as an instrument to challenge the narrative of Glasgow as a city, open to all. These maps became a portal through which conversations about time and asymmetrical forms of mobility emerged. They not only interrupted the smooth flow of bodies moving quickly throughout the city, but also the assumption that this movement is experienced evenly. So too, these maps cut across other dominant narrative structures, such as the Home Office interviews, that in many cases deny the very real experiences of time as elliptical and unpredictable. Finally, the larger journeys exhibited at the Red Road Flats cut across depoliticized narratives of asylum seekers as those who have always been or will always be simply stuck. In drawing out and distributing these maps a politics of deferral – which eases the problems associated with waiting – were rendered much more difficult to secure.

Notes

[1] Lewis Carroll, *The Hunting of the Snark* (Macmillan and Co., London, 1876).

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

[3] Inderjit Bhogal, National City of Sanctuary AGM. Nottingham. United Kingdom. October 31, 2011

[4] Rebecca Rotter, *Hanging In-Between': Experiences of Waiting among Asylum Seekers Living in Glasgow* (PhD. diss Edinburgh University, 2010).

[5] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*. trans. Brian Massumi (London and New York: Continuum, 2004), 980

[6] Mapping Project, Glasgow United Kingdom. 16 August, 2011

[7] As indicated in the previous chapter, a language of 'relationality' is evoked in the *City of Sanctuary* literature, making explicit reference to urban literature that views the city as 'place based' but not 'place bound.' I suggest, later in the chapter, that the way relationality tends to be deployed through the City of Sanctuary risks becoming a depoliticizing language that can flattens out the more contested relations imbued within a 'hospitable' offering of sanctuary.

[8] I use the term 'frontier' here drawing from: Didier Bigo, 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.

[9] 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.

[10] James Scott. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. (Yale University Press, 1985).

[11] See: Warren Magnusson, *Politics of Urbanism: Seeing Like a City* (Routledge, 2011).

[12] Edward Said, *Orientalism*. (New York: Vintage, 1975), 55.

[13] See: Katherine Harmon, *You are Here: Personal Geographies and Other Maps of the Imagination* (Princeton Architectural Press, 2004); John Noble Wilford, *The Mapmakers* (Vintage Books, 2001); Mark S.Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps*, University of Chicago Press, 1996; James Scott's later work following Seeing Like a State, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (Yale University Press, 1985).

[14] 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.

[15] City of Sanctuary, http://www.sanctuarycities.info/sanctuary_cities_blog/?p=134 (accessed February 2, 2012).

[16] Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: a practical handbook with inspiring examples* (Plug and Tap, 2009), 11.

[17] 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.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

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

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Doreen Massey, *World City* (Cambridge: Polity Press. 2007), 179.

[24] Ibid, 184.

[25] Ibid, 4.

[26] Ibid, 179.

[27] Ibid, 182.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid, 22.

[30] Louis Wirth, *On Cities and Social Life* (The University of Chicago Press, 1964).

[31] Doreen Massey, *World City* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 6.

[32] Thomas Mann, *The Magic Mountain* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962), 279.

[33] Author observation. *Mapping Project*, Glasgow, United Kingdom. August 16, 2011

[34] Ibid.

[35] Refugee Week, http://www.refugeeweek.org.uk/ (accessed June 12, 2011).

[36] Author observation. *Mapping Project*, Glasgow, United Kingdom. August 16, 2011

[37] Author observation. *Mapping Project*, Glasgow, United Kingdom. August 16, 2011

[38] Siegfried Kracauer, *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press Princeton University Press, 1960), 296, 292.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991), 49.

[41] Author observation. *Mapping Project*, Glasgow, United Kingdom. August 16, 2011.
[42] Ibid.

[43] Author observation. Glasgow, United Kingdom. August 23, 2011.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

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

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

[53] 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).

[54] 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).

[55] Lieven de Caute, *Heterotopia and the city: public space in a postcivil society* (Routledge, 2008), 97

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid, 155.

[58] Ibd, 157.

[59] Ibid, 162.

[60] Ibid.

[61] National City of Sanctuary AGM. Nottingham. October 31, 2011.

[62] Ibid.

[63] York, City of Sanctuary pamphlet.

[64] Durham Heritage, bit.ly/vx8P5Q (accessed May 12, 2012).

[65] Inderjit Bhogal, *Unlocking the Doors* (Penistone Publications, 2001).

[66] Ibid.

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

[68] Scottish Refugee Council AGM. City Hall, 16 January, 2012.

[69] 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). 31

[70] Doreen Massey, *World City* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 6.

[71] Tony Morrison, 'Nobel Lecture,' December 7, 1993. bit.ly/10GTcB (accessed March 16, 2012).

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[72] Mikhail Bahktin, 'Methodology for the Human Sciences,' *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays* trans, V.W. McGee eds., C.Emerson and M.Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 162.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75] 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).

[76] Saulo Cwerner, 'Faster, Faster and Faster: The Time Politics of Asylum in the UK', *Time and Society* 13 (2004), 71-88.

[77] Author observation, Glasgow, United Kingdom. May 15, 2012.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Perhaps this embodies sanctuary as an active process. Here temenos is not simply a noun but as a verb – a process of cutting across. These mapping processes challenge both sanctuary as cut off and/or completely open. This *Mapping Project*, emerging from Glasgow's *City of Sanctuary*, takes a different direction than first designed. For those involved, sanctuary here is neither revealed to be a place cut off, or a place opened up but, in some contexts, enacting a process of cutting across.

[80] Michael Shapiro, *Time and the City* (Routledge 2010), 10.

[81] See: Heather Johnson, 'Moments of Solidarity, Migrant Activism and (Non)Citizens at Global Borders: Political Agency at Tanzanian refugee camps, Australian detention centres and European borders' movement, *Migration and Citizenship: Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement* ed. Peter Nyers and Kim Rygiel (Routledge, 2010). Here a larger discussion about the importance of understanding the stories and 'journeys' which exceed moments of particular border crossings which have a tendency to collapse migrant experiences within a paternalistic frame.

[82] As Anne McNevin has pointed out, where capital flows smoothly asylum seekers face a harsh edge that plays out not simply at the statist borderline but within dispersed sites Anne McNevin, Irregular Migrants Neoliberal Geographies and Spatial Frontiers of 'The Political,' *Review of International Studies* 33, no.4 2007). The group of asylum seekers who were originally involved in the *Mapping Project* are currently considering exhibiting their maps as part of a larger project connected with *Govan Together*. As this group, *Govan Together,* has stated: it aims to 'promote community resilience in Govan. Resilience is that ability to recover from knocks, to make more out of what we have, and to build strength through interdependence in the community and with the environment in which we live. In the first year of the project, the partners plan to grow new learning methods that empower people with a deeper understanding of their rights and responsibilities in a rapidly changing world. Govan Together will also support the growth of the community food-growing project in Elder Park. We hope to link up activities there with our new and existing learning and community events.' See: http://www.govanfolkuniversity.org/Govan_Together.html (accessed: June 12, 2012).

[83] Deleuze, G. 'Postscript on the Societies of Control,' in *October*, 59 (1992). 3-7.

[84] Henning Mankell, *Firewall* (London: Vintage 2008).

[85] This notion of 'tracking' is crucial to Barbara Cruikshank's critique of governmentality. She argues that the technologies to know and track those who are at risk (ie: poor, migrants) epitomize a society of control. See: Barbara Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press 1999).

[86] Nikolas Rose, The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government, *Economy and Society* 25, no., 3 (1996), 327-356.

[87] Also see: Susan Hogben 'Life's on Hold: Missing people, private calendars and waiting' *Time & Society*, 15 (2006) 327. Here the concept of personal calendars functions as a process of cutting across dominant narratives of 'missing people' used by police. As Hogben points out, these calendars in some ways undermine a statist desire to track missing people.

[88] Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: a practical handbook with inspiring examples* (Plug and Tap, 2009), 11

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

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

[91] Lewis Carroll, *The Hunting of the Snark* (Macmillan and Co., London, 1876).

Chapter 5: The Idealized City

The conceptual marriage between the sanctuary and the city is evident within the UK-based City of Sanctuary movement; this link is transparent not only in the title of the movement, but also in a wide array of sources it produces.[1] So too, in recent years sanctuary practices in Canada as well as in the US and Europe have emphasized an explicitly city-based approach to sanctuary.[2] Given the prominence of this linkage, in this chapter I want to show how a particular conception of 'the city' is often deployed. Here also I consider Derrida's *City of Refuge* and a recent United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR) report. I suggest that although these sources are different in very important ways, one element that connects them is the pervasive shaping of the sanctuary city as an 'ideal' in the past that we might recover or reinvent today.[3] In different ways, these materials frame the sanctuary city as an order that may refuse the authority of the state to define conditions of political membership. The city is articulated as offering a less conditional welcome and is said to enable 'immediate responses' to the violences that emerge in everyday life.[4] The city is a hopeful platform for it does not impose the restrictive conditions determined by states. Here, we are encouraged to consider the city, in part, because it is an ordering that is prior and challenging to the exclusionary logic attached to state sovereignty.

I demonstrate how this vision for the re-emergence of the sanctuary city is founded on a troublingly narrow and misleading historical portrait.[5] This fairly uncontested historical picture evades the way the sanctuary city has often been a practice that situates the seeker as one who must: prove his worthiness, depend on the charity of others, and wait. I suggest the idealized portrait of the ancient sanctuary city presents an amnesia with regards to how this may be a practice imbued in its own set of asymmetrical power relations, particularly epitomized by the ritual of supplication. This ideal is deeply misleading. I show how it represents a promise that can serve to obscure the way the sanctuary city can ease the serious problems experienced whilst one waits for this dream to come

true. This promise eschews how the sanctuary city functions, in many contexts, as a ritual of supplication.

Now, up until this point I have framed supplication in a fairly static way: it is a ritual that situates the seeker as a spectacle to be saved. Supplication, as I have set it out thus far, implies a hierarchical relationship that situates the 'seeker' as one who must wait – often indefinitely.

Whilst the hierarchical power relations implied in this ritual of supplication are revealing, it seems that many of the grounded practices of sanctuary explored thus far have tugged at and complicated this practice of supplication. For instance, *The Roundabout* suggests that even as sanctuary implies a dependency and waiting this is also actively being challenged. The actors in this 'performance' demonstrate how even whilst laying claim to sanctuary, and the supplicatory rituals and relations this implies, the position of the seeker (and even the actor) is often being subverted. The people involved in these activities refused to just take it easy. They refused to simply cling to hope in a future yet to come; rather, they revealed the problem of such a politics of ease through political discussion and debate. Considering these various threads of dependency, deferral and debate together raises a deeper question about the practice of supplication animating this thesis. Is supplication best understood as simply producing abjection, or should we also understand this as a more dynamic relationship and practice? Wielding the vestiges of sanctuary, said to have 'survived' and continued from ancient times until today, seems to hold a persuasive power.[6] In this chapter I explore another piece of theatre: *The Suppliants* (Aeschylus), a Greek play often evoked to demonstrate the ritual of supplication.[7] Repeatedly this has been analyzed as a story of passivity where the female suppliants flee, wait on baited breath, and ultimately depend on the protection of their male provider. However, in reading this influential play, I was surprised to find a very rich set of practices that cannot be reduced to this desperate portrayal. This chapter draws out the practices rife with political maneuvering, voice, and even dance evident in this play but which, I contend, have

been overlooked in exploration of the ritual of supplication. I illustrate how the positionality of the suppliant as one who is supposedly passive creatively subverted in various ways. And, perhaps most significantly, I show how the suppliants challenge the notion of sanctuary as a practice of waiting with only hope; rather, they enact it as an urgent activity demanding imminent attention.

In this chapter I thus question the way in which the City of Sanctuary is being deployed as an ideal from the past, which offers hope for the future. I ask: what if we paid attention instead to these minor practices that maneuver in the shadows of such ideals that are both working within and against these persistent rituals of supplication?

The City Solution

A recent article written by Christine Goodall, and commissioned by UNHCR, paints a familiarly bleak portrait of asylum in the UK. A drastic environment of unease is said to govern asylum seekers:

> 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.[8]

Reminiscent of Bigo's analysis of migration regimes in the UK and Europe, Goodall suggests 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.[9] Quoting the Independent Asylum Commission's survey completed in 2008, Goodall's bleak tone shifts to a more hopeful one. 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.'[10]

What is interesting here is the way in which this term sanctuary functions as a beacon of possibility, offering an alternative approach to migration; simply changing our usage of the term 'asylum' to 'sanctuary' supposedly creates a more sympathetic attitude towards asylum seekers and refugees. Goodall suggests that whilst asylum aligns with 'the state' and the control of national borders, sanctuary is an appeal to an 'age-old' universal order which 'stand[s] outside the realm of the state, transcend[s] national boundaries.'[11] There is an assertion that sanctuary 'occupies a moral, conceptual and existential space, separate and apart from the nation state.'[12]

Goodall goes on to emphasize that if sanctuary is going to be truly effective in promoting a more welcoming approach we need to think about it not only in relation to contained sites, such as a church, but in relation to 'the city.'[13] This claim is echoed in the City of Sanctuary movement, whereby the city is posed as an opportune environment for a nurturing type of sanctuary that is place-based but not place-bound.[14] Although sanctuary was once delineated to physical religious sites Goodall asks: 'but what about sanctuary outside this literal church based context of physical refuge?' Learning from experiences in the past where individual churches risked prosecution, she suggests that it is vital that 'that there should be broad support from the wider community outside the church congregation.'[15]

The value in linking sanctuary with the city is tied to Goodall's larger argument about the importance of cities as a place for thinking about political action today. She suggests cities represent increasingly vital sites that demand political attention.[16] Looking at cities, and co-operation and networks between cities, can provide us with solutions, particularly with regards to promoting diversity and hospitality.[17] She explores a variety of examples that she argues illuminate the eminence of the city in this respect. Her two central exemplars are Eurocities: a partnership in Europe, with a

membership of 140 cities in 30 European countries founded in 1986 by the mayors of Barcelona, Birmingham, Lyons, Frankfurt, Milan and Rotterdam. The group, she explains, has a particular programme and series of conferences on the theme of immigrant integration, jointly facilitated by the European Commission. The other related project she emphasizes is DIVE (Diversity and equality in European cities), which seeks to benchmark diversity and equality policies in cities and provide a framework for peer review by other cities.[18]

Goodall, goes on to suggest that the city is an especially vital register to consider questions regarding migration given that approximately 3.3 billion people live in cities, and an estimated 5 million of these will be refugees.[19] She refers to Greg Clark who contends that in a globalized world, cities have become 'the junction boxes for international interactions at the local level.'[20] Cities, according to Clark, are 'the territorial and experiential texture for half the global population.'[21] They are a place where 'strangers' have always come together, amid 'continuous contestations of who belongs and to whom the city belongs.'[22] This too is reminiscent of the City of Sanctuary's literature that evokes a notion of proximate diversity: that it is through the proximity to diverse experiences that a more open relationality is possible. 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.'[23]

Given this context Goodall suggests that the city is a diverse and interactive site, and is a prime locale through which to think about challenging the hostile, criminalizing technologies she associates with a statist logic. She contends, cities 'have a prime responsibility in effective responses to immigrants' and their relationship with local communities.[24] 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.[25]

There is evidence, Goodall suggest, that this responsibility is actively being taken up in a transcontinental sanctuary city movement. She draws examples from Europe (specifically Great Britain), North America (including the United States and Canada) and South America. One of the most significant and inspiring examples, she argues, is the City of Sanctuary movement in the UK.[26] She describes this as a truly 'grassroots' movement which, since its inception, 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 programmes of large third sector organizations.'[27] Important to note at this stage is her description of the City of Sanctuary movement and the way the city is conceived as an incubator for welcome, challenging a punitive statist immigration system. Unlike a statist immigration system that restricts entry and promotes hostility, the city seems to emerge as a complex place where diversity may flourish. Again this echoes the National City of Sanctuary Annual 2011 Meeting I attended where the city is posed as a central tool for change:

> 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.[28]

I suggest that in this persuasive framing, the city as a site of sanctuary operates as a type of 'governmentality.' As Foucault describes, governmentality may be understood as 'the various ways and means by which a populations conduct is directed, governed and controlled: '[t]o govern, in this sense, is to control the field of action of others.'[29] That is governmentality can operate with the specific aim of *producing* community, such that the space and its population can be better and more efficiently managed. This is also reflected in Nikolas Rose's *The Death of the Social* where a shift is

marked away from coercive methods of governing at large to more precise modes of managing

citizens through their own individual choice and freedoms. As Rose points out, through this shift we

have not escaped control, we have not escaped 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 are put to work to produce what Rose calls

'government through community'.[30] Randy Lippert has suggested that we can understand this

strategy in relation to refugee practices in Canada, evidenced by the Immigration Act of 1976 which

was noted to 'break new ground.'[31] This Act was considered transformative as it 'required

cooperation between all levels of government and the voluntary sector in the settlement of

immigrants in Canadian society.'[32] The basis of this new Immigration Act was premised upon the

language of active inclusion of Canadian citizens. Indeed, 50 public hearings in 21 cities across

Canada took place in the creation of this Act and as such, citizens were posed as stakeholders and

active participants in a system that was becoming over-burdened and difficult to manage from on

high. What is important to highlight about this process, which may be understood as a

democratization of determination, is that this downloaded a governance of migrants. 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.'[33] Scholars, such as Dan Bulley, have also carefully drawn out the

ways in which the UNHCR functions as a governmentalizing process.[34] What Goodall fails to

consider in her portrait of the city, as will be explored later in this chapter, is that sanctuary can be read as a governmental practice that implies both hostile and welcoming attitudes.

Re-inventing the City of Refuge

This view of the city as a site for a more welcoming approach is, perhaps more surprisingly, also evident in Derrida's renowned essay, *On Cosmopolitanism*. I say surprisingly because whilst 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 entrench a politics of deferral.

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.[35] He spoke at a time when the discourse of 'failed states' began to take hold, a frame which many have since pointed out is embedded in an neo-colonial imagination. In this frame, states such as Somalia require saving whilst others, such as the US, are cast as leading agenda-setting actors said to promote the aspirations of democracy, human rights, and the active role of the United Nations in safeguarding collective security.[36] 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 – a notion which Derrida approaches with suspicion. In particular, this essay is an address to the International Parliament of Writers in Strasbourg in 1996, on the subject of rights for the exiled, asylum-seekers, refugees, immigrants: the other.[37] 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

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question of 'open cities' (*vile franches*) where 'migrants may seek sanctuary from the pressures of persecution, intimidation and exile.'[38]

He unfolds 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.[39] He points to states rejecting 'applications for the right to asylum more than ever.'[40] He draws critical attention towards the ever-invasive state 'border police' who are without limit and insidious.[41] This police, he reflects, have became omnipresent in the 'so-called civilized states.'[42] With the advancements of new technologies this police becomes more violent, as it is increasingly 'faceless' and 'formless,' beyond all accountability.[43] In this account, we experience an intensely hostile hospitality where it is clearly not the case that 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.

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. Derrida is clear that we need to deeply question the conditional forms of hospitality that are too 'dependent on state sovereignty.'[44] Hospitality that is 'dependent on and controlled by the law and the state police' begs critical attention.[45]

In this work Derrida locates the emergence of state sovereignty in a particular 'moment,' or a '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 piece state sovereignty is shaped as a condition that plays a key role in restricting hospitality, especially with regards to the right of residence.[46] 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. This one was perhaps slightly more open. And today, he suggests, as we 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.'[47] This was a right of the cities, an 'urban right to immunity and hospitality.'[48] 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.'[49] 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.'[50]

Derrida goes on to describe the second, Medieval, tradition. Here again there is tendency in this particular piece to elevate the practices of refuge evident during this time which were, according to Derrida, ruled by a 'certain sovereignty of the city.'[51] 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.'[52] They shielded 'all those in pursuit.'[53] Exemplifying this process Derrida evokes the story of Dante who was banished from Florence and graciously 'welcomed' into sanctuary.[54] 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 re-consider.

So, 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. Derrida is committed to 'reviving the traditional meaning of an expression and in restoring a memorable heritage to its former dignity.'[55] Gazing back, which he does suggest is never a complete moment of returning but rather always an active process of representing, to these cities of refuge we might be able to imagine a city as 'independent from the state as possible.'[56] 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.[57]

Here it is important to note how Derrida suggests this is not an escape from the state, but a 'reorientation.'[58] In this respect his work is quite distinct from Goodall who seems to suggest that by moving towards sanctuary, enacted through cities and civil society, we may evade violent statist logics.[59] Nevertheless, he does suggest that we 'look to the city, rather than to the state.'[60] He asks: 'could the City, equipped with new rights and greater sovereignty, open up new possibility previously undreamt of by international state law?'[61] He asks: 'could the city elevate itself above nation-states or at least itself 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?'[62]

According to Derrida these cities of refuge are sites for diligence, justice. They are sites of daily life from which we *'cannot wait,'* they elicit an urgent response, 'a just response…an immediate response to crime, to violence, and to persecution.'[63] In this age of both 'faceless' and 'formless' technologies, beyond all accountability, the city offers a more face-to-face politics. In a sense, what

makes the city a vibrant site through which to think of these practices is that it offers a site for encounter. However, unlike the UNHCR report, this encounter is theorized as a rich practice that encompasses complexity and even hostility. Hospitality, Derrida suggests, is never so far from hostility; indeed, because it is never absolute the hostility of conditions and questions are installed in hospitality. In other words: 'ethical and responsible hospitality is always already an unethical and irresponsible hostility.'[64] Derrida urges us to continually think through this undecidable quality of hospitality.[65] Whereas the UNHCR piece uncritically positions the city as a site through which sanctuary practices may function as a governmentalizing 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 governmentalizing 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 one of the poignant problems Hannah Arendt posed: that when one becomes faceless, and nameless any atrocity is possible.[66] When we condition hospitality according to the abstract laws of state sovereignty for instance, we can only expect violence. We are incited thus 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 is framed as appealing; it challenges this mode of 'police [which have become] omnipresent and spectral in the so-called civilized states.'[67] The city of refuge, reminiscent again of Arendt's notion of political life as a sort of creative activity, creates possibilities for political action.[68] As such, he asserts, 'let us not hesitate to declare our plea is for what we have decided to call the 'city of refuge.'[69]

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It is important to note that whilst Derrida urges us to revive this pre-secular role of the city as a site for refuge, his conception of revival is far 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 suggest it is not about going back to the 'original' term, but recognizing that such a deployment is always an active process.[70] 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.[71]

He suggests that this concept of the city of refuge needs to be mobilized creatively. Indeed, for Derrida: 'invention is our task.'[72] That is to say, we need to invent a new city taking inspiration from these Hebraic and Medieval traditions. 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?'[73] According to Derrida this is a continual question. This language of invention is also evident in the City of Sanctuary 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.[74] Whilst 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 employ 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 as prior to the restrictions associated with state sovereignty. In so doing, I think 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 City of Sanctuary 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 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.

Why should we care about such an inventive history that Derrida weaves? In a sense, it would seem that the city of refuge he evokes is a sort of thought experiment that we take inspiration from, rather than a literal historical reference. The problem, as I see it, is that this 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 argues is a sort of eschatological hospitality, she asks: 'why do we need to evoke the…ideal city?'[75] As with UNHCR report and in the City of Sanctuary movement, there is an appeal for a shift away from statist sovereignty, and thus a dream for a more welcoming politics located in our past.

Our task, it seems to me, is to understand the complexity imminent to these practices: the violences and subversions.[76] As Derrida suggests himself at the end of his address, these questions of refuge and sanctuary 'remain obscure and difficult' and we must not turn away from this, imagining that we have 'mastered them.'[77] 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 City of Sanctuary materials all appeal to the city as a meaningful site for refuge. Where the UNHCR's report and the City of Sanctuary 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 Cities of Sanctuary appeals have a tendency towards a more governmentalizing process that in many ways overcodes 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 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.'[78] A similar framing is also evident in the City of Sanctuary pamphlet that states: 'six contained Cities of Refuge/Sanctuary were established...[the 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.'[79] 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.'[1] 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 dwlleth 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.[80]

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.'[81] Whilst 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.'[82] 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.'[83] 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.'[84] 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 brief 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 used, the name of the victim etc).[85] 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.[86] 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.[87] 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.[88] 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.'[89] 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.'[90] 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.[91] 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.'[92] 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.'[93] 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.'[94] 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.'[95] In particular Aeschylus' famous play, *The Suppliants* (also known as *Hiketides*) is widely

sourced.[96] Price's work, Re-thinking Asylum describes The Suppliants as the story where group of women (the Danaids) are 'fleeing' forced marriage to their cousins. Price has describes 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).[97]

In this reading Price emphasizes how the women are posed as 'lost property.'[98] In this reading the suppliants are reduced to abject victims, those who flee and seek. The authorities are 'skeptical' of the claimants, interrogating whether they are truly deserving of being granted asylum.[99] 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).'[100] 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.[101] 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.'[102] Holding onto an idol was also considered an essential component of this process, as it dramatized the plea made by the suppliant 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 suppliant 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.[103] One could not 'act in such a manner as to bring danger and instability into the host community.'[104]

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 of complexity that is foreclosed in this portrait of supplication. The depictions of supplication outlined above do seem to suggest a fairly static relationship of dependency where the seeker is reduced to a passive victim waiting for protection. It seems that this story might require another, deeper look.

The Politics of Supplication?

In re-thinking this ritual of supplication I turn attention to this aforementioned play, *The Suppliants*. As suggested above, this play 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. Supposedly this is a story where the female suppliant is aligned with passivity, relying on nothing but hope. In the following section I explore this play not as a piece of data or evidence that offers us a truth about the real relationship of supplication. Nor do I attempt to offer a more accurate interpretation, as indeed any read of this play is just that – an interpretation. 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 suppliants based on ancient Greek roots. The following section engages with this text to dig deeper into this particular story and in so doing, calls into question this invocation.

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:

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'by our own action.'[105] They refer to themselves as 'proudly claiming descent from…the gadfly-maddened heifer.'[106] The ownership of their 'proud' claim in these opening lines already begins to troubles the ubiquitous image of the supplicant as 'humble.[107]

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 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.'[108] Io, like the tormenting gadfly that provokes her, is often likened to the stinging creature.'[109] 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.[110]

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.[111] Indeed, we do see evidence of this in the play where the suppliants refer to themselves as a 'flock in its misery.'[112] 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.'[113] 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'.[114] 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.[115]

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.'[116] They 'wail out,' no: 'secure my rights, respect your suppliants!'[117] They refuse to become victim to a supplicatory process that requires them to merely wait for protection. They claim, 'we must protect ourselves *speedily*.'[118] In the face of a threatening deferral, the women demand 'deeds as well as words' and thus threaten to 'hang [them]selves instantly from these gods' if they are not heard.[119] 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.'[120] Here it is vital to note that whilst 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.[121] Yet, here, it is the suppliant forces 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.'[122] Undoubtedly the suppliants are complex characters: not 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!'[123] Whilst 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.'[124] 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.'[125]

Whilst 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 their assertions. One such technique that emerges in this play is that of a deferral. The gadfly is encouraged to hush; you must 'wait patiently' and wait for the 'promise' to come to fruition.[126] 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!'[127] While at moments employing a passive role, which often subverts passivity, they ultimately scream: 'No! Hear well, and see what is right.'[128] 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, that 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 open up 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.

Conclusion

Create the opposite dream: know how to create a becoming-minor. — Gilles Deleuze[129]

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 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 City of Sanctuary literature, where the exclusionary logic of asylum is linked with the state whilst the city is posed as a more welcoming and 'sympathetic' site.[130] 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 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

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unknown. It is here in this free city that justice 'cannot wait.'[131] 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. 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.

Whilst the sanctuary city may be celebrated as a dream, it is in shadows of this ideal that I have been most struck and incited to explore more deeply. For instance during *The Roundabout*, when a group of asylum seekers revealed the often hollow visions of sanctuary. 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 too often an invitation to wait.[132] 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, pointing 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 deferral in our welcoming City of Sanctuary. 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] In earlier chapters I have explored how a 'relational' account of the city has functioned to indicate a progressive narrative (we have moved from fixed spatially contained sanctuary to more 'open' approaches). This chapter builds on this, focusing in particular how a claim to the city as an order that challenges state sovereignty and the violent relations it implies has been shaped.

[2] Some have referred to the sanctuary movement in the United States in terms of 'waves.' The first being a predominantly church-based movement, where doors were opened to draft resisters who were defying to serve in Vietnam War. The second a Sanctuary Movement for Central American refugees in the 1980s and the third is the recently launched 'New Sanctuary Movement' which is working to prevent the deportation of people with families in the United States. The latter two movements, since the 1980s, have been identified as increasing 'open' city-based approach aimed to prevent deportation. See: Linda Rabben, *Give Refuge to the Stranger: The Past, Present and Future of Sanctuary* (US: Left Coast Press, 2001). As suggested in the Introduction of this thesis a similar trajectory has been indicated in relation to sanctuary practices in Canada. An important thread that connects these different mobilizations is that ancient religious traditions of sanctuary have been employed to support their work.

[3] Christine Goodall. *Sanctuary and Solidarity – Urban Community Responses to Refugees and Asylum Seekers on Three Continents* (UNHCR: Sept 2011).

[4] Jacques Derrida, On Cosmopolitanism in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. Trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001).

[5] Linda Rabben, *Give Refuge to the Stranger: The Past, Present and Future of Sanctuary* (US: Left Coast Press, 2001).

[6] This claim to continuity, I have suggested, is epitomized through the *City of Sanctuary* movement. If one is to dig below the surface we are often led to believe that the sacred stream of sanctuary that diverts the flow of violence facing asylum seekers today may be uncovered. In particular, it would seem that sanctuary offers alternatives to a burgeoning politics of unease that constitutes particular categories of migrants as a threat to be deterred

[7] 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.

[8] Christine Goodall. *Sanctuary and Solidarity – Urban Community Responses to Refugees and Asylum Seekers on Three Continents* (UNHCR: Sept 2011), 9.

[9] Ibid, 1-10.

[10] Ibid, 2

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid, 33.

[13] Ibid, 33.

[14] Ibid. Also See National City of Sanctuary AGM. Nottingham, United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.

[15] Christine Goodall. *Sanctuary and Solidarity – Urban Community Responses to Refugees and Asylum Seekers on Three Continents* (UNHCR: Sept 2011), 33.

[16] 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 and Amin and Graham, 2008); Ash Amin and Stephen Graham, *The Ordinary City, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22, no.,4 (1997).

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid. Also see: www.eurocities.eu (accessed: May 12, 2012).

[19] Ibid.

[20] Greg Clark, *Towards Open Cities* (The British Council, 2008), 14.

[21] Ibid.

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

[23] Ibid.

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

[25] Ibid, 3.

[26] Goodall positions the City of Sanctuary movement in the UK in opposition to other practices of sanctuary in cities 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.

[27] Ibid, 15.

[28] Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: a practical handbook with inspiring examples* (Plug and Tap, 2009), 11.

[29] Foucault, Michel, Subject and Power, *Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984* vol. 3, ed. Paul Rabinow (London: Penguin Books, 2002) 341. Also see: Dean, Mitchell, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*, (London: Sage, 2010). See the following for an in-depth discussion of how 'the state' is read less as a coherent thing but diffuse governmentalizing processes. Nick Gill, New state-theoretical approaches to asylum and refugee geographies, *Progress in Human Geography* 34 (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, 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.'

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

[31] Randy Lippert, *Sanctuary Soverengty and Sacrifice: Canadian Sanctuary Incidents, Power and Law*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005).

[32] Ibid.

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

[34] See Dan Bully, *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.

[35] Jacques Derrida, On Cosmopolitanism in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. Trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 3.

[36] The term 'failed states' is highly debated because of the neo-colonial notion attached to it. See: bit.ly/R6s5St (accessed June 12, 2012). Also see: Roxanne Lynn Doty, *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations*, Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1996, 10. Here Doty suggests that the discourse of the 'failing state' operates as a privileged discursive point, or master signifier, that establishes the oppositions that make meaning possible and fix it there.

[37] Jacques Derrida, On Cosmopolitanism in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. Trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), viii.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid, 13.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid, 14.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid, 20-23

[45] 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).'

[46] Jacques Derrida, On Cosmopolitanism in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. Trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 17.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

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

[51] Jacques Derrida, On Cosmopolitanism in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. Trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 5-21.

[52] Ibid, 18

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid, 5.

[57] Ibid, 4.

[58] Ibid, 5.

[59] 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.

[60] Jacques Derrida, On Cosmopolitanism in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. Trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 6.

[61] Ibid, 8.

[62] Ibid, 9-12.

[63] Ibid, 23.

[64] Dan Bulley, *Ethics as Foreign Policy: Britian, the EU and the Other*. Routledge, 2009.

[65] 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. Whilst exposing the fundamental im-possibility of achieving this promise, Derrida does not give an excuse or justification for its abandonment. See: Dan Bulley, *Ethics as Foreign Policy: Britian, the EU and the Other.* Routledge, 2009.

[66] 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.'

[67] Ibid, 14.

[68] Ibid, 12.

[69] Ibid, 3-23.

[70] Ibid, 5.

[71] Ibid, 8.

[72] Ibid, 4.

[73] Ibid, 5.

[74] Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: a practical handbook with inspiring examples* (Plug and Tap, 2009), 11.

[75] Oona Eisenstadt, 'The Problem of the Promise: Derrida on Levinas on the Cities of Refuge,' *Cross Currents*, 2003.

[76] This builds upon work being done on sanctuary that aims to theorize this as a more complex practice that does not exceed state sovereignty, but rather is implicated within statist logics in various ways. See: Vicki Squire, From Community Cohesion to Mobile Solidarities: The City of Sanctuary *network and the* Strangers into Citizenship *campaign' Political Studies*, 2010; Vicki Squire and Jonathon Darling, "Enacting Rightful Presence: Justice and relationality in City of Sanctuary" forthcoming in *International Political Sociology*, 7(1); Also see Vicki Squire and Jennifer Bagelman, 'Taking not waiting: space, temporality and politics in the City of Sanctuary movement,' *Migration and Citizenship: Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement*, ed. Peter Nyers and Kim Rygiel (Routledge, 2010) which draws out a more complex reading of the 'pastoral' relations implied in sanctuary practices.

[77] Jacques Derrida, On Cosmopolitanism in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness.* Trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 17.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Craig Barnett and Inderjit Bhogal, *Becoming a City of Sanctuary: a practical handbook with inspiring examples* (Plug and Tap, 2009).

[80] 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).

[81] Leviticus 19: 33-34

[82] Sean Rehaag, 'Bordering on Legality: Canadian Church Sanctuary and the Rule of Law' in *Refuge 26*, no. 1 (2009), 3.

[83] Numbers 35: 10-14.

[84] Sean Rehaag, 'Bordering on Legality: Canadian Church Sanctuary and the Rule of Law' in *Refuge 26*, no. 1 (2009), 4

[85] 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).

[86] Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th Ed. Vol XXIV. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1910), 129.

[87] Douglas Smith, *The Story of Sanctuary at Durham.* (United Kingdom, Northern History Booklets, 1977) 13.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Rob Schumacher 'Three Related Sanctuaries of Poseidon: Geraistos, Kalaureia and Tainaron' in *Greek Sanctuaries New Approaches.* ed. Marinatos and Haag (Routledge: New York, 1995).

[90] Ibid

[91] Ian Rutherford. *Pilgrimage Graeco-Roman & Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 6.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Kent Rigsby, *Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World, University of California Press,* 1996.

[95] Matthew Price, *Rethinking Asylum: History, Purpose and Limits* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009), 27.

[96] Ibid, 28-30.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid, 29.

[102] 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

[103] Christopher Mitchell and L. Hancock 'Local Zones of Peace and a Theory of Sanctuary' in Zones of Peace (USA: Kumarian Press, 2007), 10.

[104] Ibid.

[105] *Aescylus Persians and Other Plays*, trans. Christopher Collard. (New York: Oxford University Press: 2008), Line 8.

[106] Ibid, lines, 525-591

[107] Ibid, lines, 550

[108] Ibid, lines, 555-591

[109] Ibid, lines, 550-580

[110] Ibid, lines, 570

[111] Matthew Price, *Rethinking Asylum: History, Purpose and Limits* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009), 27.

[112] *Aescylus Persians and Other Plays*, trans. Christopher Collard. (New York: Oxford University Press: 2008), Lines, 643

[113] Ibid, lines, 535-555

[114] Ibid, lines, 175d-180

[115] Ibid, lines, 220-230

[116] Ibid, lines, 365-375

[117] Ibid, lines, 90

[118] Ibid, lines, 760-765

[119] Ibid, lines, 500-520

[120] Ibid, lines, 460-470

[121] Ian Rutherford. *Pilgrimage Graeco-Roman & Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 6.

[122] *Aescylus Persians and Other Plays*, trans. Christopher Collard (New York: Oxford University Press: 2008,) xli.

[123] Ibid, lines 900-965

[124] Ibid, lines, 355-375

[125] Plato, 'Socrates' Defense (Apology)' trans. Hugh Tredennick in *Plato: The Collected Dialogues* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961).

[126] *Aescylus Persians and Other Plays*, trans. Christopher Collard. (New York: Oxford University Press: 2008), Lines 330-380

[127] Ibid, lines 110-120

[128] Ibid, lines 75-80 and 885

[129] Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guattari. *Kafka: Pour une literature mineure*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit. 1975

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

[131] Jacques Derrida, On Cosmopolitanism in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. Trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 23

[132] This builds upon the concept of 'taking' rather than 'waiting' which is explored in the following: Vicki Squire and Bagelman, Jennifer. 'Taking not waiting: space, temporality and politics in the City of Sanctuary movement,' *Migration and Citizenship: Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement,* ed. Peter Nyers and Kim Rygiel (Routledge, 2010). In particular, this thesis explores how the ritual of supplication (often seen as antithetical to a political relation) may also imply possibilities for such a politics of 'taking' that is distinguished from the expectations of charity that one must 'take and take and take.'

Chapter 6: Still Waiting: Security, *Temporality*, Population

Stepping across the threshold into St. Gabriel's Church in Montréal I caught a glimpse of the complicated welcome this sanctuary space offered. For my host Kader Belaouni, who became a guest here for 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 both protection and imprisonment. Whilst serving as an important tool to resist immediate deportation, the limitations of this practice were also close to the surface. As Kader reflected, this exceptional spectacle may assist his 'case'; however, countless others remain faceless, beyond the pale of such protection. And for those who are able to take sanctuary, Kader pointed out, many voluntarily leave suggesting that the safety sanctuary offers can ultimately feel like an intolerable trap.[1] For Kader, and for many supporting him, this sanctuary space is understood as a highly restrictive 'last resort.'[2]

In witnessing these paradoxes I became quite compelled by a different formulation: sanctuary as a city-based practice. Unlike this contained sanctuary understood as a last resort, city-based sanctuaries seem to offer ongoing support. This practice appears to extend a welcome beyond a confined space and restricted time. It purports to offer a sustainable, indefinite, if not unconditional, kind of support to migrants facing exclusion.[3] In this respect, the UK's City of Sanctuary vision particularly attracted my attention.

Drawn into the possibilities of this practice I attended various City of Sanctuary meetings, explored a myriad of literature (from official publications to pamphlets, art exhibits to websites) and was given the opportunity to speak with participants across the UK involved in this movement. In so doing, I became especially interested to learn more about Glasgow's City of Sanctuary. This city hosts the largest demographic of asylum seekers in the country. Like many cities in the UK, Glasgow has become known for its hostile reception of refugees and asylum seekers.[4] And, also like many cities in the UK Glasgow became a City of Sanctuary in an attempt shift such hostile attitudes by

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evoking the positive vision of sanctuary.[5] This vision, as I show in Chapter Two, gains power not

only through a hope for the future but also through an evocative appeal to a romanticized past. The

term sanctuary evokes a proud history that seems only natural to revive.

Although the City of Sanctuary aims to revive this ancient practice, it also is posed as 'adding

to it.'[6] In particular, this movement tends to be deployed as an open alternative to the enclosed

church sanctuaries often framed as part of sanctuary's ancient and original roots. Images of stone

church doors, heavy church knockers and the Greek temenos (a place cut off) circulate in such a

way so as to elucidate how sanctuary traditionally embodies a spatially contained practice. The City

of Sanctuary, it would appear, has progressed beyond these physically contained sites. Instead, the

City of Sanctuary functions as a network of practices focused on normalizing the presence of

refugees and asylum seekers. As the Coordinator of the UK movement states, 'it is not enough for

our churches to be sanctuaries, we need *our whole cities* to become sanctuaries.'[7] Here 'the city' is

posited as an idealized site through which sanctuary may extend a universal hospitality. As I

demonstrate, this is evident in a variety of sanctuary literature as well as sources commissioned by

international organizations such as UNHCR. As a city-based approach, a more welcoming politics is

supposedly opened up in such a way that is not conditional upon the prison-like ethic experienced in

contained church sanctuary. The City of Sanctuary aims to create a wider welcome: one that offers

productive opportunities for migrants to engage in cities regardless of legal status; one that shifts

attitudes of hostility towards attitudes of hospitality. It is a fluid and diffuse assemblage of practices

that works to shift relations at a systemic level. The City of Sanctuary, we are told, creates sanctuary

as a flexible, enduring and 'durable' process with no immediate end to its hospitality.[8] Perhaps most

significantly, this movement is framed as a challenge to a hostile asylum regime often associated with

'the state.'[9] Rather than a secular asylum regime, the City of Sanctuary 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.[10]

This is also summed up in Rabben's account of sanctuary, as a practice that she contends is quite distinct from a contemporary asylum regime that she aligns with the state:

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

Here Rabben explicitly draws up a dichotomized picture, where '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.'[11] As this thesis has shown whilst this framing is quite explicit here, such an account of sanctuary lurks widely in subtler tones. For instance, the particular history invoked in the City of Sanctuary cements the following notion: the city and sanctuary represent a kind of ideal practice in the past which is prior to a hostile, exclusionary form of asylum associated with a statist politics. Resurrecting the moral authority of sanctuary in terms of a city-based practice, there is an assumption that we might escape the state and the violences it implies.

However, throughout this thesis a more complex portrait of how the City of Sanctuary functions developed. The City of Sanctuary, I suggest, should not be understood as opposed to the state; rather, it is better understood as a site through which the state is produced. The City of Sanctuary is not opposed to government but instead operates as a kind of governmentality, or 'art of government.' This relationship is implied in the title of this thesis: *City of Sanctuary: A State of Deferral.*

The City of Sanctuary is not escaping the state but rather it is a site through which a dangerous governmentalizing state of deferral is being produced.

Foucault's sequence of lectures, entitled *Security, Territory, Population* and given at the Collège de France between 1976 and 1979, provides the most nuanced account of this notion of the art of government. [12] Here Foucault offers us no direct theory of the state. Rather, as Magnusson has suggested, he thinks any such theory would suggest that the 'state has some sort of eternal essence that persists across space and time.'[13] Significantly Foucault provides us some distance from the usual tropes about 'the state' as a thing that simply exhibits sovereignty. Foucault gives us breathing room to consider this notion of the state more as a process, and this process – he suggests – is connected with various kinds of ruling: sovereignty, discipline and *government*. I italicize government here because it is this type of ruling which Foucault specifically draws our attention towards in this lecture series. He believes that our age, the modern age, is characterized by 'the governmentalization of the state.'[14] This is a vital change, one we are likely to overlook if we approach the state as if sovereignty were its most defining feature.[15] This governmentality is not a power that operates from on high, authorizing right/wrong or dispensing punishment. Rather, it operates through a language of interest, and freedom. Governmentality functions by incorporating, integrating, and assimilating. In this sense, then, this type of government governs best by governing least. In other words, this form of power encourages the governed to use their own freedom to help themselves as constantly aspiring subjects. In many respects it is a power geared towards constant betterment. In relation to the question of security (which is of course the first word entitling his lecture series) we need to understand how this 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' as such.[16] If we are to understand how security operates, we need to understand the seemingly gentle governmentalizing processes through which subjects are constituted.

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How does this concept of governmentality really help us understand the City of Sanctuary? As the genealogical-ethnographic investigations have shown in this thesis, the answer is: quite a bit. Exploring Glasgow's City of Sanctuary in-depth I suggest that we find that this movement is securing certain ways of life through a seemingly innocuous form of governmentality. I show how a sanctuary discourse encourages the refugee and asylum seeker to become a subject aspiring to become a good citizen, even whilst one is put on hold and endlessly deferred. Let me summarize this now in more detail.

A Durable Solution Extending Deferral

In meeting many refugees and asylum seekers in the UK, it became evident that the problem of being forced to wait for an indefinite length of time is a serious concern. In many ways sanctuary support is understood as a remedy or relief to this problem of waiting; however, what struck me was the way in which this indefinite sanctuary support can actually inadvertently serve to extend and elongate this problem.

As my research shows, the City of Sanctuary's sustainable support in many contexts can function to sustain the durability of liminality: the experience of being caught in-between. For instance, as the City of Sanctuary celebrates a vision of inclusivity and welcome, the problems of waiting in this limbo risks becoming re-packaged or evanescent. As various techniques for refugees and asylum seekers are promoted as a means to mediate the waiting state, this chronic problem of deferral is rendered intractable.

This problem is exemplified in a story that a City of Sanctuary delegate shared with me. The delegate from the city of Wakefield explained that over the past three years he has been working closely with a failed asylum seeker: providing mental, emotional and monetary support to her. Over time, he explained, 'our City of Sanctuary group has shown her that it is in her best interest to depend on us so that she can think about other things.'[17] He explained that now she happily comes

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to a drop-in centre every week where provisions are allocated. He claims that this 'allows us to maintain a continual relationship.' He suggested that:

> 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 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.[18]

This articulation is striking to me in part because of its familiarity. Many versions of this story, from various perspectives have been shared in this thesis. This particular rendition reveals, in a concrete way, how sanctuary can function as a tool that sustains a relationship of dependency and enforces assimilation.[19] Here sanctuary seems to be a technology that is governing through incorporation. 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). This is achieved in large part through a sanctuary discourse that produces a certain relationship to prolonged waiting as tolerable, and even necessary. The subject in waiting (who, like Amid, wishes to scream: 'I have been here too long waiting!') is encouraged to make good use of his time. One is encouraged to accept this waiting state. One is induced to approach this waiting as part of a progress story, an ultimate journey towards full citizenship perhaps, or towards greater cultural integration. This process is particularly evident in Rotter's analysis that frames sanctuary practices in Glasgow as offering a host of opportunities for people whilst they wait. Rotter conceptualizes waiting as a 'consequential phase in the quest for protection, hope and security.'[20] Despite the serious struggles that many asylum seekers face as they wait, she frames this in productive and positive terms. 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.[21]

For Rotter sanctuary is a key process through which waiting is, thankfully, eased. It is through welcoming sanctuary practices that the waiting state becomes a productive state enabling one to enhance their social ties, and future opportunities. Here, a governmentalizing 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 deferral, the roundabout.

A Question of Temporality

What this thesis has revealed is that this governmentalizing process of sanctuary is particularly important to consider in relation to *temporality*. Whilst there may be a tendency to see sanctuary as first and foremost a territorial practice I have shown that it is only by understanding the temporal dimensions that we can fully grasp how it is functioning as an effective technology of government. I am certainly not the first to suggest a need for deeper explorations temporal dimensions in relation to asylum. Cwerner, for instance, makes an excellent case for analyzing the 'time politics of asylum.'[22] 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.'[23] This analysis, however, tends to view a temporality of speed as the main concern. What I have suggested as particularly troubling in relation to these governmentalizing practices of sanctuary, however, is a politics of deferral. During the three years that the woman mentioned above waits in Wakefield, she is incited to lean on a sanctuary network will that will enable her to 'eventually' live more easily and content. As well intentioned as this discourse may be,

here sanctuary functions as a supplicatory ritual that eases the problem of waiting without calling

into question this disturbing problem of protracted waiting itself.[24]

Whilst this kind of sanctuary does not necessarily impose a physical imprisonment, I have

suggested that a containing process operates nonetheless. Like many others, this woman is being

held in time. Through the sanctuary discourse waiting has a tendency to be recast as productive:

there are pathways towards citizenship offered through internships; one's cultural participation is

already recognized as a contribution; one is already included as a cultural citizen even whilst one

waits. Although this may offer some relief, I have showed, this risks functioning as an *illusio*: a belief

that the 'game' of waiting is worth playing.[25] As *The Roundabout* in Chapter 3 illuminated, this is a

logic that can hold people, contain and ease the issue of waiting as a political problem. I have

illuminated that through such easing the hospitality of the City of Sanctuary can truly resemble

hostility. As the maps in Chapter Four viscerally illustrated, when we read sanctuary through its

temporalizing process we can begin to see how this practice can sustain a hostile temporality of

waiting and politics of deferral.

Although this politics of deferral may not resemble blatantly exclusionary technologies of

security (such as deportation, detainment, dispersal), I suggest that we need to understand how these

practices are entwined.[26] 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.[27] For the discourse of sanctuary

is precisely troubling as it can serve to ease the unpredictability of waiting; it can smooth over the

prolific problem of imposed waiting.

This analysis of a temporality of waiting begins to shatter the simple assumption that:

because the sanctuary may not be territorially contained (in a church) that it is therefore increasingly

liberated from forms of control. In fact, as Foucault has shown us, it is precisely through flow and

through claims of liberation that a more precise and effective kind of government and techniques of security can be achieved. In this vein, I have suggested that the gentle ways in which waiting is mediated and invested with meaning demand our upmost attention.

Sanctuary as Minor

Crucially, this analysis of the City of Sanctuary as a technology of government is not an indictment. This is not a story of closure. As has become apparent throughout this thesis, there are a variety of practices within this form of government, and these are opening up important political possibilities. This again resonates with Foucault's analysis of the 'art of government' – he sees this art as that which we must approach critically, but without resorting to simple condemnation, for to do so would be to elide the various ways in which this art is always being refashioned and opening up new relations.

Whilst the City of Sanctuary vision may have a tendency to smooth over the problems associated with waiting I have also gestured at a plethora of minor practices working within and against this vision, that seem to interrupt such a depoliticizing process. For instance, as was explored in Chapter Four, *The Roundabout* triggered a discussion that laid bare the rawness of being put on hold. This artistic performance subverted the entrenched hierarchies of an audience/actor and indeed the provider/seeker. This challenged the ways in which asylum seekers are rendered emblems of victimhood and or a kind of cultural citizenship worthy of celebration. Watching this play I was reminded of the words from William Butler Yeats, that 'players and painted stage took all my love, and not those thing that they were emblems of.'[28] Beyond the painted stages and celebrations of welcoming sanctuaries, these minor moments opened up a complex portrait revealing the cracks in such simplified emblems. In a sense, these activities – in the shadows of the sanctuary vision –

expose the nightmares too often eased away by the ideal dream of the sanctuary city. In these shadows, it seems, there is an urgent demand refusing to wait.

As gestured at in Chapter Five, 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 site, 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).[29] Minor literature might emerge in centres, but as a kind of passage that links, through border zones that blur, always deterritorializing language itself and the multiplicity of 'fragile communities' with which it engages.[30] They suggest that these passages do not lead to anywhere in particular. Certainly Kafka does not take us to a new programme, a new home: a new vision. Rather, these minor passages function as a politics of 'active experimentation, since we do not know in advance which way a line is going to turn.'[31] They are lines of flight. These passages are not to be judged, 'by their success or failure...whether they achieve a set of goals or not because the minor has no final goal.'[32] They are not offering a progressive narrative that incites one to endure suffering in the present for an enjoyment to come.[33] Such stories of progress can, they suggest, impose stagnation, easing but not meaningfully cutting across present and pressing problems.

This thesis has shown how such minor practices are emerging in-between the official City of Sanctuary as an official movement. For instance, the extended monologues, the uncomfortably long silences, the visceral depictions of waiting in *The Roundabout* all displace the narrative of Glasgow as a place of safety, welcome and open to all.[34] So too, this play subverts the dominant narrative

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structures imposed through interviews at the Home Office. Such interviews often demand that narratives cohere to a linear account of time (this happened and then that happened). Traumatic experiences are expected to unfold in accordance with bullet-point succinctness.[35] Because such institutional interviews generally represent the main occasion when the 'veracity of the case can be assessed,' a great deal of pressure is placed on interviewees to conform to this rigid narrative style.[36] Troublingly, though, this expectation of coherence and linearity can deny the very real experiences of time as unpredictable and elliptical. As Cwerner points out, the 'lived temporalities of refugees and the institutional mechanisms that characterize the time politics of asylum' are often at odds. Cwerner suggests that what is particularly troubling with Home Office interviews is that there is an 'emphasis on speed.'[37] I would like to suggest that the emphasis on speed is only part of the problem. Of course a speedy interview process raises some serious issues pertaining to the way people are allowed to recount their experiences; however, it is also vital to identify the strain of extended waiting that conditions this interview even before it begins. In speaking with many people waiting for their interviews I was told that the actual date for such meetings can be unknown and delayed for months. The uncertainty that this waiting introduces is vital to consider in terms of how this affects one's ability to recount experiences in a tidy, rational narrative. The very fact that many asylum seekers feel 'worn down' after extended periods of waiting before they arrive at their interview can introduce a sense of fatigue and confusion which can be seen to detract from the validity of ones' claim.[38] In this interview setting, however, such confusion is personalized and seen as an individual characteristic, a personal unwillingness to portray 'the truth.'[39] So, whilst Cwerner's insight that 'speed here often produces missed opportunities' for people to share their experiences, it should also be considered how protracted waiting, and deferral also produce severely limiting conditions. This problem is palpably expressed in the *Roundabout*.

Glasgow's City of Sanctuary's *Mapping Project* also challenges the way in which waiting is either silenced or alternatively re-framed as productive. Rather than pave over the trials of waiting with promises, these maps distributed on the busy streets of Glasgow became a portal through which conversations about time and asymmetrical forms of mobility emerged. This not only interrupted the smooth flow of bodies moving quickly throughout the city, but also the assumption that this movement is experienced evenly. Finally, the larger journeys exhibited at the Red Road Flats cut across depoliticized narratives of asylum seekers as those who have always been or will always be simply stuck. In drawing out and distributing these maps, a politics of deferral was rendered difficult to ease away.

As well, this thesis has pointed to other narratives, or lines of flight, which tend to be cut out the City of Sanctuary's official historical story. In particular, I traced the progressive historical account often told about sanctuary as originally spatially fixed and now mobile and thus more welcoming. Here, I gestured at various sanctuary traces that exceed spatial containment or enclosure 'from the very beginning.'[40] I pointed to practices of sanctuary that exhibit both fluid and fixed formations, and revealed how in both these formations a type of supplication has functioned. These practices force us to reconsider the progressive narratives of the City of Sanctuary which tell us that: against sanctuary of the past, which was confined to particular sites, today sanctuary is even better, even more hospitable as it is mobile and fluid. These minor literatures of sanctuary refuse to offer a homogenous vision of sanctuary as an ideal in our past, or a perfect promise in our future; rather, they reveal the complex set of functions of sanctuary that require continual contestation.

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 surrogate comfort from an imminent home, a place of absolute or idealized belonging. What unfurls from the pages of Kafka is not a sense of being

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'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.[41]

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.'[42] 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).[43] Indeed, 'there isn't a subject' at all, there is no public voice booming from the transcendental, sovereign individual.[44] Rather, as with the figures in *The Suppliants*, the cunning gadfly is constituted by disparate often ignoble, and even abject, forces.

As I have shown throughout this thesis the concept of sanctuary has often been snatched up and cast to play a major role in a revisionist ancient history. Sanctuary, it would seem, is important in that it embodies a celebratory exilic politics that might today undermine violence, or 'the state.'[45] But what happens when such a concept, supposedly for the marginalized, is hoisted into such a major position? Here a light is shone backwards, illuminating a positive notion of sanctuary that has always existed, rarely reflecting: how? How has this practice been deployed, and attached to different trends and different moments whilst at the same time claiming continuity?[46] How, for instance, has sanctuary been entwined with a supplicatory ritual that implies both abjection and meaningful political relations? Lit in this idealized glow this so-called ancient practice serves to infuse present iterations with a certain necessity and value: it is a 'sympathetic' approach worthy of revival.[47] Here sanctuary is shaped as a

grand revolution: promising an ideal city, and perhaps world. In this framing, I think, sanctuary serves to overcode continual processes of exclusion. Whilst sanctuary may be celebrated as always protecting the stranger, this thesis 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 and to become 'a stranger in one's own language' of hospitality, of the city, of sanctuary and the seemingly hospitable City of Sanctuary itself.[48]

The city, Foucault has suggested, is intimately connected to the modern art of government, and the 'governmentalization of the state'.[49] 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 City of Sanctuary might also be understood as embodying this sort of problematic. 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 with an evened out, pluralistic language? Rather than giving in to a bland pluralism, however, this thesis has carefully traced the variegated ways that sanctuary is deployed. In particular, I have demonstrated how the City of Sanctuary can operate as a particularly troubling, even hostile, technology: one that produces good waiting subjects whilst assuaging the very problem of indefinite waiting. Yet, in specific contexts I have also pointed to minor and important opportunistic sites that challenge the smooth operation of this technology. I wish to close with these minor practices, for I suggest they represent an opening. These minor 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 cases 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. Whilst the City of Sanctuary offers indefinite or sustainable support to migrants it still is often considered a temporary kind of protection. Sanctuary, historically, is often posed within the movement as a temporary protection or immunity; however, this is in tension with the notion that as a city-based practice it is ongoing. As I have shown throughout this thesis, this indefinite-temporary solution can serve to prolong the problem of indefinite temporariness as a way of life.

[4] For instance, the Dungavel detention center has held children in violent conditions and a number of race-related stabbings have taken the lives of asylum seekers in Scotland. See: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/glasgow_and_west/8335913.stm

[5] The City of Sanctuary was set up 'with the aim of extending a positive vision of sanctuary through promoting relationships between local people and people seeking sanctuary.' Vicki Squire, 'Community Cohesion to Mobile Solidarities: The *City of Sanctuary* network and the *Strangers into Citizenship* campaign' *Political Studies,*' 2010, 293.

[6] *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham, October 31, 2011.

[7] Tiffy Allen, City of Sanctuary National Coordinator, *National City of Sanctuary AGM*. Nottingham. United Kingdom. October 31, 2011.

[8] 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.

[9] 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.

[10] Jennifer Ridgley, 'Refuge, Refusal, and Acts of Holy Contagion: The City as Sanctuary' in *Acme: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographers*, 2011, 10 (2), p 25.

[11] Linda Rabben, *Give Refuge to the Stranger: The Past, Present and Future of Sanctuary* (US: Left Coast Press, 2001), 217.

[12] 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.'

[13] Warren Magnusson, *Politics of Urbanism: Seeing Like a City*. Routledge, 2011.

[14] 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.'

[15] Of course, sovereignty is still a key question for Foucault; however what this lecture series points out 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 analyse. 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 favour of government in the modern era.' Warren Magnusson, *Politics of Urbanism: Seeing Like a City*. Routledge, 2011.

[16] 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). What interests me is that where sanctuary is concerned is that this widening is not only enacted through techniques of government that pivot on a politics of unease, but techniques of ease.

[17] Ibid

[18] Ibid

[19] 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. Nyers, Peter and Kim Rygiel (Routledge 2010).

[20] Rebecca Rotter. *Hanging In-Between': Experiences of Waiting among Asylum Seekers Living in Glasgow*. (PhD diss., Edinburgh University: 2010).

[21] Ibid.

[22] Saulo Cwerner, 'Faster, Faster and Faster: The Time Politics of Asylum in the UK' in *Time & Society* 13, no. 1 (2004), 71-88.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Although a politics of speed is often emphasized as a key technology in the analysis of a time politics of asylum there are a number of works which begin to grapple with this other kind of temporality of waiting that I am articulating. See: Enrica Rigo, 'Citizens despite borders: challenges

to the territorial order of Europe', in ed. Vicki Squire, *The Contested Politics of Mobility: Borderzones and Irregularity* (199-215). New York: Routledge, 2011. This thesis 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.

[25] Pierre Bourdieu. *Pascalian Meditations*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 228.

[26] A great deal of attention has been placed on deportation and detainment and dispersal. It has been widely suggested that dispersal, detention and detainment constitute a 'three-pronged restriction regime' in the UK used to restrict certain forms of migration. 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.

[27] In this picture 'soft touches' seem to fade into the background. That is, a liberal language of protection is supposedly 'diluted' by a harsh security agenda. Goodwin-Gill, G. 'After the Cold War: Asylum and the refugee concept move on,' *Forced Migration Review* 10, 2001: 14-16. Goodwin-Gill, G. *The Refugee in International Law*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996. Hampshire James and Saggar, Shamit. 'Migration, integration and security in the UK since July 7,' Migration Information www.migrationinformation.org. (Accessed on 16 May 2008.)

[28] William Butler Yeats, 'The Circus Animals' Desertion,' in *The Atlantic Monthly and the London Mercury*, January 1939.

[29] Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guattari. *Kafka: Pour une literature mineure*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit. 1975

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Gilles Deleuze. 1987. *Dialogues*. (trans.) Hugh Tomlinson. New York: Columbia University Press.

[33] Pierre Bourdieu 1999. *Pascalian Meditations*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

[34] National City of Sanctuary AGM. Nottingham, October 31, 2011.

[35] Omar, asylum seeker in Glasgow, interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, October 18, Pearce Institute, Glasgow, United Kingdom. Omar emphasized the violence of the 'bullet' point.

[36] Saulo B. Cwerner, 'Faster, Faster and Faster: The time politics of asylum in the UK,' in *Time & Society* 13 (1), 2004, 71-88.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Omar, interviewed by Jennifer Bagelman, October 18, Pearce Institute, Glasgow, United Kingdom.

[39] Ibid.

[40] National City of Sanctuary AGM. Nottingham, October 31, 2011.

[41] Franz Kafka, 'An Introductory talk on the Yiddish Language,' in *Dearest Father: Stories and Other Writings*, New York: Schocken. 1954.), 382.

[42] Deleuze and Guittari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. Brian Massumi, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987),105.

[43] I recently was discussing the movie, *Before Night Falls*, with Johannes, a friend of mine who has been waiting for asylum in Glasgow for six years. *Before Night Falls* is based on the autobiography of a Cuban poet and novelist, Reinaldo Arenas. Johannes told me that what struck him about this film is that Arenas finds a curious refuge in this movie, perhaps where we least expect it. He flees Cuba for New York City; however, this place offers him little comfort. The character crafts his refuge through feverish fits, creative moments of writing. These creative expressions seem to fill him with life and breath just as he was being drained of these things in his tiny apartment. Johannes explained to me how he relates this depiction: that he finds a kind of refuge in the stolen moments in those places (such as the church drop-in center) supposedly providing relief. Johannes Smith interview by Jennifer Bagelman. Glasgow, United Kingdom. May 23, 2012.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Linda Rabben, *Give Refuge to the Stranger: The Past, Present and Future of Sanctuary*. (US: Left Coast Press, 2001).

[46] 'If, then, there is a harmonious unity and unbroken continuity in the images we are given of citizenship [or, I would add of sanctuary], it is not because of a natural growth, but a strategic emulation and appropriation – invention – of tradition that has made it possible.' See: Engin Isin, *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 31.

[47] Christine Goodall. *Sanctuary and Solidarity – Urban Community Responses to Refugees and Asylum Seekers on Three Continents*. UNHCR: Sept 2011.

[48] Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guattari. *Kafka: Pour une literature mineure*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit. 1975.

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

Appendices

Appendix 1: Reflections on Method

This thesis commences with a Preface that was never intended to be part of this work. After struggling to find a way to start writing I was encouraged to think about how I came to this question of sanctuary: what animated and activated me? I realized that my sincere starting point was not found in a particular literature, theory or theorist. 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; 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 who 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 of my thesis. 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 made a deep authoritative call: beginning with these personal fragments is self-indulgent and simply non-academic.

Tempering this voice was the realization that a self-reflexive methodological approach is taking shape within disciplines such as International Relations. A number of insightful accounts have emerged in the last decade suggesting the 'I' in 'IR' needs to be thought about more carefully.[1] This provided some encouragement. And thankfully in moments of doubt my supervisors also suggested that my somewhat experimental reflexive pieces (what they called 'vignettes') were academically

relevant. This concept of the vignette, casually referenced in a supervision meeting, has helped me identify my methodological approach. A vignette can a 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, whilst a vignette captures a scene it does not claim to tell a total story, the edges are always hazy. So too, whilst 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. I see this 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 (alongside other Algerian Jews) 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 thesis. 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 vignette, relations and encounters that have shifted me and

stayed with me in some way. To my mind what makes a vignette a vignette (perhaps differentiated

somewhat from a 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

that I experience, 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 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 citing academic sources as

some privileged authority. Elizabeth Dauphinee's work on Bosnia 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 pursue a PhD, rather than continue

engaging in the practice of sanctuary on the ground, 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 objectivity; rather, I hoped I might glean another layer of

understanding into this notion of sanctuary if approached from a different angle. This desire was

fuelled 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. 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 ask such as: how is this notion of sanctuary being deployed? What historical trajectories 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.

For me, these critical questions could not be sufficiently pursued in the particular activist context which I found myself part of. 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 what implications this might have. This approach is concerned less with advancing a political programme, 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 an 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 must truthful, expression

of sanctuary. 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 regards to my project, my aim then is not about finding 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, and in

so doing other knowledges have been subjugated or overlooked - an exploration of diverse archive

of sources is necessary. Importantly, this does not require 'going back' in time to find meaning but

rather digging into the very discursive fields we find ourselves situated in to consider how sanctuary

is being constituted. Importantly, we need to be open to the fact that this expression may or may not owe itself to an ancient history; our present expression of sanctuary may not just be a pinnacle of some evolution of this term. Rather, the aim is to understand how certain traces have been taken up, incorporated and refashioned and taking hold 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 these 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 thesis I aim to do a genealogical-ethnographic investigation. The hyphen is significant as it indicates a symbiosis between these ways of doing research. I plunge into sites in order to understand how, for instance, sanctuary is being shaped. In particular I ground my analysis in the UK City of Sanctuary. More specifically still I explore Glasgow's City of Sanctuary. 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

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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 City of

Sanctuary 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.

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 movement called City of Sanctuary. 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 City of Sanctuary, and I attended a national meeting in Nottingham. I also reflected over the City of Sanctuary email correspondences. In order to trace how the City of Sanctuary movement in Glasgow is being constituted, I attend a variety of events: from the first official City of Sanctuary meeting to follow-up discussions and activities. During the second City of Sanctuary meeting a speaker from the United States, Linda Rabben, was brought in to discuss the City of Sanctuary conception as it pertains to a worldwide movement which takes the city as its starting point. The way in which she situated the development of sanctuary as a challenge to a statist asylum regime was introduced as a central way to frame an understanding of the City of Sanctuary, not only as a local project but global movement.

However, I came to see that what was largely missing in these sources that I traced were voices from those people seeking 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 City of 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. 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 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 ways to engage as academics as an embodied experience. So too, she describes the importance of thinking about our 'objects' who we interview and their corporeal experiences of interviews. In this article she highlights alternative pedagogies that take into account that some people will have a visceral dislike for a formalized interview style and that many participants might:

dislike the bullets,

the hierarchy,

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the numbering down from top to bottom,

with closed bracket, and colon and dot...

the roman numerals which tell of imperial strength,

decimated,

shot.[16]

Considering some of the problems of formal interviewing styles I decided to take a participatory observation approach. 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 central sources of support for refugee and asylum seeking communities in Glasgow. I participated in projects such as: the World Café at St. Michael's church and also the Women's Support Network, located in the Red Road flats where many asylum seekers are dispersed, as well as a Drop-in Centre in Govan. I was also involved in organizing and facilitating a number of events. In particular, I assisted in the *World Ceilidh* that was intended to raise awareness about Glasgow's City of Sanctuary. Finally, I helped facilitate the events: *Dialogue for Destitution* which involved asylum seekers designing and performing a play based on their experiences of the UK asylum system as well as the *Mapping Project* designed to illuminate how asylum seekers experience their cities. The preparation for these events, even more than the events themselves, turned out to be a very important component of my research. Instead of conducting a typical focus group led by myself as the research who poses questions, I observed the discussions that emerged between the asylum seekers, noting what issues they raised themselves and how they decided to represent these experiences.[17] I also paid attention to the experiences they felt they would be uncomfortable re-presenting or acting. With the permission of the participants, my observations from this process became a central element of this thesis.[18] One thing that became quite interesting was the role of art in shifting the terrain in which asylum seekers are encouraged to become good waiting subjects. In the *Dialogue for Destitution*, for instance, this was challenged as the

participants drew attention the violence of such waiting not only through verbal statements, which I might then re-present in my research, but by actually shifting the embodied scenes that people were invited into. For instance, as was the case in *The Roundabout,* the audience was forced into a scene where their own position as spectators was called into question. To my mind these artful embodied practices reflects what Foucault might call, experimental 'partial transformations.' [19] 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 ones 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.'[20]

This genealogical-ethnographic investigation was clearly not a process of reading theory and then going to 'the field.' To some degree this thesis is a desire to understand fields that I have been interpolated into from as far back as I can remember, such as: a field of charity and different forms of activism. This positionality I found to be difficult and productive. In a way I felt that I had some 'insider' information into these practices having worked as an activist promoting sanctuary for a few years; however, in many cases I felt that being so close to these practices that I may have a tendency to take them for granted. 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 see 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 governmentalizing practice that encourages both those 'helping' and those 'helping themselves' to see waiting as a productive state. Reflecting on the various sources I

encountered, I came to see sanctuary as a technology through which waiting is mediated in such a way that the problem of waiting (and deferral) is smoothed over. A recent study by Rebecca Rotter, which explores the experiences of applicants waiting for Refugee Status in the UK, really demonstrates this type of framing. After conducting extensive fieldwork in Glasgow Rotter states that she 'conceptualiz[es] waiting as an informative, consequential phase in the quest for protection, hope and security.'[21] Despite the struggles that many asylum seekers face, she ultimately frames protracted waiting which asylum seekers experience, in some cases for nearly a decade, in positive terms. She states that whilst waiting:

> 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.[22]

For Rotter sanctuary is a key process through which waiting is eased and made a productive state whereby one can enhance their social ties, and future opportunities. This type I framing, I show, is also widely present in the City of Sanctuary discourse. Through my research I came to view this type of framing as deeply problematic, for whilst sanctuary is associated with promoting safety this discourse smoothing away and even *regularizing the violence of being forced to wait indefinitely*. To my mind it is only in questioning this smoothing process, and in so doing robbing the present appropriation of sanctuary of its necessity, that the governmental hold (that says: hold on, just wait) of sanctuary may be loosened.

Whilst 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. These 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 (especially his lectures: *Security, Territoriality, Population*) were helpful in understanding how the City of Sanctuary functioning 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. I found theoretical insights to be very helpful, yet at moments they also impeded an understanding of these scenes, or fields. Thus my research embodies a methodological feedback loop: where theory informs the empirics and empirics informs theory.

This interplay between empirics-theory, and the fact that one cannot be easily separated from the other, became apparent to me in the following example. On a number of occasions my understanding of a theoretical concept actually emerged in and through 'empirical' research. For instance, I was first introduced to the concept of 'forum theatre' as it was enacted through *The Roundabout*. Observing and participating in the creation of this play I learned from the actors and volunteers at the drop-in center that this is a mode of theatre could be traced (in part) to Latin American radical educationalist, Paulo Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed.[23] Drawing on Friere and also the work of Augusto Boal, the participants created a form of theatre that aimed to 'transgress, to break conventions, to enter into the mirror of theatrical fiction, to rehearse forms of struggle' and friction that may incite an uneasy sense of incompleteness that seeks continual consideration and

action.[24] In this way I did not first learn about a theoretical lens in some sort of authentic form in an academic institution, but through its particular usage.

In relation to this feedback loop of empirics-theory, a problem arose in writing. In writing I found myself privileging the authority of certain theoretical debates and figures. My footnote style became a useful tool to work through this problem. One might contend that the footnotes in this thesis are too long in some cases. It may be asked, why not bring some of these theoretical contributions more centrally into the body of writing? Although such a format would have its own advantages, the footnote style I use is intentional. The point is to allow an unfolding of the vignettes I introduce in a way that does not privileging or become overly distracted by specific theoretical interventions. And of course, this is not to suggest that just because some of these debates are in a footnote that they do not influence this thread. They represent an important part of the assemblage that constitutes the vignette, and sometimes these inputs burst outside of the footnotes and demand to be explicitly part of the main body of writing. One may suggest that putting these theoretical contributions into a footnote actually positions them as a final authorization. However, I suggest not thinking of the footnote as some ultimate source with which we might refer, but another layer. We might learn this from the aesthetic form of the footnote that is not justified; it looks 'straggly' because these notes (just like my vignettes) are frayed, never finished never sovereign.

Another even more difficult question about the footnote style emerged when trying to think how to cite the people I met with during the writing of my thesis. In particular, it was very challenging to deal with the issue of anonymity. On the one hand I cite Foucault as Foucault, even though when I use his words they are already inscribed within my own contextual reading: always re-presented and appropriated. Despite this, I do not use an alias for Foucault. Meanwhile I use pseudonyms for asylum seekers I met who, after reading a portion of my text, in some cases requested to have their names revealed. I had to explain to a number of people that, in order to

adhere to the ethical procedures prescribed through the university, I have to make their details anonymous – 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 entrenched fiduciary relationship between asylum 'seekers' and 'providers.' In explaining this as a conundrum that I encountered, rather than simply as a fact, it was suggested to me by one participant 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 thesis often hold some meaning to the participant. Although this in no ways solves this problem, in this way the secrecy of one's identity is maintained (in accordance with formal ethics requirements) whilst allowing for those participants to have some nominal connection to the stories they shared in this thesis.

Notes

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[1] *Autobiographical International Relations. I, IR.* Edited by Naaem Inayatullah. Routledge: 2010. Morgan Brigg and Roland Bleiker, 'Expanding Ethnographic Insights into Global Politics', *International Political Sociology*, 1:2 (June 2007), p. 89–90; Roxanne Lynn Doty,'Maladies of Our Souls: Identity and Voice in the Writing of Academic International Relations', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 17:2 (July 2004), pp. 377–92; Ersel Aydinli and James N.Rosenau, 'Courage versus Caution: A Dialogue on Entering and Prospering in IR', *International Studies Review*, 6:3 (November 2004), pp. 511–26; Christopher Hill, 'Where Are We Going? International Relations and the Voice From Below', *Review of International Studies*, 25:1 (January1999), pp. 107–22; Elizabeth Dauphinee, *The Ethics of Researching War: Looking for Bosnia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007.

[2] Jacques Derrida. *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, & the New International.* trans. Peggy Kamuf. (London: Routledge, 1994).

[3] Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guattari. *Kafka: Pour une literature mineure.* Paris: Les Editions de Minuit. 1975, p. 18.

[4] Elizabeth Dauphinee, *The Exile.* Routledge: 2012.

[5] Michel Foucault. 'What is Enlightenment?' In Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1984, pp. 32-50.

[6] Michael Foucault, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,' in Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews, edited by D.F. Bouchard: Cornell University Press. 156

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

[8] David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity.* University of Minnesota Press, 1992, 17

[9] Gilles Deleuze, *Nietzsche and Philosophy.* Columbia University Press, 2006. 3

[10] Michel Foucault. 'What is Enlightenment?' In Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader,* New York, Patheon Books, 1984, pp. 32-50.

[11] Glasgow Refugee Asylum Migrant Network (GRAMNET): http://gramnet.wordpress.com/about/ (accessed September 16, 2010).

[12] 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).

[13] Glasgow became known as the city of 'dawn raids,' early morning deportations where families are dragged from their beds. Glasgow was also stained by the 'red road' trauma, where asylum seekers threw themselves from buildings to avoid deportation. As a city where many asylum seekers were involuntarily dispersed to and deported Glasgow seemed to becoming UK's grim poster-child of a harsh regime. 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).

[14] Ibid.

[15] 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).

[16] Alison Phipps, 'Drawing Breath: Creative elements and their exile from higher education' in *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education February 2010* vol. 9 no. 1 42-53. Also see: Alison Phipps and Lesley Saunders, 'The sound of violets: the ethnographic potency of poetry?' in *Ethnography and Education* Vol. 4, No. 3, September 2009, 357-387.

[17] One of the problems identified by many refugees and asylum seekers is the lack of continual time afforded through interview processes (ie: with the Home Office during a determination process). Due to the traumatic experiences of such 'interviews' I deemed this to be a less valuable research tool. Instead, I chose a more continual observational approach that took place over a year at drop-in

centers and at various events. Ongoing discussions with refugees and asylum seekers emerged from these participations.

[18] During these activities I have disclosed my own research to participants at all times. I also had permission forms available, which were 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.

[19] Michel Foucault. 'What is Enlightenment?' In Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader*, New York, Patheon Books, 1984, p 32-50.

[20] Diana Coole. Gregynog Ideas Lab. Gregynog Wales. July 9-14, 2012.

[21] Rebecca Rotter. *Hanging In-Between': Experiences of Waiting among Asylum Seekers Living in Glasgow.* (PhD diss., Edinburgh University: 2010).

[22] Ibid.

[23] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. B. Ramos (New York, Continuum, 1997).

[24] Augusto Boal, 'Augusto Boal, city councillor: legislative theatre and the chamber in the streets: an interview', TDR 42 (1998), 80.

Appendix 2: Interview Data:

Sarah Patricia. No One is Illegal activist. Interview by Jennifer Bagelman. Toronto, Canada. June 17, 2007.

Mark Penner. No One is Illegal activist. Interview by Jennifer Bagelman. Toronto, Canada. August 12, 2007.

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

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

Marie Williams. No One is Illegal Activist. Interview by Jennifer Bagelman. Vancouver, Canada. November 11, 2008.

Johannes Smith, City of Sanctuary organizer and asylum seeker who has been seeking Refuge Status in Glasgow for six years. Interview by Jennifer Bagelman. Glasgow, United Kingdom. September 3, 2011; February 14, 2012; May 23, 2012.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Participant Observation:

I volunteering at three main centers in Glasgow: World Café at St. Michael's church, the Women's Support Network located in the Red Road flats where many asylum seekers are dispersed, as well as a Drop-in Centre at the Pearce Institute in Govan. These are run by two main organizations: Unity and Govan Integration Network. 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, Gartnehill Multicultural Centre, 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)

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.

(M): *(Breaks down in tears, looks at her husband resentfully)* I knew this would happen!

(P): I won't sign.

(0): 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.

(S0): It's - .... sorry can you remind me of your name?

(P) *** ****.

(S0): 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...

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 you sons 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 need 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.

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