

REMAPPING SANCTUARY

**REMAPPING SANCTUARY:
POLITICAL THEOLOGY AND ONTARIO BORDER ENFORCEMENT**

By SASHA SKAIDRA, B.P.A.P.M., M.A.

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor in Philosophy in Political Science

McMaster University © Copyright by sasha skaidra, 2022

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (2022)
(Political Science)

McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Remapping sanctuary: Political theology and Ontario border enforcement

AUTHOR: sasha skaidra, B.P.A.P.M. (Carleton), M.A. (Victoria)

SUPERVISOR: Professor Peter Nyers

NUMBER OF PAGES: 210

Lay abstract

Sanctuary City movements involve community activists and stakeholders lobbying municipalities to deliver city services like schooling, local health clinics, or domestic abuse shelters, regardless of a person's immigration status. Sanctuary helps people evade deportation in their everyday lives. To what extent do Sanctuary Cities challenge state borders? I challenge the conventional way that social scientists look at Sanctuary Cities. First, despite the religious moniker, Sanctuary Cities are a form of human rights activism which relies on state governments to provide migrants rights. Second, scholars assume Sanctuary Cities challenge borders, however, existing mapping methods do not exist to corroborate such claims. I use mapping software to show the different types of state borders that are enforced in Ontario, the home of Toronto's Sanctuary City. Finally, I argue that Sanctuary and national borders only exist in specific zones (like in schools, clinics, or public transit) as opposed to entire cities or regions.

Abstract

State borders are often viewed as something faraway that demarcate a country's frontier; however, whenever a teacher, nurse, social worker, or frontline city worker requires proof of citizenship to access services, they undertake the work of border guards. In Canada and abroad, Sanctuary City policies range from local governments issuing ID cards, schools clandestinely enrolling undocumented students, and domestic abuse shelters refusing entry to the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) conducting raids on their property. This activism and policymaking exemplify a case where municipal policy propels social change and analysis of how urban spatial politics interact with state borders that impede migrants' access to outreach services. I apply an International Political Sociological (IPS) methodological framework to critically deconstruct academic and public narratives that emphasize the urban and religious character of Sanctuary Cities. Using IPS, I combine political theory that calls for abolishing state borders, critical cartography, and a political theology to deconstruct the foundational texts and mapping methods of critical -border, -citizenship, and -migration studies that research Sanctuary Cities. I argue that these subfields reproduce a narrative that cities, economic globalization, and religious movements are in-of-themselves antithetical to state borders. I challenge this narrative by conceptualizing a *seeing like a zone* approach to visualize the border in terms of deportation routes, inter-police networks, and how the Immigration Refugee Board (IRB) enacts self-deportations. Using Geographic Information System (GIS), I create six maps depicting CBSA, IRB, and local policing immigration infrastructure used in Ontario for the deportation, imprisonment, trials, and investigation of migrants. These maps and my *seeing like a zone* approach demonstrate that current Social Scientific literature overlook how Sanctuary Cities are ultimately compatible with state borders.

Preface

This dissertation is a sandwich thesis that contains two peer-reviewed journal articles reprinted with permission and under Creative Commons Attribution Licenses. Both appear in the dissertation verbatim minus corresponding author information. Page numbers and spacing have been modified to conform with dissertation formatting. Chapter one is a forthcoming article in the journal *Contexto Internacional* that will appear as: skaidra, s. (2023) Utopic purgatory: A Critique of border violence. *Contexto Internacional*. (volume 45, issue 1). Chapter three appears in the journal *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* under the citation: Skaidra, S. (2022). Seeing like a Zone: Privately deputized sovereignty within Toronto's Sanctuary City. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, 40(6), 1346-1364. Chapter two is a manuscript being prepared for submission and is written in the style of a journal article. I want to thank both journals for their gracious permission to reprint the articles in the dissertation.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation was made possible with funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council doctoral fellowship, the Ontario Graduate Scholar doctoral scholarship, awards from the Department of Political Science, and bursaries from McMaster University. I am grateful for this financial backing that allowed me to complete my studies and this project. I also wish to thank the anonymous peer reviewers and editors at *Environment and Planning C* and *Contexto Internacional* for their input during the publication of two contained herein. I am grateful to the Canadian Research Knowledge Network (CRKN) for providing a Creative Commons License for Chapter one. Finally, to the staff at McMaster's Mill Library and the Inter-Library Loan staff, I am in awe of and so thankful for your labour with buying so many of my requested texts and patience with my overdue loans.

My first encounter with the Sanctuary City movement occurred during my activism on Lekwungen Territory during my master's at University of Victoria (UVic). Asked to join nascent efforts to promote Sanctuary City policies in Victoria as my role as an organizer of Refugees Welcome-Lekwungen Territory, I enthusiastically took upon that work. I was drawn to the promise of the political tactic which shows how through solidarity, community organizing, and mobilization, private citizens and residents can politically desist from participating in the violent forcible removal of people from their homes, family, and friends. While Victoria, BC remains far from enacting Sanctuary City policies, I had read of many successful cases that drew to the topic. So, I must begin acknowledging people I met during my activist days at Uvic who set me on a path that led to this dissertation. First, to Jen Bagelman who introduced to my supervisor and encouraged me to apply to McMaster University. Along with my former supervisor Scott Watson, thank you both for believing that I had a future in academia as an activist. On

Lekwungen Territory I met and learned from so many who nurtured my critical and agitator spirit, I am forever indebted to Terry Wolfwood, Sharmarke Dubow, Christina Ferguson, Fiona Bramble, Susan Kim, Matt Stuckenberg, Rebeca Espirito Santo, Elissa Whittington, Mark Zion, and Kate Plyley.

Moving back to Ontario was at first a culture shock from the political climate in British Columbia. Finding fellow travellers and good people at the Department of Political Science at McMaster University proved life saving for both me and the dissertation. Thank you to Manuela Dozzi for rescuing me from praecipies of disaster, welcoming my rambles, and sharing your political analysis. Thanks to Rebekah Flynn for equally being so supportive and so patient with my ravings at the department. So many others did so much work that allowed me to finish the program and I regret if I missed anyone, but I need to give special mention to Wendy Ryckman, Mary Fletcher, Sheila Ortlieb, and Sharon Hopkins for being so supportive. Throughout my coursework at the department, I was encouraged to develop my ideas, for that I owe the encouragement by faculty members Stephen McBride and Inder Marwah. During my service to the department, I want to thank Rebekah Pullen and Spencer Naylor for lending their critical support and friendship in reforming the MPSGSA.

To my supervisor Peter Nyers, you have always been there to challenge my ideas, nurture my flights of fancy, provide opportunities for growth, and be a sympathetic ear. I am the scholar I am today owing to your guidance and your example. My committee members Marshall Beier and Alina Sajed, whenever I was in despair or lost, you both showed me the light. Marshall, whenever I caught you in your office, it always felt like we last left off from seminar and continued to muse on all things international politics. Alina, your friendship and mentorship have kept my wits sharp and honest. I am honoured by your taking me in your critical circle. I have

many unofficial committee members who have fostered the dialogue, spaces, and chances for me to think through and present my ideas. A special thank you to Graham Hudson and Michele Mannoichi for your mentorship; and to Patrick De Luca, without your technical guidance, I would not have known how to start mapping my GIS journey.

To my friends and family, words fail to express my gratitude for all of your love, support, encouragement, and patience during this project. Thank you to Collette Nyirakamana, Angela Orasch, John Hayes, Helen Beny for making our shared office such a fun place. To Aytak Akbari-Dibavar, and the Jamiesons, Evan, Esmonde, and Gail, I am so grateful for all your extracurricular fun and education. Angelique Ahlstrom, Cameron and Bryce Jones, and Michelle Curow, you all provided my weary soul refuge from writing. Ghada Sasa, Jaime Morrison, Kuba Jablonowski, Pat Pinkowska, and sofija vrbaski, your friendships, our adventures, and lending an ear during my crises kept me sane. Angela Jones, thank you for welcoming me into your family and when I have lost so much of my own. Anna Romanovska, mom, you always stuck by me and let me become who I truly am. Regan Burles, Olly Biggs, Phil Henderson, you've read and engaged my work throughout this journey and kept me on the right path more than you can imagine. Dave Marcantonio, you're a magician and I am so privileged to have a computer genius activist as a comrade, your solidarity gave me the data capacity to make my maps. Nick Langdon, you showed me everything I know with GIS and geography. I hope that I will forever be on your map of friends. Will Kujala, between sharing memes, to shop talk, and dreaming up the next Great IR Debates and syllabi, our conversations have been some of the most validating in my life. You've always helped me piece my mind back together after research dissolved it. Michael Gordon, my department soulmate, my co-conspirator, your laugh, frankness, and trust made every battle, intrigue, seminar, and personal drama so much less lonely. I knew you were a

golden pony boy when you liked my Lisa Simpson joke during orientation. Suneth Wijeratne, you are always so uplifting and remind me of the joy of chatting politics in the office and out. I am always looking forward to picking up where we last left off. Liam Midzain-Gobin, I felt a bond the very first time we canvassed for CUPE 3906 in 2016. I am so lucky that we never stopped agitating together in the academy and in the streets since then.

Alison Cassandra Jones, my love, my commandante, and the truest activist soul and artist that I have ever met. These years together have been the happiest and most beautiful in my life. I hope you find some poetry in my dissertation to enjoy, as you inspire so much in me.

Table of Contents

Lay abstract	iii
Abstract	iv
Preface	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Table of Contents	x
List of Figures	xii
List of Acronyms	xiii
Introduction: Secular activism and sacred urbanism	1
Abolitionism and border violence.....	6
Case selection.....	7
<i>Sanctuary policies</i>	10
Methods statement	13
Social scientific literature on Sanctuary.....	16
<i>Political science and International Relations on Sanctuary</i>	19
<i>Humanitarianism and Sanctuary</i>	22
<i>City and urban citizenship</i>	24
<i>Sanctuary spaces</i>	27
Political theology and historical justifications	29
<i>History of sanctuary practices</i>	33
<i>Political theological limits of Sanctuary</i>	37
Visual critique and the politics of mapping	39
Abolitionism and petty sovereignty	41
A theory of zones	45
Chapter 1: Sanctuary’s border violence	47
Preface	47
Abstract.....	48
Utopic purgatory: Critique of border violence.....	48
Walter Benjamin’s political theology	50
Political theology of Sanctuary	54
On the borders of purgatory	57
Chapter 2: Mapping borderzones: Ontario inland border enforcement	59
Preface	59
Introduction.....	59
Which borders are Sanctuary Cities remapping?.....	63
State borders as works of art.....	66

<i>Transnational remapping of state borders</i>	72
<i>A general zone ‘theory of state’</i>	73
Remapping borders with Geographic Information Systems	75
<i>Counter-mapping with ArcGIS Pro</i>	77
<i>The aesthetics of zones</i>	96
Chapter 3: Seeing like a zone: Privately deputized sovereignty in Toronto’s Sanctuary City	101
Preface	101
Abstract.....	101
Introduction.....	102
City limits	105
<i>Enter the zone</i>	107
<i>Performative exceptionality</i>	111
<i>Private deputized sovereignty</i>	113
Toronto zoning.....	115
<i>Economic and security zones</i>	118
<i>Administrative and sanctuary zones</i>	122
Concluding gazes	125
Conclusion: Mapping citizenship zones of global apartheid.....	129
A note on historical critique.....	136
Medieval and Sanctuary City incompatibility with Westphalia.....	138
Sanctuary’s medievalist devolutionary promise	145
Visualizing <i>seeing like a zone</i>	150
Concluding remarks on seeing without medievalism	157
References.....	163

List of Figures

Figure 1 – Title Page of Mercator’s <i>Atlas</i>	70
Figure 2 – Frontispiece of Hobbes’ <i>Leviathan</i>	71
Figure 3 – Aerial deportation borderzones	81
Figure 4 – Road vehicular borderzones	83
Figure 5 – Carceral transfer borderzones.....	85
Figure 6 – Judicial circulatory borderzones.....	87
Figure 7 – Compelled exile borderzones	90
Figure 8 – Canada Border Services Agency oligoptic borderzone.....	93

List of Acronyms

ATD – Alternatives to Detention
ATI – Access to Information
AWF – Access Without Fear
CBSA – Canada Border Services Agency
CIC – Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CoS – City of Sanctuary
DADT – Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell
ECCAR – European Coalition of Cities against Racism
EU – European Union
GIS – Geographic Information Systems
IHC – Immigration Holding Centre
IPS – International Political Sociology
IR – International Relations
IRCC – Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada
JHS – The John Hopkins Society
LID – Local Identification Document
MOU – Memorandums of Understanding
NOII-TO – No One Is Illegal-Toronto
NOII-Vancouver – No One Is Illegal-Vancouver
OECD – Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
OPP – Ontario Provincial Police
NGO – Non-Governmental Organization
SA – Salvation Army
TDSB – Toronto District School Board
TFWP – Temporary Foreign Worker Program
TO-IHC – Toronto Immigration Holding Centre
TPS – Toronto Police Services
UK – United Kingdom

Introduction: Secular activism and sacred urbanism

Since 2014, 49,375 migrants have died attempting to cross national borders worldwide (Viales, 2022).¹ Migrant death and injury result from state border authorities forcibly removing, indefinitely imprisoning, and erecting lethal barriers that make unauthorized entry routes perilous (Flynn and Flynn, 2017). Migrant journeys entail risking exposure, drowning, suffocation, disappearance, kidnapping, assaults, injury, exploitation, and enslavement (Weber and Pickering, 2011). A failed migrant journey and/or deportation often results in detention and being sent back to a dangerous or impoverished place of origin (De Genova, 2017). Civilians and businesspeople –from neighbours, teachers, tech companies, contractors, etc.– supply information and infrastructure to border enforcement authorities (Mountz, 2020). In 2015, the United States spent \$985 million to detain 23,000 migrants in for-profit detention centres. Conversely, in the United Kingdom it was £4,382,910 for 32,466 detainees, while Australia spent \$10 billion between 2007-2014 (Flynn, 2017).

There is no inherent danger in crossing an abstract line known as a sovereign border. Borders are *made* dangerous to cross. Lacking citizenship or immigration status upon arrival endangers incarcerated migrants pending deportation (Global Detention Project, 2020). In Canada, the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) oversees migrant detention facilities. They are known to deport people erroneously, racially profile, falsify records, steal goods, take bribes, overzealously strip search, assault and fatally neglect detainees, and separate families (Molnar and Silverman, 2017; Track et al., 2017; Tunney, 2020). My motivation in this dissertation is to

¹ These are conservative estimates as Weber and Pickering (2011) note, for every recorded death, two bodies remain missing.

visualize national borders in a way that resists how they are viewed as natural, particularly in maps, which come to rationalize the great harm done onto so many migrants worldwide.

My focus regards how the social sciences and International Relations (IR)² forego thinking on how to abolish sovereign borders when theorizing how Sanctuary Cities resist and challenge border enforcement. In the most rudimentary sense, Sanctuary movements involve civil society lobbying municipalities to deliver city services like schooling, local health clinics, or domestic abuse shelters, regardless of a person's immigration status. Sanctuary helps migrants evade national border enforcement authorities in their everyday lives; so, the thinking goes that Sanctuary Cities constitute political spaces where a sovereign state cannot uphold exclusionary citizenship regulations which deny unauthorized migrants to remain within a country.

I argue that Sanctuary Cities³ are ultimately compatible with and fail to challenge national sovereign borders. I identify how the social sciences construct an imaginary of Sanctuary Cities—citing the movement's religious past, municipal policies, and global popularity—as constituting an inclusive *global citizenship* antithetical to that of the violently enforced state citizenship. Such an imaginary overlooks how these three reference points in Sanctuary City politics—god, the city, and global—are concomitant and conformal with state borders. These referential allusions figuratively *map* Sanctuary City politics as a challenge to state borders via god's transcendent power, the city as an inherently autonomous political unit, and globalization's humanizing potential. In doing so, Sanctuary City literature and politics harbors a political theology that propounds a secular humanitarian *global citizenship* supposedly

² I capitalize International Relations as it is the specific subfield of political science to which this dissertation speaks.

³ Sanctuary Cities are capitalized throughout to distinguish from other forms of sanctuary such as when churches or individuals harbor individuals fleeing authorities. These other forms of sanctuary can be linked to the movement of Sanctuary Cities which in that case the word Sanctuary will also be capitalized.

antithetical to state sovereignty, but in fact reproduce narratives that uphold the latter, such as the Myth of Westphalia which I discuss at length later in this Introduction.

I use Sanctuary Cities, and scholarly studies of them, as a starting point to develop a critical cartographic method that helps envision a theory for abolishing sovereign borders applicable to, and beyond academia. This dissertation figuratively and visually maps what is known as the state without alluding to nostalgic images of –god, the city, and global– which are historically, culturally, and cartographically integral to naturalizing border violence as a fact of life.

Researching border enforcement operations worldwide presents researchers a sizeable challenge, but also an analytic one. Mountz (2011) likens the task of investigating deportations locating the entry points of a long tunnel wherethrough a deportee travels; the entrance connects a country expelling migrants to an exit into another state. Does the long tunnel begin whenever schools, hospitals, or workplaces require migrants to reveal their lack of immigration documentation? Or is the tunnel entrance wherever transit fare inspectors, local police or bureaucrats report undocumented people to be detained by authorities who are then transferred for deportation? By the time national authorities have someone in their custody for physical removal, there have been administrative decisions, police investigations, migrant imprisonment, and travel arrangements made.

The walls of deportation tunnels are made of immigration and citizenship bureaucracies. These often-opaque bureaucracies determine eligibility to cross borders, the maintenance of detention and correctional buildings that confine awaiting deportees, and intra-governmental cooperation that enables police to collect someone’s information and whereabouts from other public agencies. Social scientists describe these relationships as constituting different types of

complexes in the same vein as Angela Davis (2003) conjures the Prison Industrial Complex. For Davis, the conceptual use of ‘complexes’ is done to illustrate how lobbyists, politicians, schools, courts, neighbourhood associations, municipalities, local police, residents, and businesses cooperate and profit from mass incarceration in the United States. Similarly, there also exists interconnected but distinct Border–, Immigration–, Detention–, and Deportation– Industrial Complexes that profit from the policing, imprisonment, and/or removal of migrants (Dadusc and Mudu, 2022; Molnar, 2022; Nail, 2019). Contemporary world maps overwhelmingly depict national borders as external frontiers thereby rendering these deportation tunnels invisible. How can Social Science reveal these interlocking complexes that perpetuate border violence? This dissertation provides a way to think and visualize the cumulative violence of border enforcement infrastructure with the aim of their eventual abolition.

When examining how the Social Sciences imagine and conjure a normative vision about Sanctuary Cities, we must keep in mind that the literature is discussing the brutality of a global infrastructure of sovereign border violence. Sanctuary Cities exists within a constellation of associated images, pertinent for activists, the public, policymakers, and other academics researching cases where political tactics are able to mitigate or eliminate the harm from states enforcing borders and citizenship regulations. As I show, Sanctuary Cities are said to harness, possess, channel, and constitute a constellation of outside forces, authorities, institutions, traditions, and tactics said to exist in opposition and independent of the nation-state. I focus on three reference points–god, cities, and the global–which form the broad structure of this introduction.

Sanctuary City scholars theorize that godly, city, and global politics can be harnessed to overcome state border violence. God and religion are depicted as a higher realm of morality with

millennia of tradition across most human cultures. Cities are represented as an ancient, arguably original, political unit with a long history of autonomy from centralized national governments. The global, as a scale of politics and phenomena, is definitionally greater than nation-states; global economic forces and humanitarianism are portrayed as superseding a country's authority. Each of these referential points serve as the dissertation's chapters: 1) a political theology of Sanctuary, 2) the notion of globalization as remapping borders, and 3) a critique of cities as a solution to border violence. The dissertation concludes with an examination of how Sanctuary City scholars romanticize a depiction of European medieval cities that combine all three references as a figurative solution to border violence; to which I argue that medievalism is a form of escapism in thinking in abolitionist terms.

While social science imagines Sanctuary's radical potential, being linked to godly traditions, adopted by cities worldwide, and advance global human rights, this Introduction argues why it is necessary to critique Sanctuary as being ultimately compatible with state power. I overview how the social sciences link Sanctuary City policies to a predominantly Eurocentric historical narrative that whitewashes Sanctuary's Christian roots in perpetuating colonialism. In doing so, I first define how an abolitionary framework and then a political theological reading reveals how Eurocentric theories of god, the state, and history underpin the humanitarian vision of *global citizenship* that Sanctuary Cities are purported to contribute towards. Political theology, in brief, shows how governments and civil society use ideas and theories about god to justify the use of coercive force and to legitimize their own authority. I show how Social Scientific literature on Sanctuary creates a 'structure of feeling,' or common-sense narrative, conjuring a political theology that conflates and romanticizes ancient religious asylum practices, global cities, and human rights as antithetical to the Westphalian nature of border violence.

As we shall see below, this Introduction describes how Sanctuary City literature accepts the premise of Westphalian sovereignty that mythologizes a European historical narrative that tells a story of how national borders settled religious strife in the 17th century, thereby setting the stage for a modern, secular international politics. The Myth of Westphalia informs how contemporary cartographic conventions visually draw maps that privilege nationally defined internal and external borders as the natural order of things. Indeed, Westphalian cartographic assumptions obscure how the nation-states are in fact a plethora of interconnecting actors who perpetuate border violence, such as businesses, autonomous public agencies, and local and regional police forces. I reveal why social sciences require an abolitionist point of view on the matter and border enforcement writ large that Westphalian cartographic assumptions would otherwise occlude seeing. I do so by visually mapping the immensity and totality of the border enforcement infrastructure surrounding the Sanctuary City of Toronto in Ontario, Canada.

Abolitionism and border violence

The vision of abolitionism furthered here is rooted in a commitment to making the world a better place by thinking, discussing, and developing ideas that contribute to overcoming entrenched violent practices. Abolitionism says ‘no’ to simply reforming violent institutions that are taken for granted (Abu-Jamal in Dubler and Lloyd, 2020, p. 46). “An abolitionist horizon is necessary” write Dubler and Lloyd (2017, p. 47), noting that reform is a technocratic affair but “abolitionism plumbs a deeper, more soulful well.” For one, abolitionary thought targets institutions and whole ways of thinking that uphold societal givens like, for example, that punishment solves problems and thusly society requires police and prisons (Bhandar et al., 2021, p. 2). As with abolishing the death penalty or slavery, abolitionism targets the elimination

of cruelty (Kellogg, 2017). I wish for a world without cruelty for everyone moving around the world. Border violence is in-of-itself cruel.

I refuse to contribute to an emerging Detention Improvement Complex that involves researchers, non-governmental organizations, community groups, and policymakers who seek to eliminate the brutal aspects of border enforcement practices by way of reform (Conlon et al., 2017: 150; Morris, 2016). Not only do non-governmental organizations (NGO) materially and socially benefit by proposing and overseeing more humane migrant detention practices, but humanitarian advocacy skirts also questioning the state's claim of having to violently police borders (Williams, 2016). While mitigating harm is always preferable to none, abolitionism is a political philosophical commitment, that in this context, seeks to eliminate conditions linked to the problematic category of 'migrant' which makes their cruel treatment possible (Gilmore, 2022; Schweppe and Sharma, 2015).

Case selection

Before presenting an overview of Sanctuary City politics and policies, I discuss why Sanctuary Cities and scholarship is relevant as a case for IR analysis. Municipal policies, local politics, and activist movements that engage citizenship and immigration regulations offer a case to study and think through abolitionary thought and tactics that resist state borders. Research examining any Sanctuary City or policy, situated within one case or a broader context, is the site of intense political and academic activity.

First, within academia, researchers take Sanctuary Cities and policy as a case to investigate the theoretical and empirical aspects of state borders, citizenship, and migration. border-, citizenship-, and migration- studies, find Sanctuaries, being local in nature, a very accessible space to study the interaction in between the state, communities, and business in

controlling, protecting, or negotiating control over migrants in urban settings (Bauder and Darling, 2019; Hudson and Atak, 2021). Border-, citizenship-, and migration- studies, each interdisciplinary subfields, are drawn to Sanctuary Cities for being a plane where macro-structural forces and effects, like economic globalization, state power, and transnational civil society movements, appear at the micro-scale (Nyers, 2018; Nyers and Rygiel, 2014; Sleiman-Long, 2020).

For researchers, Sanctuary is place, process, or phenomenon where individuals, whose businesses, government role, or community, are implicated with national border and citizenship enforcement that affect migrants in their daily lives (Bagelman, 2016; Bagelman and Kovalchuk, 2019). Sanctuary Cities are where municipalities seek mitigating the harms of state border enforcement; they are where citizenship regulations are ignored; they are where migrant justice movements have pushed for city policies with transnational reverberations (Boudou et al., 2021b; Lenard and Madokoro, 2021b). On this intellectual front, I take Sanctuary Cities as a case to examine the overlap between borders, citizenship, and migration politics. Whereas border-, citizenship-, and migration- studies take Sanctuary City as a *means* to study their namesake subfield primary interest, I center Sanctuary Cities as an object of knowledge in relation to abolitionary movements and thought such as those seeking to abolish the Prison Industrial Complex.

Secondly, on the practical and policy side, Sanctuary Cities is a case where activists, advocates, stakeholders, civil society, and progressive lawmakers explore Sanctuary tactic to ameliorates the conditions of migrants facing rising anti-immigrant sentiment and restrictive access to citizenship (Moffette, 2021; Paquet and Joy, 2022). Notably, from 2017 onward, a spike of Sanctuary City ordinances were passed in the United States following the election of

Donald Trump whose administration directly targeted the Sanctuary movement (Ortiz et al., 2021). Research focusing on Sanctuary City policies tend towards documenting their legislative history, explaining their root causes, or describing their policy context (Paquet and Joy, 2022). As a case, Sanctuary policies are intertwined with flashpoints where governments target migrants with detention, marginalization, forced displacement, and deportation (Aiken and Silverman, 2021). As I discuss in the subsection ‘History of sanctuary practices’ further on this Introduction, many cases are where a flurry of local political mobilization occurs to protect asylum seekers fleeing war. In the 1980s of the United States refugees were fleeing Central American Wars and in 2015 in the European Union refugees fled Libya and the Middle East. Thus, Sanctuary Cities are a case for people who involve themselves in solidarity movements and ongoing historical struggles against forcible migration.

On this practical and personal front, I study Sanctuary Cities for their connection to my praxis. In Canada, the Sanctuary City movement is partly tied to attempts by the government to deport refugees who has arrived during the 1990s fleeing the Algerian Civil War (Atak, 2019; Humphris, 2020). Canada’s and my own history with Sanctuary echoes these trends in the 1980s and 2017. I directly saw community desires for Sanctuary policies that encountered legal and political limitations that is well documented in audits on Canadian Sanctuary City policies (Atak and Hudson, 2022; Hudson et al., 2017). Having co-founded Refugees Welcome in Victoria BC in 2015 (following Alan Kurdi’s death that sparked nation-wide protests), I became involved in the Sanctuary movement, eventually representing our group at the No One is Illegal – Toronto National Convergence of Sanctuary City organizers in Toronto in April of 2018 (vrbaski et al, 2016; NOII-TO, 2018). I discuss in Chapter three, Toronto’s Sanctuary City that as Canada’s paradigmatic example where municipal, regional, national, and global actors influence or control

migration through citizenship and border enforcement. I consider Ontario, the province wherein Toronto dwells, to address how activists and stakeholders view subnational and national restrictions as the greatest barrier to enacting Sanctuary City policies.

Sanctuary policies⁴

For social scientific research critical of border enforcement, the tactics employed by Sanctuary Cities proffered a case for study and normative example to follow in resisting the violence of state border enforcement. A Sanctuary City is difficult to define because each country's national border enforcement regime differs and defines resistance to them. Sanctuary City policies are a collection of tactics that cities undertake to provide municipal public services to all its residents regardless of their citizenship status. This takes on six forms:

1. **Granting and/or advocating for asylum:** Here, a city will help someone gain recognized refugee status, navigate a country's legal system, and/or secure them a means to regularize their immigration status. Municipal governments will undertake and/or fund groups to use legal means to help those lacking immigration status either acquire it or advocate on their behalf. Examples of where this occurs include Berkeley, California during the Vietnam War aiding draft dodgers; a collective cities known as EUROCITIES situated in the European Union helping recent refugees (Foerster, 2019; Lenard and Madokoro, 2021a; Madokoro, 2021; Paquet et al., 2021; Ridgley, 2011). Other cases include Amman (Jordan), Gaziantep (Turkey), Jakarta (Indonesia) and the European Coalition of Cities Against Racism (ECCAR) (Mascareñas and Eitel, 2019).
2. **Access Without Fear (AWF) policies:** Involve cities removing any citizenship and/or immigration requirements for city residents to access municipal services. AWF policies are passively enacted by modifying social programming eligibility criteria, administrative forms,

⁴ The following cities have escaped this classification; in the US, Ann Arbor, Chicago, La Grange, and Madison; in Europe Feiburg, Palermo, Hamburg, London, and Paris, and in South America Quilicura Chile. These cities do appear in the literature as enacting supportive policies or engaging in politics to advance the rights of residents with precarious or lacking immigration status) (Bauder, 2019; Bauder and Gonzalez, 2018; Gardner, 2014; Ireland, 2017; Lambelet, 2019; Mascareñas and Eitel, 2019; Nicholls and Vermeulen, 2012). For the purposes of the dissertation, these outliers fall outside the most commonly cited cases of Sanctuary Cities resisting, challenging, and/or mitigating the harm cause by the enforcement of state borders.

and data-entry procedures to ensure that immigration status is never recorded or procured. Examples where cities enact AWF include Amsterdam-Zuid, Netherlands and Barcelona, Spain. Canadian cities include Ajax, Edmonton, Hamilton, London, and Vancouver, while in the United States, cities with AWF are Austin, Baltimore, Cambridge, Evanston, Hamtramck, Philadelphia, Santa Fe, San Francisco, Takoma Park, and Watsonville (Ellis, 2015b; Hershkowitz et al., 2020; Paquet et al., 2021; Wilson-Forsberg, 2017).

3. **Don't Ask, Don't Tell (DADT) policies:** Involve cities and/or local, publicly funded social services (like shelters and libraries) with decision-making autonomy that restrict staff to procure and share a person's immigration that accesses a service. Like AWF, the tactic may involve creating administrative workarounds like inputting an undocumented person's immigration status into a filing category where identification is omitted. Activists seek to pressure local police agencies to abide and/or adopt DADT policies because the latter often collaborate, on their own initiative, with deportation authorities. Examples where DADT exists to some degree is Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New York City, Portland, Seattle, New Haven, and Toronto (Bauder, 2016c; Ellis, 2015a, 2015b; Humphris, 2020; Lenard and Madokoro, 2021a; McDonald, 2009, 2014; Nicholls and Vermeulen, 2012; Pitts, 2018)
4. **Cities of Sanctuary (CoS):** A movement predominantly based in the United Kingdom that coordinates resources, promotes cultural awareness, and encourages residents to be welcoming to asylum seekers and refugees. CoS has an accompanying NGO that will inspect and designate cities, universities, libraries, schools, community groups, and municipal agencies as a Sanctuary, if they adopt programs that foster hospitality and a sense of belonging in the wider community for irregular migrants. Sheffield and Swansea are the sole CoS-designated 'Cities of Sanctuary' (Hintjens and Pouri, 2014; Squire and Bagelman, 2014; Squire and Darling, 2013).
5. **Local Identification Cards (LID):** While AWF and DADT policies could entail issuing LID to all city residents with an address and regardless of immigration status, some cities forego labelling these efforts as part of Sanctuary. Often, municipal authorities do so because the label Sanctuary can provoke backlash that could lead to overturning LID efforts. I highlight the LID policy because it entails a municipality to expend considerable resources as opposed to withholding information or modifying existing infrastructure. In Europe, cities with these efforts include Zurich, Switzerland and Berlin, Germany. In Canada, Montreal has

undertaken such a strategy, while in the US, New Haven, Oakland, and San Francisco have enacted similar policies. (Bauder, 2016c; Ellis, 2015b; Guarnizo, 2012; Hershkowitz et al., 2020; Houston and Lawrence-Weilmann, 2016; Kuge, 2020; Monforte and Dufour, 2011; Paquet et al., 2021)

6. **Sanctuary States and Regions:** Subnational bodies like provinces, US states, and counties, implement some form of AWF or DADT. While beyond the scope of this dissertation, these regional jurisdictions are unique for possessing substantial resources that allow or help fund Sanctuary Cities to operate. Examples in the US include California, New York, Oregon, Alaska, Maine, and Washington (Barnes, 2011; Foerster, 2019; Gardner, 2014; Sleiman-Long, 2018, 2020)

One commonality emerges in these Social Scientific⁵ accounts of Sanctuary Cities: they are depicted as confronting state citizenship laws and ensuing border enforcement measures result in the maltreatment, harm, and violence done onto people labelled as ‘migrants.’ Lacking or possessing irregular immigration or citizenship documentation results in experiences of indirect social violence. Being unable to access public services like education, healthcare, work protections, reporting crime, or living simply in fear of being reported to border enforcement authorities causes emotional and physical harm (Aery and Cheff, 2018; Cebula, 2016; Cebula et al., 2013; Hudson et al., 2017; Landolt, 2019). The denial of public services to migrants and residents with precarious legal status is the cause of a lower standard of living due to denied access to social welfare protections, like shelters and income or housing benefits (Hudson et al., 2017). Fear of deportation, inability of reporting workplace abuses, lacking medical care in case of injury and illness, and exclusion from higher education all constitute exclusionary violence tied to the pieces of paper that represent one’s immigration and citizenship status. Sanctuary City

⁵ The following sources are for disciplines that fall outside or border the Social Sciences but take similar interest in Sanctuary Cities and politics: Law (Davidson, 2014; Gulasekaram et al., 2019; Villazor, 2010; Villazor and Gulasekaram, 2018a, 2018b), Philosophy (Blake, 2021; Pitts, 2018); Psychology (Ellis 2015a, 2015b), Urban Studies (Cordes, 2017; O’Brien et al., 2019; Roy, 2019); and History (Buff, 2019; Hoffman, 2021; Hung, 2019; Lambelet, 2019; Lejeune, 2021; Lenard and Madokoro, 2021a; Paik et al., 2019).

scholarship, while highly diverse, share a common interest in how Sanctuary promotes the wellbeing of people lacking. Or with irregular immigration and/or citizenship status.

Methods statement

This dissertation is a sandwich thesis wherein the main chapters consist of one published, one forthcoming, and a draft journal article. The former two are open access articles under a Creative Commons license without restrictions to republish their contents. Each chapter contains a different method while sharing common methodological principles by applying the debates, thinkers, and concepts used in International Political Sociology (IPS). Alsancak (2021) summarizes IPS as a research project and disposition that troubles divisions between academic disciplines that separates IR from sociology, political science, and criminology, divisions that hamper the analysis of sovereignty and power. Each chapter traces a transversal line across disciplines to show how border violence is invisible through disciplinary boundaries used to study Sanctuary Cities. Chapter one through three engages a distinct disciplinary method to chart the–god, city, global–border contained in social scientific understandings of Sanctuary Cities. Chapter one is a forthcoming article in the journal *Contexto Internacional* and applies a political theological reading of Sanctuary Cities as form of non-violent resistance to border violence. Chapter two applies critical cartographic and counter-mapping methods to reconceptualize how to represent visually internal border enforcement which Toronto’s Sanctuary City is said to resist. Finally, Chapter three, published in *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, uses Toronto’s Sanctuary City as a case to apply my critique of the conventional academic accounts that conceptualize Sanctuary Cities as a form of urban or city citizenship which I outline further in this Introduction.

International Political Sociology (IPS) as a methodological framework helps describe the overall manner the dissertation comes to unpack, the key theoretical, methodological, and empirical claims Sanctuary City scholarship. IPS methodology applies insights from the works of Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault to the study of international politics. Bourdieu and Foucault are French post-structural social theorists who examine how experts, intellectuals, and government officials will form communities to produce knowledge as a form of power (Guillaume and Bilgin, 2017; Jenkins, 2005; Lemert, 2005). Foucault (1977) in his book *Discipline and Punish* traces the development of the discipline of psychology that pioneered mental diagnoses as a unique power to regulate, confine, and monitor people in and beyond psychiatric asylums. Bourdieu (1990, 2003) is known for introducing to the field sociology the notion of ‘field’ that describes how authority figures use symbolic violence and/or capital to either punish or reward people within a constructed abstract space called a *habitus* (e.g., job titles, gender roles, and expert knowledge). Bourdieu explains how social roles depend on institutionalized ideas being assigned to, internalized within, and represented by individuals participating within a field’s symbolic and cultural expectations (such as gendered behaviors, upper- and lower-class taste, and professional licenses) (Gillespie, 2019; Smith, 2020). An IPS methodological framework holds a skeptical view of how Social Scientific knowledge reproduces fundamental assumptions and essentializing statements that generate fields that enables the academy’s social, economic, and political power, often by serving state interests and narratives (Krishna, 2017).

Throughout the dissertation, my skepticism targets how Sanctuary City literature conceptualizes sovereignty and thereby reproduces knowledge that recreates the justifications for border violence. My object of analysis is primarily the scholarship surrounding Sanctuary Cities

and the type of epistemic power and field being produced. In IR, using IPS methods often takes as the object of their analysis the expertise that national security officials, state-affiliated researchers, policymakers, and schools training these professions who reproduce the fundamental categories and dichotomy of the nation-state (Bigo, 2016b). International Relations (IR) scholars employ IPS to question the standard view in Political Science which dichotomizes the world into local, national, and international spheres or levels as being distinct from one another (Basaran et al., 2016: 4; Bigo, 2016a, pp. 24–25). As this Introduction has shown thus far, Sanctuary City policies demonstrate how all these spheres and levels operate and interact simultaneously side-by-side one another. In segmenting Sanctuary solely as a local, regional, national, international, or global phenomenon would erase part of the story.

I engage IPS to show how certain analytic and conceptual boundaries within Sanctuary Cities research alludes to god, the global, and the city as being transnational alternatives to the state in actuality reproduce political theological, cartographic, and conceptual assumptions that justify the use of border violence. Each chapter discusses one of those that are interconnected with the political theological element of sovereignty as defined by Walter Benjamin (discussed in Chapter one) and Giorgio Agamben (1998) (applied in Chapter three). My IPS methodological framework further applies the principle of oscillating between theory and data as opposed to maintaining clean boundaries between these research components (Aradau and Huysmans, 2016; Schmidt-Wellenburg and Bernhard, 2020). Chapter two discusses an arts-informed approach to visually map Ontario's border enforcement regime by applying critical -citizenship, -borders, and -migration studies in an IPS manner. Chapter three conducts both a policy case study analysis and deconstructs methodological biases in Sanctuary City literature. These chapters read together show a political theological movement and theory in Sanctuary City literature and

politics. An IPS approach is “(de)constructivist and empirical” (Bigo, 2016a, p. 32) by undoing key disciplinary assumptions and building new conceptual foundations that resists re-introducing state-centric thinking. Chapters one and three critically unpack the political philosophies of Walter Benjamin (1978) and Giorgio Agamben (1998) to deconstruct how Sanctuary movements and scholarship harbor their own border violence and sovereignty. Chapters two and three reconstruct Sanctuary Cities as a phenomenon and theory via an experimental empirical mapping method and policy case study to explore abolitionary thought.

Social scientific literature on Sanctuary

Citizenship laws reflect how sovereignty draws national borders and respective accompanying criteria to establish an individual’s admittance within a country’s territory (Benhabib, 2004; Dauvergne, 2009; Nyers, 2013; Walker, 2015). When citizenship status determines access to public services, granting undocumented migrants access to such services, by extension, performs a sovereign act. For the study of international politics, Sanctuary Cities reveal where local actions engage the global norm of the worldwide practice of state borders. Humanitarian politics and Sanctuary Cities both remain haunted by a recognized inability to supersede what is referred to as Westphalian sovereignty that underpins a nation-state’s right to regulate citizenship, which forms the basis to exclude people from a country. Such sovereignty, which in essence are claims for the legitimate use of force within territorial bounds, is used to impose law, police borders/boundaries, and grant/deny civil/political rights, and forms the basis of how citizenship gives national subjects power and privileges within a country.

State citizenship is, in the words of Hannah Arendt (1973), a *right to have rights* wherein an individual exists in the eyes of the law, even in subjugation, because citizens are defined as subjects to the limits and freedoms set out by the sovereign (be it a parliament, autocracy,

dictator, or other form of government) of their nation-state. Herein lies the *perplexity of the rights of man*, as Arendt puts it, that the enjoyment of human rights depends on a sovereign granting those without state citizenship freedoms within a country's territory. Consequently, national and international human rights laws have been long unable to protect asylum seekers and unauthorized migrants from state abuse during border enforcement operations (Mountz, 2011). By definition, national border enforcement is applying a Westphalian conception of sovereignty that understands citizenship regulation as the exclusive prerogative of states who possess absolute power over their territory wherein only citizens have *a right to have rights* (Noll, 2010). This dissertation, in part, questions the effectiveness of Sanctuary's humanitarianism that Social Scientific literature depicts as possessing abolitionary potential of Sanctuary movement, tactic, and policies.

Anthropology, for example, looks to how Sanctuary creates communal connections. Mancina (2016, p. 425) describes 'sanctuary power' used to "serve a mixed-status city population." McDonald (2009, p. 74) argues how the Sanctuary City campaigns create community without "formal citizenship as a marker of belonging" and thereby "create accessible social rights" and "challenge to state-defined 'migrant illegality'" (2014, p. 129). Villarreal (2014) cites Sanctuary movements as addressing "issues such as employer sanctions, access to healthcare and housing, educational benefits, language policy, and labor regulations (p. 241); at a local level, Sanctuary activism is place making (p. 244) that "institute pro-immigrant policies" (p. 374).

In criminology, scholars tie Sanctuary activism to protecting migrant legal rights. The appeal rests in Sanctuary tactics addressing the "victimisation of vulnerable populations" (Atak 2019, p. 113). Hudson and Atak (2021, p. 4) note how Sanctuary also challenges "voter

suppression, and economic exploitation” by ensuring undocumented people can vote locally and are protected by labour laws. Criminological analysis centres how the coercive and surveillance state apparatus exacerbates the “human rights consequences of living without [legal immigration] status” (Hudson, 2019, p. 91) which Sanctuary policies address by removing the policies “typically exercised to exclude non-status migrants” (p. 80).

Geographers see Sanctuary Cities protecting all residents within a given locale. Bagelman, (2019, p. 132) shows how Sanctuary Cities create “localities more welcoming places” that resist the “intensification of violent border regimes” (p. 131). This sentiment is echoed by Bauder (2019, p. 37) who shows Sanctuary organizes “on the basis of solidarity and mutual aid” that grant migrants “municipal services and police protection” (2017, p. 181). In his and Darling’s 2019 book *Sanctuary City and Urban Struggle*, the two characterize the Sanctuary’s aim is “to avoid reproducing exclusionary citizenship inherent to migration management” (pp. 12-5). Kuge (2020, p. 45) summarizes Sanctuary “ordinances [as] addressing the needs of refugees and other parts of the population who lacked status” and empower “disenfranchised people” (2019, pp. 53–54). Charting a more historical geography, Ridgley (2011) writes about how Sanctuary City entailed “asking [residents] to donate bedding and food, legal and medical services, as well as friendship and counseling” (p. 203) which helped “reclaim their citizenship” (p. 208).

Conversely, sociologists frame Sanctuary as groups that deliver humanitarian assistance. Abji (2013) details how Sanctuary “address the immediate needs of those suffering from threats of deportation, detention, and denial of basic human rights” (p. 323). Barnes (2011) shows how Sanctuary result from NGO groups addressing “(im)migrant health and human rights issues” (p. 81). Sanctuary also emerges as a means of migrant groups and supporters exercising “the right to

enjoy public spaces and services” (Castanada, 2012, p. 70). The ability of Sanctuary to make migrant present in the city has helped “afford rights and recognition” (Conroy, 2018, p. 37). (Marrow, 2012, pp. 846–7) shows the ability of Sanctuary discourse and policy that “reinforces public safety-net providers’ views of unauthorized immigrants as patients morally deserving of equal care” and thereby “extend equal care to unauthorized immigrants.” Villegas, (2019, p. 179) notes how Sanctuary helps “borders being [...] eroded, perforated, and circumnavigated” in shelters, healthcare, education, and job sites.”

Political science and International Relations on Sanctuary

As I turn to examine how political science and International Relations studies Sanctuary literature, I wish to highlight the recurring theme of address and mitigate harm to migrants. In centering harm and vulnerability of migrants in accounts of Sanctuary Cities, an image emerges of a solution to border violence. In political science, Boudou (2019) argues how “Sanctuary practices, [...] privileging needs over status” (p. 284) and guarantees “the human security of migrants” (p. 287). Both (2021, p. 13) finds that Sanctuary resistance “secured access to social rights and community services for migrants.” Lenard and Madoroko (2021, p.7) observe how apart from charity and anti-government movements, Sanctuary solidaristic practices seek providing “to individuals in need of sanctuary.” This comes because, as McDonald (2014, p. 142) states, “the needs of those people who enter the country or become illegal after the regularisation deadlines have passed.” Paquet et al (2022, p. 86) echo the notion of Sanctuary Cities being “first responders for migrants’ well-being.”

Within Critical⁶ IR, the Sanctuary City movement becomes framed in a worldwide or

⁶ Throughout this dissertation I capitalize the word Critical when describing various subfields of IR that problematize mainstream understanding of sovereignty. I discuss these subfields and why I group them together in Chapter Two.

planetary scale, which is the focus of this dissertation. As Bulley (2017, p. 84) writes, “Sanctuary movements constitute a counter-discourse of hospitality [...]. In this sense, they mitigate deportability, ameliorating its worst effects.” Notions of Sanctuary are, in De Genova and Tazzioli (2022, p. 52) estimations, “a space of respite and protection from the repercussions of a nation-state’s border, immigration, and asylum regime.” Sanctuary remains seen as removing “barriers between outcasts and well-integrated city dwellers” (Hintjens and Pouri, 2014, p. 221). This ability of Sanctuary to integrate outcasts and citizens enables resistance to “detention facilities [that are] notorious for their role in restricting global mobility rights [as] sites of confinement and control” (Nyers and Rygiel, 2014, p. 8). These sentiments shape a view seen in Squire and Bagelman (2014, p. 147) where they argue that Sanctuary movements challenge the “distinction between those who are worthy of protection and those who are not.” Here, International Relations scholars take Sanctuary in political terms that break down a fundamental relationship underlying between migrants. As such, Sanctuary encourages IR scholars to re-evaluate which form of political authority can help migrants. Indeed, as Vraști and Dayal (2016, p. 995) suggests, Sanctuary empowers “autonomy to other, possibly more progressive, scales and constituencies (e.g. municipalities, school boards, unions, etc.).”

Sanctuary City’s potential for resisting state governments who enforce citizenship laws and borders is also the basis of political science and IR critiques that such policies create power imbalances and social inequities between Sanctuary providers and their beneficiaries. Sympathetic criticisms of Sanctuary City politics concentrate on shortcomings, while maintaining a view that the movement maintains radical potential to alter border and citizenship power dynamics. For instance, Bagelman (2013, p. 58) notes that “charitable sanctuary practices may extend a hand of safety and hope [...] this process also serves to normalize passivity.”

Johnston (2015) and Moffette and Ridgley (2018, p. 151) note that Sanctuary movements neglect fighting against all forms of racialization and colonization while perpetuating the view of “hard-working or victimized migrant.” Much of the issue stems from seeing migrants as a “object of care” rather than empowering them as political subjects [...] that both aims at caring for the lives of migrants while exercising control and enforcing norms” (Boubou, 2019, p. 298). Sanctuary City politics focuses “on migration issues, rather than broader socio-economic concerns such as poverty and homelessness” (Lenard and Madoroko, 2020, p. 5). Consequently, IR criticisms take issue that “sanctuary ameliorates, facilitates, and even extends the serious problems that are associated with an unpredictable state of deferral” (Bagelman, 2016, p. 50). Migrants in the care of a Sanctuary City not only are stuck waiting for their condition to improve, but also the root causes of their oppression to be addressed. For IR theory, the problematic aspect of Sanctuary politics results from potential abuse of unequal power dynamic between the migrant and their benefactors, be it the city, social service providers, NGOs, activists, the community, etc.

Social scientific literature, rightly or wrongly, lauds Sanctuary for mitigating harms done to migrants. In this sense, Sanctuary City literature evaluates capacity and potential of the movement and its politics to fulfill a humanitarian vision for the world. As opposed to politics that center the citizen or a national group, humanitarian thinking privileges granting social, political, and civil rights on the basis of someone’s humanity (Holder, 2020; Holder and Reidy, 2013). As one can surmise, governments and reactionary groups dehumanize migrants to justify violent border and citizenship enforcement and collaboration conducted in the name of combating migrant criminality, pestilence, or as societal burdens, often invoked with racial overtones (Ehrkamp, 2019). Humanitarian politics considers it illegitimate to use power or force

that contravenes rights that all people should enjoy, regardless of any difference of race, gender, ethnicity, religion, and/or disability (Mihr, 2014; Mihr and Gibney, 2014).

I *diagnose* Sanctuary Cities differently and offer a theoretical intervention as both a complication and solution to a deeper implicit problem associated with the idea and practice of sovereignty. Admittedly, my characterization oversimplifies the literature, but also helps establish how this scholarship *diagnoses* Sanctuary Cities as a political tactic that centers the ‘human being’ as the basis for legitimate political authority and citizenship which the city can and should wield. Herein is the first reference point of the literature which I critique, that city-ness here assumes devolving state citizenship could guarantee rights that looks towards the city for “utopian defiance” to reimagine political space (Vrasti and Dayal, 2016, pp. 997-8).

Humanitarianism and Sanctuary

While a full history of humanitarian politics in relation to Westphalian sovereignty is beyond the scope of this Introduction, a brief summary is appropriate. Humanitarian politics emerges from a long history associated with the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights which can be traced back to the French Revolution of 1789 with core elements of which encapsulates, as Douzinas (2007: 9–13) enumerates are:

- a) universal morality and jurisprudence that should apply to everyone.
- b) concern individual and state relations that limit governmental power towards a person.
- c) Secular, meaning that they forego religious allusions to the power of god or other divine sources (for e.g., a mystical notion of nature or spiritualism).

These terms of universality, individualism, secularism, and the role of the state are how Sanctuary City literature posits that Sanctuary politics resolve or circumvent a tension between humanitarianism and a Westphalian conception of sovereign borders that are:

- i. inviolable wherein their violation legitimates a country’s use of force against a foreign

- invasion or trespassing private individual or group (Schulz-Forberg, 2012).
- ii. the exclusive jurisdiction of a country to regulate and enforce, meaning that states maintain the prerogative to determine all activities occurring on its frontier (McNevin, 2012).
 - iii. territorially defines meaning that they demarcate the space wherein a country's laws and right to legislate apply (Neocleous, 2003).

Humanitarian norms and international law come into frequent conflict with Westphalian sovereignty that underpins national citizenship and borders. A fundamental incompatibility lies between the universal applicability and particular boundaries of human rights and citizenship rights respectively. Both the histories of sovereignty and humanitarianism are the subject of extensive debate and heavily mythologized (Piirimäe, 2010; Osiander, 2001), something I explore later on in this Introduction. For now, they represent two dominant currents in how Political Science and International Relations conceptualize the tension lying at the heart of citizenship politics and how state authorities use citizenship regulations. These oversimplified labels help describe the difference between human and citizenship rights; humanitarian-based as a universal aspiration, while sovereign-based is particular within territorial bounded states (Hayman and Williams, 2006, p. 522). Moreover, these two strands adopt totalizing visions of the world. Both state sovereignty and humanitarian politics promulgate opposing ideas for organizing citizenship worldwide, one which sees that each country ought to define citizenship as opposed to a set of universal rights that supersedes national law.

In addressing and confronting violence done to stateless people, Sanctuary Cities are cases where the totality of the Westphalian inter-state system is brought to bear. The failed asylum claimant. The illegalized migrant. Those with precarious immigration status. These identities and subjecthoods point to existence of a totalizing system of sovereignty and state-based citizenship. Speaking of the refugee, Agamben (1998, p. 134, original emphasis) writes,

The refugee must be considered for what he is: nothing less than a limit concept that radically calls into question the fundamental categories of the nation-state, from the birth-nation to the man-citizen link, and that thereby makes it possible to clear the way for a long-overdue renewal of categories in the service of a politics in which *bare life* is no longer separated and excepted, either in the state order or in the figure of human rights.

The question before us is, *how do* Sanctuary Cities engage the totalizing power of Westphalian sovereignty that underpins the exclusionary and violent enforcement of state borders worldwide? Are they addressing the subjugation of migrant's barest right to live free from the violence exerted by a planetary system of nation-states, which flouts the human rights made in part to protect people, like refugees, lacking citizenship?

I now turn to examine how Sanctuary Cities are framed as accomplishing necessary changes to the global system of national borders and citizenship regulations which criminalize, marginalize, and harm migrants worldwide. In the following section, I show how the reference point of Sanctuary's city-ness is isolated for resolving the promise humanitarian politics by creating *global citizenship*. Here, the qualifier of global is important and forms the second reference point through the concept of 'global cities' (Sassen, 2011). Just as scholars counterpose cities as possessing autonomy from state borders, thus able to challenge them, the global is also posited as possessing a power outside and beyond state sovereignty.

City and urban citizenship

Sanctuary City literature posits that the city and/or urban political movements offer an alternative form of citizenship to that of the state's that is exclusionary and violently enforced. While national sovereignty entails the territorial control of massive swaths of space governed by state-based citizenship, the city and urban locales provide smaller and thus more potential for inclusive politics. A more locally-based political authority allows for city and urban residents to be welcoming and protective of their neighbours and community members who face abuse from

national authorities and their collaborators. Bauder (2017b, p. 182) describes how Sanctuary Cities proffer a different scale of sovereignty wherein municipalities *scale down* the political forum that determines citizenship. He writes how Sanctuary Cities push “towards real possibility of no border” when illegalized migrants are free from the fear of deportation when accessing municipal public services and public spaces (Bauder, 2016c, p.11). Cordes (2017, p. 20) also invoke how Sanctuary Cities reconfigure sovereignty via expanding “the scope of urban citizenship” that centers political authority around the city as a “sovereignty from below.” Herein, Sanctuary Cities challenge the absolute nature of national sovereignty by facilitating “a liberal understanding of membership, bottom-up social inclusion and a new type of belonging that does not reflect on the top-down model of citizenship heralded by the nation-state” (Kuge, 2020, p. 54).

Humanitarian politics can be said to have found a spatial scale, an area, and locale where it can supersede Westphalian sovereignty. As opposed to state territory, city and urban space enables a form of political authority and action capable to create inclusive citizenship. Activists pushing and realizing Sanctuary City policies create humanitarian citizenship. As Abji (2013, p. 324) characterizes, these movements have “a post-national approach [that] rejects the nation state altogether as an increasingly irrelevant or illegitimate source of citizenship within the context of universal human rights.” Boudou (2019, p. 280) echoes this thesis that “cities practice and demonstrate new kinds of enforcement of human rights” and “become the best scale to realize the rights of migrants.” The spatial element of Sanctuary is how, for McDonald (2014, p. 131), “the idea of cities as spaces that enable substantive citizenship is re-affirmed. Second, active citizenship itself is reconfigured.” Sanctuary space is not only physical, but also encompasses a legal and normative spatial configuration that allows conceptualizing new forms of citizenship.

As Paquet et al (2022, p. 88) writes “sanctuary policies provide opportunities to test the jurisdictional space and legal capacities of cities.”

Sanctuary City scholarship conjures that the ‘city’ as a scale and type of space that confronts the totality of Westphalian sovereign territoriality, which is at odds with humanitarian rights worldwide. Sanctuary City scholarship has contributed to the ‘city’ capturing political imagination of thinking beyond the state, whether as rebel cities (Cordes, 2017), embodying the right to the city, realized local self-government (Magnusson, 2015), and asserting urban citizenship (Smith and McQuarrie, 2012). But are such hopes well placed? Boubou (2019, p. 285) elaborates how “cities construct and brand an image of a global city while internalizing international norms, making them de facto the best representatives of progressiveness, multiculturalism, care for migrants, and the actual agents of iterations of human rights norms.” When these aspirations are practised within cities with global reach, Sanctuary Cities become ‘a global strategy for migrant rights’ as Foerster (2019, p. 34) explains how global cities’ “increasing integration of human rights law” within states redefines citizenship worldwide. Bulley (2017, p. 66), speaking of international politics how “the global city’s hospitality does not conduct the conduct of (g)hosts through deportation, then, but rather through galvanising their deportability.” Here, global cities practising Sanctuary are framed as recognizing and confronting the totalizing power of deportability by refusing and redefining the exclusionary basis of national sovereignty.

The city in these accounts represents a political authority based on a spatial scale that is capable to realize humanitarian ideals and politics on a *global* scale. Moreover, Sanctuary Cities directly confront the tension and contradiction of the Westphalian inter-state system. As Lenard and Madoroko (2021, p. 9) write, Sanctuaries

make plain the contradictions that permit all states, and especially relatively wealthy Western states, to proclaim a commitment to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, all the while refusing to act in a way that would support the protection of even a subset of these rights globally.

I will refer to this aspiration and *diagnosis* by scholars studying, of Sanctuary City scholars as promulgating a vision for *global citizenship* that is universal as opposed to the particularizing nature of citizenship based on Westphalian sovereignty.

Sanctuary spaces

But then I ask, do cities have a right to walls? Does the city possess a legitimate basis to enforce its own borders however it sees fit to define? This question gets to the heart of the abolitionary project that demands the end of border violence. From an abolitionist point of view, certain totalities are inherently problematic, so much so, that their belief and philosophical systems must be eliminated. For example, we can describe the Atlantic slave trade, capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism as totalities that function as global structures that respectively depend on racism, the profit-motive, Orientalism, and civilizational discourse. These totalities depended on, and were sustained by one another; racial discourses justified dehumanizing Africans sold into slavery, early stock exchanges helped fund slave ships and plantations, and Western European notions of superiority all underwrote legitimated the conquest and subjugation of non-European peoples (Sharma, 2021). As prison abolitionist Gilmore (2022, p. 93) states, “freedom is a place” and abolitionary critique “shows how relationships of un-freedom consolidate and stretch.” Thus, the sugar, coffee, and indigo plantations procuring slaves represented a place that stretched, extended, and projected relationships over the globe to sustain a colonial political economy built on the slave trade enabled by financial capitalism.

What is the type and nature of Sanctuary space that is said to be stretching over the world? If indeed Sanctuary policies create cities with *global citizenship*, what type of thinking

and philosophical assumptions does that entail? To illustrate this line of questioning, let us take the prison as a set of ideas, belief systems, and physical space. Gilmore (2022, p. 478) writes that “any category or system has many dimensions, analytically necessitating scalar stretch in order to perceive the material world in a variety of overlapping and interlocking totalities.” Prisons require corollary totalizing economies, societal constructs, and political structures that maintain physical carceral infrastructure, a retributory criminal justice system, an overseeing police state, and normatively dehumanizing inmates. In the context of border violence, the categories that reveal multiple totalities are the migrant and deportation zones. Chapter two visually maps the deportation infrastructure of Ontario, Canada. Chapter three examines the exceptional power over undocumented migrants in Toronto, Ontario. Chapter one and this Introduction first deconstruct how the manner the social sciences imagines Sanctuary –via god, city, the global– obscures the interconnecting totalities involved in sustaining border violence. The abolitionary challenge, as posed by Gilmore (2022), is to theorize “without collapsing or reducing various aspects [of a totality] into one another.” So, how can we approach Sanctuary Cities and *global citizenship* without erasing its total context?

Sanctuary City scholars invoke specific histories to explain what type of space Sanctuary policies create. From an abolitionist perspective, I ask, what totalities bear mention in these historical accounts? Which are missing? Where and to when do Sanctuary City scholars look to conceptualize *global citizenship*? In recounting Sanctuary City literature historical allusions, I am drawing attention to how Sanctuary scholars play a part in creating an aesthetic and “structures of feeling” (Williams in Said, 1994, p. 52). Using this framework, Said reconstructs how intellectuals, bureaucrats, artists, and governments collate geographical, historical, and cultural references to create a mental map that essentializes the world to sustain colonial

imperialism. These collated references can be disparate, disconnected, and even disavow a common ideology. Nevertheless, they create ways of thinking of identities of colonial subjects (e.g., the native or the Oriental) and importantly, of space where colonialism and imperialism *should* extend (e.g., to civilize barbaric or cultivate supposed empty land). For Said (1979, pp. 202–3), this technique is a “manner of regularized [...] writing, vision, and study, dominated by imperatives, perspectives, and ideological biases” that emerge from “codified grammars” and “reconstructed dead epochs.” Sanctuary City literature possesses grammars, reconstructed histories, and vision towards ancient asylum practices, the medieval European city, and human rights, which I discuss in the next section. As I have shown, despite the diversity of Sanctuary City scholarship, a specific consciousness becomes clear when read as a whole; I argue next, that it is a *political theology*.

In recounting a history of Sanctuary, the literature links said policies to ancient, medieval, and contemporary religious authorities invoking their divine prerogative to protect downtrodden or undesirable peoples. This forms the third reference point of god. The religious allusions are often brief but nevertheless recurringly reference sacred jurisdictions of churches, temples, and royal prerogative to pardon criminal and protect those fleeing persecution. A ‘structure of feeling’ emerges where Sanctuary’s religious past is combined with an idealized city that creates sacred spaces providing citizenship to sacred migrant figures (a stranger, a deserving neighbour, refugee, or asylum seeker). Imagining Sanctuary in a religious manner clashes with viewing humanitarianism as a secular idea. The conflation gives further credence to the criticisms of humanitarian politics as masquerading Western European Christian morality (Asad, 2015).

Political theology and historical justifications

As we will see, religious allusions point foremost to the imagination of Sanctuary Cities as a

political theological project. To illustrate this dynamic, consider the social contract theorists – Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau – writing in 17th and 18th century Europe, whose texts are credited with articulating modern conceptions of liberal citizenship now associated as a hallmark of modern nation-states (O’Byrne, 2003: 27–28). Political theology, as the term suggests, describes how political authorities/groups, governments, and/or institutions utilize theological categories like god(s), the divine, sacredness, miracles, messiahs, salvation, etc. to justify or theorize the absolute power, and ultimately, sovereignty (Bain, 2020, 2021; Laustsen, 2013; Scott and Cavanaugh, 2008). God and divinity, understood as being sovereign over everything, when converted into non-religious terminology, enables exceptional and absolute rule. Thus, the state is god on earth, or in the words of Thomas Hobbes (1982), ‘an artificial god’ that evokes sufficient terror to bond society together. Or thinkers like John Locke (1988) who ascribed property owners and economic growth as performing god’s will to develop the land. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1987) famously ascribed a prophetic quality to revolutionary leaders that inaugurate the general will of society, which is sanctified to enact sovereign violence. While these three classic political theorists are often grouped as social contract theorists, a political theological reading reveals how god-like powers are being converted to legitimize their preferred form of government and citizenship. So, for Hobbes, an absolutist monarchy requires submissive citizens; for Locke, parliamentary rule operates best with profit-seeking property-owning citizens; and for Rousseau, he saw revolutionary direct democracy needing an active and participating citizenry (O’Byrne 2003, pp. 29-30). But, as Bain (2021, p. 202) writes, “Saying that the king is sovereign and, therefore, above the law he legislates is no simple translation of the belief that God is the supreme sovereign of the universe who is subject to no necessity whatsoever.” Political theology requires reformulating historical, social, economic, and political

claims over authority as involving metaphysical stakes like the salvation, damnation, or souls of rulers and subjects.

Here, political theology is the intellectual and propagandistic mobilization of “authority, revelation, and obedience” by creating ‘structures of feeling’ that bind subjects and rulers into a relationship with god or the divine (Meier, 2006, p. 87). All three social contract theorists tie rationality and reason as a god given faculty which endows every human with equality. In doing so, however, they enumerate conditions of irrationality that disqualifies someone from full citizenship for having violated natural law (Hobbes, 1982, pp. 402–3; Locke, 1988, p. 271; Rousseau, 1987, p. 38). Social contract theory created an intellectual consciousness tied to secularizing theological categories into understanding state sovereignty, property rights, citizenship, Africa, and the so-called New World. I reread Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau as political theology. This reinterpretation emerges because Western European knowledge assumes a godly position as enlightened reason that justified colonialism as developing *Terra Nullius* as god given earthy bounty to exploit, Indigenous and non-Europeans as irrational thus godless, and the European citizen as exerting a sanctified General Will (Dumont, 2020; Million, 2020).

Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau popularized the notion of ‘state of nature,’ a space lacking in applied Reason –citing as an example Indigenous people in the New World and Africa– contradistinguish to European nation-states who developed modern and Enlightened citizenship. Hobbes (1982) likens the ‘state of nature’ to war, Locke (1988) compares it to wastelands, and Rousseau (1987) describes those inhabiting a natural state as ignorant and naive. Social contract theory came to legitimize a marriage between early modern capitalism and the state, which relied on mythologizing certain categories and ways of thinking (Moreton-Robinson, 2020). The preeminent political theological theorist Carl Schmitt writes, “[a]ll significant concepts of the

modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts” and, “[s]overeign is he who decides on the exception” (in Bain, 2021, p. 203). What he means is that claims to secularism (the absence of religion) overlook the theological roots that underpin political authority and figuring out who is sovereign power necessitates locating who possesses the godlike power to make exceptions to supposed inviolable sacred rules (like *thou shalt not murder*).

Political theology operates in part by creating historical myths surrounding the divine intervention in human affairs. To illustrate, let us return to the controversies surrounding the history and definition of Westphalian sovereignty. The Treaty of Westphalia is supposed to have marked the end of the Thirty Years War, which was a series of conflicts surrounding the rights and authority of the Catholic Church to determine the spiritual affairs of Europe (Bartelson, 2021, p. 131). At stake was whether the Pope, based in the Vatican, held divine jurisdiction to interfere in the political affairs over all Christians by installing/embedding Catholic institutions in foreign governments (Devetak, 2021, p. 282; Heikanen, 2021, p. 245). Spurred by church and state propagandistic leaflets, tracts, and sermons, the war became one between Protestants and Catholics who fought with zealous fervor within and beyond their communities (Kunzle, 1973, pp. 65–93). After three decades of war, the Treaty of Westphalia (which in actuality were a series of treaties) enshrined the principle that princes (or sovereign ruler) possess sole jurisdiction to determine the official religion of their *territorial* domain (or state) without foreign interference (Larkin, 2009, p. 2, pp. 73-74).

This mythologized account of the Treaty of Westphalia entailed recasting local power struggles with geopolitical implications, as a religious conflict regarding the eternal salvation of European souls. The Westphalian myth retells of one Thirty Year War involving a fight over divine jurisdiction, as opposed to the Hapsburg family seeking to retain power over German

princes. It is this division, which sparked Danish, Swedish, French, Prussian, Russian, Dutch, English, and Spanish intervention and proxy conflicts across the continent (Osiander, 2001, p. 261). Regardless of the accuracy of the mythical version of events, the account of the *totality* of the conflict remains true. The Treaty of Westphalia and the sovereignty it developed, as Hayman and Williams (2006, p. 524) explain:

was regarded as the solution to problems timeless and universal. It was not designed as a flexible, legalistic precedent, but instead as a fixed ‘roadmap’ for future policy and action. A recurring theme that conforms to the image of statehood (or its historical equivalent) is that the ‘semantics of restoration’

I will use the term Westphalia to represent a political theology of a historically contingent sovereignty established in Western Europe in the 17th Century that delegitimized universalist Catholic authority and sacralised territorially bound claims to absolute power (Neocleous, 2003, pp. 409-412). Westphalia came to sacralise and define the sovereign border with princely territorial control; a notion resistant to universal jurisdiction based on the power of divine absolution of the Catholic Church. Westphalia as myth, idea, and notion became true within the rearticulation by theologians, geographers, historians, artists, writers, philosophers, and aristocracy both citing and redefining the meaning of a historical event (Larkins 2009). Westphalian political theology conceives of the state as sovereign representative of the godly power on earth to make exceptions to the law, exert violent retribution, and lead the populace on the righteous path.

History of sanctuary practices

Sanctuary City scholarship remains beholden to theological allusions primarily to Christian and medieval European precedents. Alongside these recurring religious allusions, Sanctuary City scholarship identifies the city, metropolitan, urban-regional, and local forms of governance (or ‘scale’ of governance) as enacting *global citizenship* that challenges state

borders. Sanctuary's political theological 'structure of feeling' supplements how the social sciences valorise the city for delivering humanitarian norms on a global scale. In casting Sanctuary Cities as delivering a humanitarian *global citizenship* amounts to secularizing Sanctuary's Christian and colonial theological baggage as a form of secular activism and thereby sacralises global urban city spaces.

Ancient references to Sanctuary within the literature mention: Byzantium (McBride 2009), Syrian, Phoenicians (Ridgley, 2011) Greek (Foerster 2019; McBride 2009; Ridgley 2011; Villarreal 2019; Bagelman 2016), and Roman societies (McBride 2009; Ridgley 2011; Squire and Bagelman 2014; Villarreal 2019). Direct references to ancient religious texts that outline Sanctuary practices talk about Buddhism (Bagelman 2016; Villarreal 2014) Bahai, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism (Bagelman 2016) and specifically the Holy Bible (Ridgley 2011; Bagelman 2016; Villarreal 2014). These citations overarchingly surmise Sanctuary as a practice as old as humanity and transcending any one given faith. In citing religious and ancient diversity, Sanctuary is reframed as a universal human custom with a spiritual relationship to the divine.

Just as often, and in more Eurocentric manner, scholarship identifies Sanctuary practices rooted in Western European medieval religious or urban custom. The oft-cited cases are of medieval churches providing asylum to people fleeing imprisonment or cities protecting serfs escaping feudal bondage in Europe (Castanada 2012; Villarreal 2014). Medieval German cities are particularly cited as practising this form of urban Sanctuary (Castanada 2012; Bauder 2017). Other scholars, while echoing the same observations, also add the English Royal Prerogatives that designated certain cities or churches as Sanctuaries (Alonso, 2021; Madoroko 2021; McBride 2009; Villarreal 2019; Bagelman 2016). Others make a more generalized mention that medieval Sanctuaries were informed by Christian theological norms of the time (Lenard and

Madoroko 2021; Villarreal 2019). Within these medieval allusions, the imaginary of conflating city and sacral Sanctuary spaces emerges. When both the ancient and medieval references appear in the same text, a structure of political theological feelings takes shape.

Sanctuary Cities are sometimes traced to churches within the City of Berkeley and the municipal government itself offering Sanctuary to mutinous conscripts refusing to fight in the Vietnam War (Madoroko, 2021; Villarreal 2019, 2014; Maira 2019, Ridgley 2011). Sanctuary practices are also linked to the liberation theology movement where churches across the United States granted protection and shelter to Central American refugees fleeing war. This has since been dubbed the New Sanctuary Movement (Alonso 2021; Ridgley 2011). While there are fewer references to explicitly sacred jurisdiction in these citations, they are often linked to ancient and medieval examples. The New Sanctuary Movement is often tied to an upsurge of Sanctuary Cities in the United States and Canada since 1982 (Lenard and Madoroko 2021; Ridgley, 2011; Villarreal, 2014; Lippert, 2006; Kuge 2020). Yet, unlike non-contemporary references, the literature begins highlighting how Sanctuary comes to the rescue of innocents, be it escaped slaves or asylum seekers. As Bagelman (2016) importantly notes, the ancient and medieval traditions often required an asylum seeker's supplication and prostration to church authorities in order to receive asylum and protection. Bagelman argues that linking the New Sanctuary Movement to these precedents elides how ancient and medieval churches judged the and degraded those seeking asylum and protection.

Critically inclined literatures on Sanctuary argue how the above narrative overlooks and is disconnected from Sanctuary practices of Indigenous people, anti-colonial resistance, or the problematic aspects of church Sanctuary. Villarreal (2014), while noting the overwhelming Eurocentric bias in Sanctuary literature, brings attention to the reality that Aboriginal

Australians, Indigenous New Guineans, and the Ojibwe have long practiced Sanctuary. Villarreal (2019) argues that the Pueblo Revolts against Spanish rule during the 17th century, situated in what is now Mexico and the now southwestern United States, constitutes a ‘Sanctuariescape’ that were mobile as opposed to European forms of Sanctuary situated within churches. In this retelling, she also includes how Indigenous communities offered Sanctuary to slaves in North America escaping European plantations during the 18th Century. She contrasts these instances to how early colonial settlers Puritan Protestant sects (i.e., the Pilgrims) fleeing religious persecution in 17th Century Europe conceived of North America as a Sanctuary but in terms of *Terra Nullius* (empty land) bereft of Indigenous inhabitants. In the contemporary and abolitionist context, Sanctuary practices are linked to the Underground Railroad of the 19th century where networks of refuges were established for slaves escaping their bondage in the Southern United States (Madoroko 2021; Roy 2019; Villarreal 2019; Colbern, 2017; Maira 2019). Villarreal (2019, 2014) also includes networks smuggling Jewish people to escape the Holocaust as a case of Sanctuary. There is a body of work that shows Sanctuaries arising in LGBT struggles (Paik et al, 2019; Ellison, 2019) and squatting communities occupying vacant properties (Hung, 2019).

While these critiques point to these historical allusions overlooking radical alternatives to sovereignty, it also demonstrates how academic political theology is conceptualized as Christian and overlooks how Christianity was integral for colonialism. Moreover, the secularization of Christian values being infused in European Enlightenment thinking means that non-Christian theologies have been recast as a lower form of knowledge or ‘make-believe’. This justification is particularly important when considering how colonial dispossession rationalized itself, in part, with cartographic conventions when mapping territorial acquisitions in the so-called New World. European colonialism (founding settler-colonial states like Canada) surveyed lands (to then plot

property deeds) by disregarding Indigenous conceptions of, and claims to territory (non-surveyed and lacking ‘plots’), by enshrining it as *terra nullius* (i.e., ‘empty land,’ *no matter how long* they inhabited it) (Anghie, 2007, pp. 91–112). Recalling how dispossessing Indigenous people was, in part, justified and rationalized by thinkers like Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, thought of as secular, but also imagined North America as a ‘state of nature’ devoid of Christian civilization. Thus, while brief, theological allusions and justifications of space/place-making are not neutral, especially when presented as secular by downplaying religious influences.

Political theological limits of Sanctuary

I begin the dissertation by deconstructing the political theology of Sanctuary Cities on its own terms. The first chapter engages the thought of Walter Benjamin (1978) and his text *Critique of Violence* (henceforth *Critique*) that shows the theological function of legal theory in justifying the use of violent force. While my dissertation cannot answer how to rid the world of state borders, like Benjamin does in his *Critique*, chapter one theorizes how to think about border violence without succumbing to legalism (i.e., privileging a legal solution for what is, in essence, a political problem).

One of Benjamin’s central insights is the political theological function of the law to delineate between mythology and divinity. Maintaining sovereignty (i.e., absolute political control), requires violence that results in sacrificing life whether in repressing or establishing said political authority. Mass arrests. Torture. Conscription. Executions. Law helps to subterfuge these forms of sacrificial violence by recasting its use into a myth between a time *before* sovereignty (like a state of anarchy, chaos, nature, or war) and *after* sovereignty where peace and order reign. When applying this line of critique to Westphalian sovereignty, its political theology becomes clearer as it requires a distinction between eternal time from which the nation-state

arose. The Westphalian origin story and Social Contract theorists associated with European forms of sovereignty both arose by contradistinguishing a vision of political authority against the Thirty Years War and the so-called New World. Westphalian sovereignty is a constructed myth recounting how state power is justified for suppressing the Catholic Church's supremacy that caused war. Later, this same myth helped justify colonizing faraway lands said to exist in a "state of nature" populated by people devoid of rationality, due to lacking property relations and Christianity. In both cases, sovereign state borders represent a line between an eternal chaos (war and nature) and history (ordered time) that lays within countries.

Benjamin helps us understand how scholarship re-signifies Sanctuary theology as a secular *global citizenship* when in fact scholars are secularizing Sanctuary's Catholic purgatorial theology. Purgatory is a Catholic theological doctrine developed during the 14th Century that posits an interstitial space between earth and heaven, where unbaptized souls could wait until the end of days (or their relative paid the Catholic Church to pray for their release to heaven) (Walls, 2011). Purgatory's invention was due to the Church forever delaying the return of Jesus Christ and usher a divine apocalypse where god would judge all of humanity (ibid). Thus, purgatory conceptualizes time in an inverse fashion to Westphalian political theology wherein the eternal and history are flipped, and the Christian Church offers salvation within its borders. I argue that Sanctuary's political theology operates similarly wherein Sanctuary spaces produce a border delimiting a secularized humanitarianism and *global citizenship* standing against historically-rooted Westphalian sovereignty. Sanctuary Cities are purgatories; they are a city's "sovereign deferral" (Bagelman, 2013, p. 50) of migrants' fate and judgment by state sovereignty. Sanctuary Cities offer no confrontational political theology. "Abolition calls for the end of a certain kind of historical time, and the regulation of bodies in certain spatial logics" (Gilmore in Bhandar et al,

2021, p. 2). Abolition requires eschatology, meaning a theory of the end-times that destroy all borders, including that between the eternal and history on which Westphalian sovereignty depends.

Visual critique and the politics of mapping

Visual maps reveal whose borders matter and *whose time counts*. Territory, property, and space are abstract objects drawn on maps as compartments with lines and polygons that delimit plots and areas. Compartmentalization enables sovereign claims of absolute power over land use, including individual and group mobility (Scholz, 2019, p. 213). Excluding people from demarcated space depends on the cartographic techniques that plot coordinates and planes that maps then represent as space. Whether lines and areas require surveying or navigational expertise, the exclusions enacted by plotting linear borders surrounding areas are legitimated by a circular logic that assumes the cartographically drawn compartments exist prior to the map (Goettlich, 2019, p. 222). For example, cartography has long naturalized the Global North's invention of, and subsequent dominance over, the Global South (Grovgoui, 2011, pp. 175–190). So normalized are such relations, Google Maps uses the Mercator cartographic projection made for European centered navigation, shrinking the Global South's area while also enlarging the Global North's (Kessler and Battersby, 2019, pp. 100–110; Pickles, 2004, p. 57).

Chapter two takes a cue from visual studies in IR that emphasize the importance of using the arts and aesthetic theory to challenge dominant ways of thinking that uphold power structures (Bleiker, 2009, 2018; Callahan, 2015). Here, I isolate a current in Critical IR that conceptualizes an aesthetic category of 'zones' that resists thinking about borders in terms of Westphalian sovereignty that assumes state territorial compartments depicted in maps. Critical IR draws insights from globalization studies showing that we live in a world of zones - i.e., those

designated spaces that configure and globally connect local political and economic relationships (like free trade zones, exclusive economic zones, gated tourist resorts, etc., wherein offshore accounts, special ports, factories, resource extraction, or accommodations are exempt from national laws) (Murray, 2017; Ong, 2006; Tsing, 2004). One advantage of this observation helps identify how local economic agents (factory owners, construction companies, municipal authorities, hotel managers, etc.) create zones by wielding exceptions to national citizenship regulations (like visa requirements) to attract and control migrant labourers (by threatening deportation or seizing their passports). This form of labour control also corresponds to histories of how European colonialism operated via privately chartered corporations like the English and French East India companies and extra-territorial trading ports and outposts who possessed jurisdiction over who was considered a citizen within their jurisdiction (Cutler et al., 1999; Ford, 1999) Thereby, the category of ‘zones’ helps explain how the global economy operate and emerged at the micro and macro level in parallel to the state that grants and enforces citizenship laws.

I conduct six mapping exercises to develop a cartographic method to visually depict border enforcement zones which the social sciences purport that Sanctuary Cities resist. I employ counter-mapping theory that involves emerging emancipatory cartographic methods that create abolitionary visual narratives. For example, Chak's (2014) graphic novel *Undocumented*, maps the political violence laden within carceral spatial configurations of indefinite detention without charge, constricted cells, and solitary confinement (Rifkind, 2017). *This is Not an Atlas* and *An Atlas of Commoning* are exemplars of counteracting biases in cartographic methodology that privilege Western state-centric notions of space and borders (Hiller et al., 2018; kollektiv orangotango+, 2018). I use Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software to produce maps

visually depicting the facilities and routes of the trials, surveillance, and detention of migrants in the province of Ontario, Canada wherein Toronto's Sanctuary City resides. I use a countermapping method to visually demonstrate how border enforcement infrastructure itself is a series of zones.

By articulating how to map zones, I challenge state-centric cartographic aesthetics which assumes Ontarian and Canadian borders and space. Chapter two sketches a zone theory of international politics, which I more fully develop in chapter three. The six maps of Ontario's border enforcement infrastructure visually foregoes and critiques state-defined spatial categories (e.g., wards, counties, and especially cities, etc.) to displace Westphalian sovereign assumptions in cartographic representation of borders.

Abolitionism and petty sovereignty

Chapter three applies Giorgio Agamben's (1998, 2011) theory of sovereign exceptionality, derived from Carl Schmitt's political theological texts, to study the case of Toronto's Sanctuary City policies. Using Agamben, I fully articulate a theory that I call *seeing like a zone*, which addresses the question on how Westphalian sovereignty operates at the urban and municipal scale where Sanctuary City literature argues *global citizenship* emerges.⁷ While mainstream IR scholars associate sovereignty with the state, Agamben shows how any person or institution can assume sovereign power by what is known as 'exceptional' politics (Biswas and Nair, 2009, pp. 3–4). Exceptional politics often refers to governmental authority declaring a 'state of emergency' to suspend a country's constitution that guarantees a citizen's rights therein. Governments justify using this power by saying that they need to address a crisis that requires decisiveness. War and natural disasters are classic examples. In such instances, the rule of law is

⁷ *Seeing like a zone* is an allusion to the well-known work of James C. Scott (1998) book *Seeing like a State* that I discuss in Chapter three.

suspended and whichever institution (the head of state, military, police, etc.) with sovereign authority exercises martial rule over an area and population. But this narrow definition omits how sovereign rule is more pervasive in everyday life.

Chapter three delves into one such commonplace occurrence, being, how frontline municipal workers possess exceptional sovereign power over undocumented migrants in Toronto Ontario, Canada's biggest Sanctuary City. These workers include teachers, police officers, doctors, nurses, construction companies, hotel managers, among others. Using Agamben's theory of exceptionality, I show how border enforcement, or resistance to it, involves local institutions like school boards, hospitals, city staff, businesses assuming a sovereign power to provide asylum or assist with deportation. Local officials, city residents, and/or business owners wield sovereignty via creating exceptions to citizenship regulations and policy to produce zones to grant asylum (Sanctuary), perpetuate exile (deportation), or exploiting migrants under their employ with the threat of border violence.

Chapter three cites Agamben's insights that provide Critical IR a conceptual language to describe border violence done to migrants because they inhabit 'zones of indistinction.' The border, whether at a country's frontier, or as Sanctuary City scholars show, deep within a state, are such space where constitutional protections do not apply to non-citizens. In *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, Agamben (1998) uses the figure of refugees and concentration camp inmates (particularly during Nazi Germany) to describe the relationship between citizenship, the law, and sovereign power. He describes how individuals stripped of their citizenship and placed in camps without any legal rights are reduced to a condition of *bare life* and inhabit a 'zone of indistinction.' Such a zone (like a concentration camp) is ruled exclusively by sovereign power that, by virtue of the law, exists outside of legal constraints. Sovereignty, per

Agamben, demarcates people and spaces that are outside or inside the law, between an outer realm of nature and biological life against the inner realm of legality and citizenship. A zone of indistinction exists in between these two realms wherein the sovereign is neither a legal entity nor completely outside law, which enables such exceptional power. Agamben describes how once someone is reduced to *bare life* (an animal), they are subject to exceptional violence incapable of lawful executions but empowered to sacrifice life. Like during a state of emergency, a ‘zone of indistinction’ is defined by the presence of sovereign power whose violence is both lawful and lawless.

I conceptualize a *seeing like a zone* heuristic and cite Agamben to critique attempts to *see like a city* to evade Westphalian sovereignty ways of thinking (a.k.a. *seeing like a state*). Scott (1998) shows how social scientific research has an epistemic disposition to *see like a state*, which equates nation-states as a marker of modernity and thus superior to non-state modes of governance (for e.g., especially of non-European people). Similarly, Agnew (1994) theorizes the idea of the *territorial trap* to traces how the social sciences conflate sovereign state borders with geographic notions of territory. Wimmer and Schiller (2002) argue against what they call, *methodological nationalism*, wherein the fields of economics, anthropology, sociology, and social sciences overall compartmentalize themselves into ‘national’ academic fields devoted to solving their countries’ social problems at the expense of studying global phenomena. *Seeing like a city* approaches by Magnusson (2011) and Valverde (2011) advocate privileging the study politics at the local and urban scale where democratic and inclusive forms of governance emerge. Chapter three warns against using the ‘city’ as an alternative form of politics because all forms of citizenship depend on exceptionality. City-ness assumes that devolving state citizenship to municipal or urban authorities could guarantee human rights. Vaunting city politics as inherently

inclusive and progressive is a form of *methodological cityism* that overlooks the disaggregated and complex nature of urban space (Brenner, 2014). When Sanctuary City scholars see cities as a sort of alternative spatial authority (controlling urban spaces) producing *global citizenship*, such a view elides how citizenship are always based on discriminatory grounds (Guillaume and Huysmans, 2013; Nyers, 2018). When a migrant’s urban presence constitutes a sort of ‘citizenship’ and “alternative legality,” (Vrasti and Dayal, 2016, p. 998), I argue, that the city is assuming sovereignty to regulate citizenship borders.

Chapter three redirects attention to the question of sovereignty as opposed to Political Theorists seeking to imagine city-based citizenship to realize global human rights. Using Agamben, I too caution against reinvigorating bygone politics of Ancient Greece city-states or medieval Sanctuary in our case. He writes (1998, p. 187),

every attempt to rethink the political space of the West must begin with the clear awareness that we no longer know anything of the classical distinction between *zoe* and *bios*, between private life and political existence, between man as a simple living being at home in the house an’ man’s political existence in the city.

For Agamben (1998, pp. 1-2), the distinction between *bios* (nature) and *zoe* (political citizenship) has always depended on a sovereign that mythologizes between the former realm as chaos, and the latter, as a place of salvation. Agamben (p. 11) applies Carl Schmitt’s idea that the “Sovereign is he who decides on the state of exception” to describe how sovereignty *first* declares who is exempted from the godly salvation of citizenship that grants conditional protections from sacrificial violence.

Seeing like a zone applied to Toronto’s Sanctuary City and the study of urban politics more broadly, identifies a phenomenon I label *private deputized sovereignty* wherein individuals or institutions with some control over a space can auto-deputize themselves with citizenship powers to create zones. One such power is evidenced through crafting administrative policy

exceptions to national citizenship regulations to allow undocumented migrants into delimited spaces (such a workplace or to city services). Such policy exceptions are discussed in the types of Sanctuary policies that grant amnesty, but are also exercised by employers and police to terrorize undocumented migrants. The threat of collaborating with national border enforcement creates economic zones in workplaces that employ undocumented or precarious migrants in construction, hospitality, and manufacturing industries. In Canada, the only authority mandated to enforce borders and citizenship laws is the CBSA (Atak et al., 2019). Security zones result from Toronto’s Police Service, regional transit fare inspectors (GO Transit), and healthcare workers assume/conjure a legal duty to report and detain undocumented migrants for the purpose of their deportation. Often, these officials stereotype undocumented migrants as undeserving and/or being “illegal” (Bauder, 2013). Both sanctuary and local border enforcement results from *private deputized sovereignty* that entails enacting policy exceptions to collecting or reporting citizenship documentation. Such local use of sovereign exceptionality can extend social services (like schools, shelters, and libraries), exploit the threat of deportation, or enact border violence towards undocumented migrants.

A theory of zones

Social scientific thinking that international human rights law legitimizes and empowers Sanctuary City policies to create *global citizenship* (Basok, 2009) elides how zones of indistinction result from international humanitarian law. Undocumented migrants, refusing to live and be processed through refugee camps, thus unrecognizable to the system, became subject to exceptional rule and expulsion (Johnson, 2014, p. 48). Undocumented migrant workers are exceptions to governments who administer asylum and refugee programs and national immigration frameworks (p. 134). As Isin and Rygiel (2007, p. 196) succinctly put it, “the logic

of zones is to act as a filter in the citizenship-making process” by tying legitimized identities to delimited spaces with customized services, rights, and/or networks. In other words, the eligibility criteria put onto undocumented migrants to enter Sanctuary zones or workplaces that subjects them to the threat of exile, are both cases of *private deputized sovereign* made possible by being deemed exceptions to the state define refugee paradigm.

In linking secular migrant justice activism to theological traditions and foregrounding humanitarianism, social science literature sacralises the city as a form of political emancipatory space. By examining how scholars imagine –god, city, globe– having degrees of autonomy and power beyond Westphalian state sovereignty, I note a curious absence of critical history recounting how metropolitan city-urban centres were integral to perpetuating global capitalism and colonial imperialism, which I reflect further on in chapter three and the dissertation’s concluding remarks. Suffice to say, *seeing like a zone* is both a critique and method to diagnose limitations to thinking in an abolitionary way. The phenomenon of *private deputized sovereignty* echoes observations by Judith Butler (2004, p. 56) of *petty sovereigns* who reign with “a lawless and prerogatory power, a ‘rogue’ power par excellence” and “render unilateral decisions, accountable to no law and without any legitimate authority.” Colonial administrators occupying outposts abroad, local police enforcing racial segregation, or public services frontline staff collaborating with the CBSA, each are able to wield petty sovereignty over non-citizens who inhabit ‘zones of indistinction.’

Chapter 1: Sanctuary's border violence

Preface

This chapter in the dissertation is a forthcoming publication in *Contexto Internacional* with the citation skaidra, s. (2023) Utopic purgatory: A Critique of border violence. *Contexto Internacional* (volume 45, issue 1). In this chapter I address the religious allusions in Sanctuary City literature. I apply a political theological rereading of the Walter Benjamin essay *Critique of Violence* (henceforth *Critique*) that describes the relationship between myth, history, law, and sovereignty. As I discuss in the Introduction, the Myth of Westphalia is a foundation myth that justifies sovereign state power expressed in the enforcement of national borders and citizenship. Walter Benjamin (1978) contributes a conceptual language to describe how sovereignty depends on mythologizing violence into law. As such, Benjamin's method shows how legal theory is unable to critique the use of violence because law's very purpose is sublimate sovereign violence into legal power. The *Critique* informs International Political Sociological (IPS) thinkers like RBJ Walker (2006) and Nick Vaughan-Williams (2009) who cite Benjamin to demonstrate how sovereignty relies on drawing a border between legal and exceptional violence, the latter coming to define state borders and the international realm. I argue that this border, between legal/exceptional, serves a political theology purpose to demarcate what is and is not considered history with the purpose of mythologizing violence as being eternal and universally true. Reading Benjamin *Critique* thusly enables deconstructing the religious mythology that appears in Sanctuary City literature. As Bigo (2016a, p. 32) and IPS methodologies note critiquing sovereignty requires identifying transhistorical categories, like the state, that legitimate violence as beyond critique itself. When Sanctuary City scholarship postulates Sanctuary as a historically universal religious anti-border phenomenon, a similar border is being drawn. Sanctuary Cities

recreate sovereign power by mythologizing a history of Church jurisdiction that also relies on such a border violence. Sanctuary City movements fail to obliterate or advance dismantling the boundary of history that sovereign power claims to produce.

Abstract

Proponents for Sanctuary Cities argue that the movement's non-violent nature challenges the state-based international order and its borders. Sanctuary Cities resemble general strikes which Walter Benjamin analyzes in *Critique of Violence* as a potential non-violent means to overcome the state. I argue that Sanctuary politics is limited in its capacity to challenge borders in-of-themselves because the movement is caught in a false antimony between natural and positive law that Benjamin critiques. This chapter proposes a critique of borders that emulates Benjamin's method which isolates violence from the mystification of legal theory. Similarly, I argue that the framing of Sanctuary Cities within historical precedents of Biblical and medieval asylum practices reproduces border violence. Whereas migrant justice movements threaten the state order by challenging Westphalian notions of time, Sanctuary remains indebted to borders in order to reassert these past historical jurisdictions of churches or feudal towns. Sanctuary, in relation to more utopic politics, operates like a purgatory wherein a potential messianic migrant figure could herald the end of state borders. I propose this idea of *utopic purgatory* as a means to isolate how Sanctuary Cities contribute to and limit a critique of borders. In doing so, Sanctuary City politics help uncover how historical analysis comes to reify the borders that create sovereign territoriality and mystifies away the utopic possibility of unimpeded migration.

Keywords: Sanctuary City, Migration, Citizenship, Borders, Political Theory

Utopic purgatory: Critique of border violence

The Sanctuary City movement in Europe and North America encompasses municipalities and/or civil society actors who provide social services to residents regardless of immigration status, and/or variously obstruct deportations enforcement, and in doing so, offer hope for a borderless world (Bauder, 2016b). Sanctuary City policies are internationally diverse; however, common among them is actors and institutions withholding participation from managing state borders (Darling and Bauder, 2019). Whether in active forms (such as issuing local identification cards and protecting the data collected), or in passive manners (barring officers entry onto premises and/or refusal to share information) (Villazor and Gulasekaram, 2018a), Sanctuary City policies withdraw societal, municipal, and local institutional complicity with enforcing immigration laws (Bauder, 2019). This element of withdrawal, as opposed to forceful overthrow, draws a parallel with Walter Benjamin's (1978, p. 291) examination of the general strike as a 'pure means' of nonviolence. As opposed to unions, or arguably many NGOs, which recognize the state's monopoly of violence, Sanctuary and the general strike operate outside the law by boycotting the economy and the state citizenship regime. I will apply to Sanctuary politics Benjamin's analysis of the general strike in a *Critique of Violence* that shows how legalism sublimates violence into itself.

The border –as a politics and a notion– foremost sublimates migration into settlement by demarcating the world into two fundamental spatial orders: between an 'inside' realm where History occurs and is contradistinguished from an 'outside' defined by eternal movement understood as a Hobbesian state of nature/war. To critique borders necessitates dismantling the object that bordered spaces produce – territory defined by stable, linear, and recordable time. Sanctuary Cities are framed in relation to historical precedents such as Biblical or medieval asylum practiced on church and town lands (Lenard and Madokoro, 2021a). I problematize the

move to cite Sanctuary territorial antecedents for their reliance on borders. My critique is akin to how Benjamin (1978, p. 291) cites Sorel in critiquing labour unions who politically bargain away claims to lawmaking violence by foregoing utopic objectives. But, just as unions are instrumental for potential proletarian emancipation, Sanctuary does offer a waiting room within History for the antithesis of borders to appear – a prophetic migrant figure whose presence will sweep away the distinction between historical and eternal time, a division which forms the basis of Westphalian sovereignty. Revolutionary class war and migration-as-war both possess what Benjamin (1978, p. 281) identifies as a violence with the potential to inaugurate a new foundation beyond the state sovereignty that defines borders and the law. I argue Sanctuaries harbor *utopic purgatory* wherein eschatological claims to migrant justice are confined and sheltered until a messianic figure arrives to sanctify the anti-border violence that states associate to claims of a universal right to migration.

Walter Benjamin's political theology

Sanctuary City advocates echo the aspirations Benjamin expounds in his *Critique of Violence* to identify a messianic figure that can transcend law. In this vein, critiquing violence and the border in-of-themselves involves locating stand-ins who represent a transcendental force that overcomes the legal dialectic that mystifies away the possibility for emancipation. Both the general strike and Sanctuary Cities are such candidates who hold space for a necessary impossibility to occur – the abolition of the state and its borders. Judging how general strikes have not ushered in a new order, Sanctuary Cities harbour a similar risk for disappointment. To be fair to Benjamin and radicals engaging Sanctuary more opportunistically, the nature of violence and borders exceeds existing terminology used to understand grounded political practices like municipal policy or labour strikes. Benjamin contributes to a critique of borders by

showing how statist logic and legal thought are unable to confine the concepts of violence and borders. His critique reveals how violence and, similarly, borders are phenomena that shatters their legal definitions. The *Critique of Violence* reckons with the world-shattering potential of violence and has Benjamin turn to political theology that embraces religious allusion to overcome the shortcomings of secular thought to ground normativity in the early 20th Century, a sentiment shared by Max Weber and Carl Schmitt (Gordon, 2020). *Utopic purgatory* as an idea follows this tradition by resisting the rationalist terminology through which states use to mystify violence and borders into a legal question. Before interpreting what *purgatory* means for *utopic* ends, I examine how the *Critique of Violence* undoes legalist and state translations of divine violence. Sanctuary Cities, like the general strike, suggest where to begin surveying for an excavation of primordial violent forces that escape legal translation.

Benjamin in the *Critique of Violence* deconstructs how legal theory mystifies violence as being an issue caught in an antimony between natural and positive law. Each form of law proffers opposing theses on the use of violence that each invariably only legitimizes legal violence. Natural law theory naturalizes violence which, in order to be justly applied, must serve just ends such as enforcing the right defend oneself. Once these just ends are identified, natural legal thinking concludes that the ends justify the means (Benjamin, 1978, p. 278). Natural legal research seeks uncovering just ends capable of legally sanctioning violence. The example par excellence is Just War Theory wherein natural legal thinking develops methods to identify true *casus belli* that would justify inter-state acts of aggression (Piirimäe, 2010). On the other hand, positive law eschews metaphysical notions like nature and instead views permissible violence as being historically contingent (Benjamin, 1978, p. 279). Here, the research task is to identify the historical basis that determines (un)sanctionable violence and work towards justifying those

parameters. For example, this view favours proceduralism, so if a trial follows a just legal procedure, the sentence too is just (Rocheleau, 2011). In practice, the *Critique* comes to describe how natural law translates just ends into a license for any violent means necessary, whereas positive law will legitimize violent historical outcomes into just legal procedures.

Benjamin identifies how these theses draw from non-legal bases –nature and history– to claim a monopoly over the use of violence which must be denied to individuals (Benjamin, 1978, p. 281). Legal mystification is the process whereby the state occludes the potential for individuals or non-state groups to channel extra-legal violence (such as just ends or a historical claim) into lawmaking violence. States permit law-preserving violence to obscure the basis for all lawmaking being Fate, i.e., the aggregate of successfully applied violence which has determined which ends became sanctioned. As Benjamin (p. 294) observes, myth operates by containing Fate by producing a version of justice that lacks a discernable end or final judgment. Benjamin (p. 297) shows how committing violence in the name of these myths comes to shed blood to establish the ‘power over mere life.’ Such mythos can be seen anywhere from progress, patriotism, cultural superiority, or profitable growth. Yet, non-state actors also possess lawmaking violence, namely, the military⁸ and general strikes which the state pacifies by granting armies and unions law-preserving violence like conscription and the right to strike (pp. 282-4). Returning to the mystifying antimony, we see how law-preserving violence translates the natural ends sought in war or class conflict into positive legal rights. The state grants militarism and unionism legal violence that is stripped of the mythical potential which the state reserves for itself in its monopoly over the right to sacrifice life.

⁸ Benjamin (1978) sees the military as possessing a source of authority that exceeds and competes with that of the state and law. He labels military violence ‘predatory’ and ‘primordial’ and capable of ‘sanctioning, regardless of all other legal conditions, of every victory’ (p. 283). In this sense, the military is a non-state actor endowed with sovereignty that states seek to appropriate while also fearing a permanent standing army as a rival to state power.

When applied to migration, borders operate how Benjamin (p. 283) sees militaries derive law-preserving powers from possessing primeval warring powers that the state views as potentially threatening to its order. Border authorities (from within or abroad) likewise pose a perceived threat to state orders by way of controlling the flow of irregular migrants. Borders to migration, like the military to war, implicitly hold law-making potential in their ties to an external constitutive phenomenon that exceeds the law. Herein, we see the mystified antimony between positive and natural law suppress the fact that the state perceives mass human migratory events as acts of war. Benjamin observes how natural law is often conflated with ‘natural history’ (p. 278), meaning that the explanation of why migration occurs (often due to displacement) becomes a series of necessary outcomes that justifies international law. World Wars spurred the development of the legal category of refugee. Climate change is calling for a redefinition. Humanitarian crises have states reform laws to accommodate more refugees. On the other hand, positive legal frameworks (Benjamin 1978, p. 279), which dominate international legal thinking (Lambert, 2008), come to justify the legal procedures that create statelessness (Arendt, 1973). International positive legal thought sees migration in the context of historically contingent communities who came to self-determination and codified the nation-state’s right to govern their own borders. In this mystifying antimony, international law mythologizes the border violence states incur onto migrants. In both cases, migration is naturalized or historicized away as causes that justify the law-preserving violence of state border enforcement. Migration as a potential lawmaking warring act threatens state law itself because migrants embody Fate itself on the move.

Benjamin’s *Critique* leaves a legacy to read the migrant as a stand-in for Niobe, the mythical figure turned to stone by the gods, as a manifestation of border violence; or more

precisely, Niobe and deported migrants *are borders* made into stone (Ty, 2019). In this reading, migration is a divine event that sends law-destroying representatives, who states assimilate into or exclude from, the space of History that sovereign borders carve out from the eternal state of nature. Migrants become the line, in a depersonalized, dehumanized, and reified stand-in for the law-making violence of borders. The legal status assigned (or denied) to migrants denotes a border being sublimated onto their bodies. Refugees bear the mythic violence of statelessness, where humanity forsakes life to uphold territorial sovereignty. Refugee camps lay bare *homo sacer* who bear the mark of exile from the international community of states. Border violence demarcates where bodies stand temporally between law-defined state History and its other, the war that is the state of nature.

Political theology of Sanctuary

Sanctuary City politics is understood by migration, citizenship, and border scholarship to be enmeshed within the dialectic contradiction Benjamin identifies in *Critique of Violence*, between natural right and positive law's relation to justice. On one hand, rights of belonging, hospitality, and the city are natural rights and ends of all humanity. On the other, communities worldwide are entitled to autonomy, sovereign internal affairs, and self-determination within history (Bauder, 2016c). Sovereign borders enclose where Benjamin's legal violence occurs with states sublimating migration to serve the ends of military occupation, colonialism, and capitalist displacement. His work explicates how mythmaking converts the violence inherent to sovereign borders into legally rationalized power, enabling state citizenship and immigration policies to sacrifice life for the mystic ends of nation, civilization, and economic progress.

To emulate Benjamin and isolate the border as an object of critique necessitates confronting the role that historical knowledge plays in obscuring and creating borders. History

both depends on and records the borders which casts out an unbound timelessness, i.e., the eternal, from which temporality can emerge. The border in this case precedes the historical capacity to identify its bifurcation. Historians operate like sovereigns both inside and outside history, determining the criteria of what constitutes as time (Davis, 2012). As Benjamin (1978, p. 299) observes, ‘the critique of violence is the philosophy of its history [...] because only the idea of its development makes possible a critical, discriminating, and decisive approach to its temporal data.’ Similarly, a critique of borders is the political theology of its histories because only in revealing whichever eternal orders are excluded can temporal bifurcations be gleaned.

Sanctuary in some senses reproduces a state-centric view of migrants by way of historicizing or naturalizing migration. Sanctuary rhetoric presents itself as either responding to the natural fact that migration is a human right, or, that historically, migration is important in every nation-state’s historical formation (Foerster, 2019). Neither of these accounts enables the migrant to don a messianic role to undo the state. Sanctuary policies create spaces wherein a migrant can enjoy their natural right to seek the good life (for e.g., economic migration) and/or rectify the state’s failure to grant the positive right to claim asylum. In each case, Sanctuary spaces (cities, schools, or churches) draw on historical precedents in order to implement a border enclosing the natural right to migration or positivist refugee law.

Sanctuary advocacy largely frames the project in pragmatic terms to help migrants and often denies utopic motives (Lenard & Madaroko, 2021). Nevertheless, Sanctuary activism reveals how non-state actors can appropriate borders to enclose a space where history *could* come to an end as opposed to the nation-states’ legal mythology which refuses to acknowledge the possibility of its own finitude. *Utopic purgatory* as a theological concept, arguably applicable beyond Sanctuary contexts, exposes how a critique of border violence requires a historical

epistemology that accepts eschatology. However, this political theology refuses to accelerate the abolition of state borders and only holds space for Fate to migrate and wait within Sanctuary.

Utopic purgatory shows how any border is in fact a materialized historical claim to violence that is intertwined and mystified with law. Borders enclose space and time in state-centric terms (Scott, 1998) exemplified by methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Schiller, 2002) and the territorial trap (Agnew, 1994) which stipulate that modernity only dwells within sovereign territoriality, and all that falls outside those borders is the brute and violent state of nature (Walker, 2015). Sanctuary, on the other hand, borrows a different form of history but from a history nonetheless.

European and North American Sanctuary practices herald from Christian and medieval jurisdiction over asylum claim, whereas Indigenous and African anticolonial resistance used Sanctuariescapes of shifting networks and regions to evade and fight genocidal rule (Villarreal, 2019). Church Sanctuary involved vestigial ecclesiastical authority and immunities where eternal salvation remained in the hands of clergy but was confined to church property. Therein enclosed, the pastoral power of church authority emerged, and in the colonies subjected those seeking its refuge to baptism, conversions, and sacraments (p. 45). Similarly, within the US, movements involving campuses hiding draft dodgers, churches harboring Central American refugees, and Sanctuary City policies, are all spaces where activists seek speaking historical truths to power (Maira, 2019). In one case of the 1980s the US Federal government prosecuted Sanctuary volunteers administering asylum claims within the church, however during the trial the court barred the plaintiffs from admitting into evidence the US-caused atrocities of Central American Wars causing for the refugee influx (Pirie, 2013). These cases show how Sanctuary's borders

encloses alternate theologies of history (wherein justice exists) to harbour migrants fleeing state sacrifice whose mythical violence is rendering life bare with sovereign power.

On the borders of purgatory

Purgatory applied here is a theological epistemology that subordinates History to Fate in order to allow the possibility of a messianic figure to appear and bring about utopia. Purgatory is a doctrine emerging from the twelfth century and marked a departure from the theological preoccupation with eschatology as ever more time continued to pass awaiting the final judgement of Christ's second coming. This theological idea consecrated a timeless place for those who missed final confession before passing and where coupled souls separated before the end-times could reunite before the final judgement (Walls, 2011, p. 21). Failed 20th Century utopic projects often find themselves in the purgatories of moribund unions, academic halls, and small radical electoral parties. *Utopic purgatory* spaces appear to challenge states because the latter's borders promulgate the Augustinian political theology that sovereignty (that states monopolize) is the only means to manage good and evil within the *City of Man*, i.e. the temporal plane (Magnusson, 2006). This view places eternity into the *City of God* which is pitted against the natural Epicurean 'unwalled city' of humanity that is perpetually stuck in state of war (Connolly, 2002, p. 82). *Utopic purgatories* recognize the possibility that the *City of God* could materialize on earth, whether in a Sanctuary, commune, or assembly. States, however, desire retaining their monopoly on a mythologized sovereign order whose borders constitutes the exclusive 'epistemic standpoint' that defines History and, conversely, its other, Fate (Ty, 2019, p. 316). Within the borders of purgatory exists a history that acknowledges eternity, however delayed its utopic promise.

Critiquing border violence calls for a political theology that transcends the division between history and the state-of-nature which justifies legal violence enacted towards migrants. Sanctuary borders still demarcate the eternal and historical, albeit to harbor the natural rights of migrants. Debates surround the extent to which Sanctuary Cities shatter and/or maneuver legal immigration law by employing human rights discourse, claiming everyone's natural right for safety and security (Kuge, 2019, 2020). This framing belies how human rights nevertheless seeks implementing a border to realize its natural ends which are still waiting for their historical moment. Sanctuary Cities imbue a sense of timelessness onto precarious migrants who experience their future being suspended due to their legal relation to a state's borders (Bagelman, 2013; Bagelman, 2016; Squire & Darling, 2013). Sanctuary's timeless quality speaks to its historical bordering that encloses a new temporality out of step with state history.

In Sanctuaries, the Westphalian myth that underpins inter-state law and borders has no hold. Instead, purgatory's eternal temporality exists within a bounded space churches and cities invoke while awaiting utopia. Benjamin's understanding of how law casts out extralegal violence for its own survival equally applies to borders that necessarily resist the monism of undifferentiated space and time. International Relations has long identified how Westphalia is the necessary myth of international law by codifying that temporal rulers of the world trump spiritual authorities in matters of warfare (Piirimäe, 2010). Princes can wage war, but religions and notions of eternal justice are to be contained within borders, lest borderless religious claims subsume all nations into warfare for eternity. *Utopic purgatory* may harbor, like Sanctuary, claims to eternal sovereignty (of God or migration), yet such spaces remain carved from History whose borders keep such a possibility at bay.

Chapter 2: Mapping borderzones: Ontario inland border enforcement

Preface

This chapter is a manuscript being prepared for submission and is written in the style of a journal article. Its contents contain a methodological discussion of zonal theory and a case analysis of Ontario inland border enforcement. This chapter contextualizes both the case analysis and method used in Chapter three that consists of a zonal analysis of Sanctuary City policies in Toronto, ON.

Introduction

if a metaphysician could not draw, what would he think?
- Bachelard (1994, p. 212), *The Poetics of Space*

The ethos of Critical International Relations (IR) research agendas revolves around decentering, disaggregating, or reconceptualizing the analysis of world politics beyond state-centrism. Admittedly an overly broad label, the use of the word ‘Critical’ describes scholarship that puts theory, methods, literature, and/or case analysis in the service of critique that views the current state of the world as unjust and needs to be radically altered. I will examine how Critical IR uses maps in a literal and figurative approach when critiquing sovereign borders, concentrating on how Critical IR understands the idea of remapping. To remap has come to mean locating, charting, and redefining the ontology and epistemology of redrawing and studying borders. Critical IR research agendas employ a remapping metaphor to describe their efforts to dislodge how borders epistemically constitute the sovereign Westphalian state (Ferguson and Mansbach, 2004; Klein, 1998; Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013; Robinson, 2002). To do a remapping targets both the sovereign state as an object of analysis and as an effect resulting from representational strategies that depict states as having clearly delineated lines that demarcate stable contained units (Dodge, 2014; Goettlich and Branch, 2021). However, unlike in the fields

of critical cartography and political geography, and despite acknowledging how borders draw on the power of aesthetics and cartography, Critical IR neglects visualizing their remapping theses in the form of a new way of mapping. If a core element of criticality is to remap politics and thereby locate emancipatory routes amenable for praxis, where are the accompanying visual objects that help show where paths towards emancipation lay?

Visual maps (territorial and otherwise) have long been capable of advancing research agendas with emancipatory, or at least critical, intentions. Diagrams of the Copernican Heliocentrism was instrumental for ushering a humanist remapping of science (Allan, 2018, p. 76). Florence Nightingale used infographics (that map data over time) to compel hospitals to implement hygienic practices in 19th century Britain (Grace, 2018). Similarly, W.E.B. Du Bois (2018) pioneered blending data-analysis and maps to demonstrate the socioeconomic reality of the ‘colour line’ segregating the United States during Reconstruction. In fields closer to IR, Povinelli’s (2016) augmented reality mapping project led by the aboriginal peoples in Northern Australia, *This is Not an Atlas: A Global Collection of Counter-Cartographies* (kollektiv orangotango+, 2018), and *An Atlas of Commoning: Places of Collective Production* (Hiller et al., 2018) are examples of mapping technology being used for counteracting statist biases in cartographic methodologies and narratives. Drawing inspiration from these sources, I will show how I used Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software and counter-mapping theoretical frameworks to render six maps that aesthetically apply a Critical IR approach to remapping borders.

To this end, I employ GIS tools to display borders in novel new ways used elsewhere in Legal Geography, Indigenous, participatory, and counter-mapping appropriating GIS software for emancipatory ends (Kudžmaitė and Pauwels, 2020; Mackenzie et al., 2020; Povinelli, 2016).

Without visualizing remapping efforts, Critical IR's aesthetic choices go unquestioned by omitting representational objects to critique and scrutinize. IR is aware of how maps constitute and help the state manifest sovereign borders that erase non-state agencies (Branch, 2014; Goettlich, 2019; Shah, 2012). I argue and show how Critical IR researchers undertaking remapping efforts should be aware of their own aesthetic choices carrying political consequences.

I concentrate on the intersection of Critical IR and globalization studies which have influenced how IR broadly approaches state borders. Globalization and transnational studies have shown that we already live in a world without borders. Economic zones and networks, nodes, global cities, and transversal fields are terms that better represent the landscape in which IR research dwells (Bigo, 2016b; Ong, 2006; Pickering, 2004; Sassen, 2015). Along with the mobility turn in IR that shifts analytic priority away from a static notion of world politics, researching 'the state' has become the study of constantly shifting transnational processes (De Genova and Tazzioli, 2022, p. 6). We live in a world of zones but lack a mapping method to visualize them.

My analysis begins with explaining the case selection for the mapping of Ontario inland immigration enforcement borderzones. My case selection of Ontario stems from researching Toronto's Sanctuary City that Critical IR subfields of migration-, citizenship-, and border studies cite as an example where local actors are displacing, challenging, and/or unsettling state borders. Critical IR scholarship centres how Sanctuary City actors demonstrate the internal and shifting nature of state borders whenever municipal, local, and/or regional authorities provide services to individuals (often migrants) who lack documentation or have precarious legal status. These subfields centre mobility and networks to guide analysis. However, a tension surfaces wherein

Sanctuary City literature claims that local activists and municipalities are remapping citizenship and border politics, but at the same time, an extant singular state border is being resisted. When Sanctuary Cities are upheld as redefining state borders, it remains unclear if Critical IR refuses to reproduce state border discourses, or apply a post-national remapping of international politics.

In the subsequent section on Sanctuary Cities, I expound why visualizing and conceptualizing a zonal ‘theory of state’ helps reappropriate cartographic technologies needed for realizing Critical IR remapping efforts. Maps have been used by state actors to epistemically conjure together disparate networks of territorial zones, jurisdictions, and regions as if sharing one border (Branch, 2011, p. 28). The history of the modern state system depended on creating a uniform visual formula that equated exclusive territorial jurisdictional control as the sole form of legitimate political authority which has come to be known as Westphalian sovereignty (Larkins, 2010). Thus, a visual zonal theory contributes to transnationalism and mobility critiques that uncover how state borders are also representational technologies that obscure the analysis of political economic zones used to uphold global capitalism.

The chapter’s final section presents an aesthetic and critical cartographic intervention used to produce six maps of Ontario’s inland immigration enforcement infrastructure (transport routes, judicial coordination, arresting undocumented people, inter-police communication, etc.). Situated in Ontario, Toronto is a global city and substate entity, containing a vibrant civil society, all of which are markers of the transnational theory’s emphasis on protest movement, urban economic engines, and the multiple governmental scales at play.⁹ These maps draw a big picture and grand theory (Berenskötter, 2018, p. 818) of the political phenomenon and theories of zones

⁹ Ontario as the province possesses the jurisdictions over various citizenship rights and enforcement mechanisms (health, education, prisons, and police), while the federal government of Canada oversees inland enforcement operations (immigration detention and deportation).

that displace state-centric thought. What they provide is a cohesive counter-hegemonic visual rendering of power that depicts sovereignty as a series of devolved, networked, and disaggregated containers of citizenship and border authorities, rather than the whole authority known as Canada.

Which borders are Sanctuary Cities remapping?

Sanctuary Cities as a phenomenon have been ascribed to a diverse set of political movements and policies worldwide. One challenge remains to generalize the phenomena, because the jurisdictional capacities of cities, immigration and citizenship enforcement regimes, and political climate vary so widely between states (Bauder, 2017). Sanctuary City policies range from offering public services to residents whose immigration status precludes their accessing state resources, issuing municipal identification cards to do so, or cities training staff and/or educating the public to cease cooperating with deportations (Bauder, 2019; Kuge, 2020; Villazor and Gulasekaram, 2018a). In general, the term Sanctuary City connotes civil society or local governmental efforts to protect, serve, and/or include precarious, irregular, and/or undocumented migrants from national authorities seeking to imprison and/or detain them. In the United States, New York City and San Francisco city employees abstain from helping border enforcement agencies or actively help undocumented residents evade them, and those cities issue their own identification card (Castanada, 2012; Mancina, 2016; McBride, 2009). In Canada, cities like Toronto and Montreal emulate the American model to an extent (Atak, 2019; Paquet et al., 2021). The former largely depends on city staff taking initiative while the latter issues identification that enables undocumented people access to various public services requiring identification. In the UK, Cities of Sanctuary is largely an educational and awareness campaign meant to sway city councils and neighbourhoods to welcome and protect undocumented people

(Darling, 2017; Squire and Bagelman, 2014). Examples in the EU are harder to find because most efforts concentrate on serving refugees for whom national and European bodies would otherwise refuse asylum. In the Global South, reports are even fewer, probably due to the literature's Anglo-European focus (Bauder, 2021), but nevertheless Jakarta, Indonesia; Amman, Jordan; and Southern Turkey have appeared as shelters for those fleeing various wars (Bauder, 2019; Bauder and Gonzalez, 2018; Mascareñas and Eitel, 2019).

Sanctuary Cities are a popular case study in the social sciences. Critical researchers from anthropology (Humphris, 2020; Mancina, 2016; McDonald, 2014; Villarreal, 2019), sociology (Abji, 2018; Connoy, 2018; Foerster, 2019; Villegas, 2019), philosophy (Blake, 2021; Pitts, 2018), urban planning (Cordes, 2017; Roy, 2019), and geography (Houston and Lawrence-Weilmann, 2016; Ridgley, 2011; Varsanyi, 2008) hone in on Sanctuary Cities' perceived potential to challenge the enduring ability of states to control and define borders, citizenship, and by extension the right to migrate worldwide, as well as the spatial bounds of communities. Across these disciplines, deportation appears as a research site to study how state bordering practices regulate both migrant and resident belonging in the city (Walters, 2018, p. 2797). The logic follows Salter's (2004) observation that with passports required increasingly for domestic purposes, the border is safely to be said to have moved inwards. Sanctuary Cities however show that internal borders have always been the case. Healthcare, schooling, and welfare services often require proof of citizenship and/or residency. Whenever frontline workers request such proof, they take the role of border guards. Just as with the external frontier of a state, these workers can deny admittance to a given space due to a national border-related document.

Sanctuary Cities become the medium through which critical strands of IR express their theories of remapping world politics. The Sanctuary City comes to confirm accounts of cities and

local agents as actors in global migration governance (Darling, 2017, p. 12; Darling and Bauder, 2019, p. 4). Alternatively, Sanctuary Cities manifest elusive superstructural phenomena at play, like capital and transnational civil society battling over the “global force transforming citizenship regimes throughout the world” (Guarnizo, 2012, pp. 15, 21). Sanctuary Cities can, moreover, demonstrate the empirical feasibility and existence of an ideological program. Lejeune (2021, p. 144) argues how the movement empirically shows a cosmopolitanism being enacted from below. In that sense, Sanctuary Cities as case analyses are a means to remapping ends. In framing sanctuary as a counter-bordering practice, researchers imply a desire to remap world politics beyond the bounds of state nationalism that pervades discussions surrounding citizenship determining eligibility to cross borders.

While not explicitly stated as such, these strands of Sanctuary City case studies point to a baseline commitment to a transnational thesis. In applying a transnational critique of state-centric thought, critical researchers map how citizenship is redefinable from below (like migratory flows and struggles that transcend borders) as opposed to being something imposed from top-down (i.e. the state) (Stierl et al., 2022, p. 15; Turner, 2016). Sanctuary City analysis supports claims of redefined and extant non-state forms of subjectivity (Nyers and Rygiel, 2014, p. 9), rulership (Bauder, 2017, p. 181; 2019, p. 40), belonging (Bauder, 2016c), rights to the city (Squire and Bagelman, 2014, p. 160), rightful presence (Squire, 2011, p. 302), global hospitality (Bulley, 2017, p. 84), and post-national civil society (Foerster, 2019, pp. 34–5). Undisputed here is the direction from whence world politics emerges and alters. By rereading Sanctuary City literature as furthering a transnational remapping of world politics, we see how scholars create insurgent (Mancina, 2016, p. 6), urban (Hintjens and Pouri, 2014, pp. 220–1), local (Varsanyi, 2006, p.

231), city (Vrasti and Dayal, 2016, p. 995), and practical (Castanada, 2012, p. 71) forms of citizenship and borders.

Theorizing borders in a transnational manner enables seeing the connections between the local and global, micro and macro, immanent and structural, and the forms of agency that state-centric thought otherwise erases. Sanctuary Cities as a case demonstrate how a plurality of borders exist to displace and decentre the hegemony of state-centric assumptions which Critical IR research agendas confront. In the final sections, I map the aspects of violence that Toronto's Sanctuary Cities propound to resist. Mapping Ontarian and Canadian borderzones reorients and focuses the conceptual challenge to visualizing transnational remapping theses without state-centric cartographic assumptions.

State borders as works of art

Critical IR demonstrates how both representations of the state are themselves subject to irreducible interpretive choices on an aesthetic level. There is an art to both creating and interpreting the knowledge through which state sovereignty is expressed.¹⁰ Devetak (2013) traces this interpretivist critique to Cynthia Wright, David Campbell, Michael Shapiro, James Der Derian, and Roland Bleiker who problematize the notion of pre-given events or objects of international politics. Critical IR's remapping efforts are evident in trying to undermine colonially drawn borders, foreground non-state actors like business and civil society, and dismantle the domestic-foreign dichotomy that discounts the internal affairs of states as an object

¹⁰ For more discussion on contemporary mapping experiments that combine arts, sciences, and research, see the *antiAtlas Journal and Collective* and *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*. For a discussion regarding the intersection between the ontology of art, mapmaking, and state-building see, Moro, S. (2021). *Mapping Paradigms in Modern and Contemporary Art: Poetic Cartography*. Routledge. In the field of migration politics, see Gomis, E. C. (2022). Cartographies of migration and mobility as levers of deferral policies. *Convergence*, 28(1), 52-69 that discusses how critical geographers, cartographers, and artists are experimenting with cartographic techniques to resist state-centric depictions of migratory movements in maps.

of study (Paasi, 2009). These critical projects intervene at the nexus of knowledge and power where epistemic and physical violence are co-constitutive. Colonialism, sovereign repression, disempowering non-state actors, and the legitimization of violent foreign policies, in part, draw from representational powers to constitute the state as a physical object by conjuring and enforcing the visual cartographic depiction of state borders as the central loci of world politics.

Cartographies of violence, erasure, and domination rely on a specific visual interpretation being reified as definitionally true. Beneath the tidy rigid linear borders that naturalize colonial partitions, genocidal expulsions, and imperial conquests lays the overlooked role of the private realm. Terra Nullius, the doctrine of discovery, and early European colonial crown corporations (e.g. the Hudson's Bay and East India Trading Companies) offer telling examples of hidden borders because cartography emphasizes state borders over that of complicit private enterprise (Cutler, 2001; Cutler et al., 1999; Strauss, 2015). An entire private realm of global political economy benefits from cartography privileging state boundaries as the main determinant of world politics (Santos, 2017). Revealing the illusory displays of state sovereignty, albeit real and violent, results from showing that governmental power exceeds a singular state entity.

The state as an object of analysis is both a construct and a force. In this view, state power is a multitude of organizational, disciplinary, and enframing processes necessary for reproducing the conditions for capitalism (Mitchell, 1999, p. 88). Art and state sovereignty are alike in that they are ways of looking at the world, a method to realize a vision, and will contain elements that escape/elude being fully represented (Chignola, 2022, p. 4). For example, the innate limits of cartographic representation stem from maps depending on reducing (gazing) the physical world into decipherable information (image) that becomes (impossibly) realized by performing the

abstract borders drawn onto the world (whether it is the shoreline or political boundaries).¹¹

Herein enters aesthetic politics that postulate, allude, and abstract a totality that eludes experience. Notions of the global, the world, modernity, beauty, ideology, and the sublime require abstraction to exist. Burckhardt (1960, p. 1) writing that “the state [is] a work of art” is an acknowledgement that Westphalian sovereignty was carefully constructed with intellectual intent. Hegemonic techniques and cartographic theories emerged from a history of European Enlightenment, while colonialism exported a privileging of mathematical theories of vision and mastery of geometric calculable perspective-shaped mapping technology (Bac-Bronowicz and Wojciechowska, 2018; Strandsbjerg, 2010).

As Pope Alexander VI in 1493 drew a line on a *mappamundi* (a traditional medieval map) to divide the world into Spanish and Portuguese colonial spheres, the art of a border came to life when further royal cartographic expeditions were required to affix the demarcation onto the physical world (Larkin, 2010, pp. 188-9). The medieval *mappamundi*, imbued with religious iconographic meaning by dividing the world into theological zones showing the extent of Christendom and depicting Jerusalem as guiding light (Scully, 2016), was to be extended by the Pope’s command. Contemporary geometric cartographic coordinates came to legitimize colonial expeditions and secularize the map’s role in Christendom’s civilizing mission undertaken by early modern European sovereigns. The rise of exact linear perspective in the visual arts during the Renaissance, along with advances in cartography (and mapping the “New World”), bore the “exact science” and geometric style of Hobbesian political theory (Cerella, 2016) that epitomizes

¹¹ For example, when mapping the earth, a cartographer must trade-off between four map features that all cannot be fulfilled in full. Maps will vary in how much they conserve consistent distances, the shape of land masses, their actual areas, and navigational orientation (e.g. a straight line drawn will remain traversing a North, South, East, or West direction) (Albrecht, 2015).

Westphalian sovereignty. As Hobbes states that “nature of human actions as distinctly known as the nature of quantity in geometrical figures” (in Cerella, 2017, p. 44).

The artistic power of maps emulates how religious icons express political theological doctrines to their believers. As Archer (1990, pp. 61–2) explains, “Icons create pilgrims, are proclamations, allows glimpsing the eternal, and links beholder to a journey.” Religious icons use symbols, like those of a map’s coordinates, labels, and borders to connect the viewer within a “whole symbolic system” (Grimwood, 2003, p. 83), in this case, being Christian sanctified colonialism. The religious icon, known for lacking realistic proportions, like any map that distorts the shape and sizes of land masses (see footnote 6), do so to transport people to revelatory truths (Bigham, 1985; Grimwood, 2003, p. 82; Weiss, 1996, p. 135). The political theological function of iconographic symbols, like Christianity’s civilizing borders drawn over non-European lands, are obfuscated by geometric exactitude of geographic coordinates. As Carl Schmitt notes, “[a]ll significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts” (in Bain, 2021, p. 203), and for the ‘cartographic state’ (Branch, 2014), maps perform this function as artistic iconology. Art performs a similar function within peritext map elements like “inscriptions, epigraphs, prefaces, forewords, intertitles, notes, and illustrations” (Wood and Fels, 2008, p. 192) that perform iconography. For example, Thomas Hobbes famous cover piece to *Leviathan* resembles those which introduced geographical treatises of Mercator whose cartographic projections, made for European navigational purposes, dominate world maps to this day (Bredekamp, 2020; Lapaine, 2017, pp. 248–9)(see Figures 1-2).



Figure 1 - Title Page of Mercator's *Atlas* (Source: Lapaine, 2017, p.248)

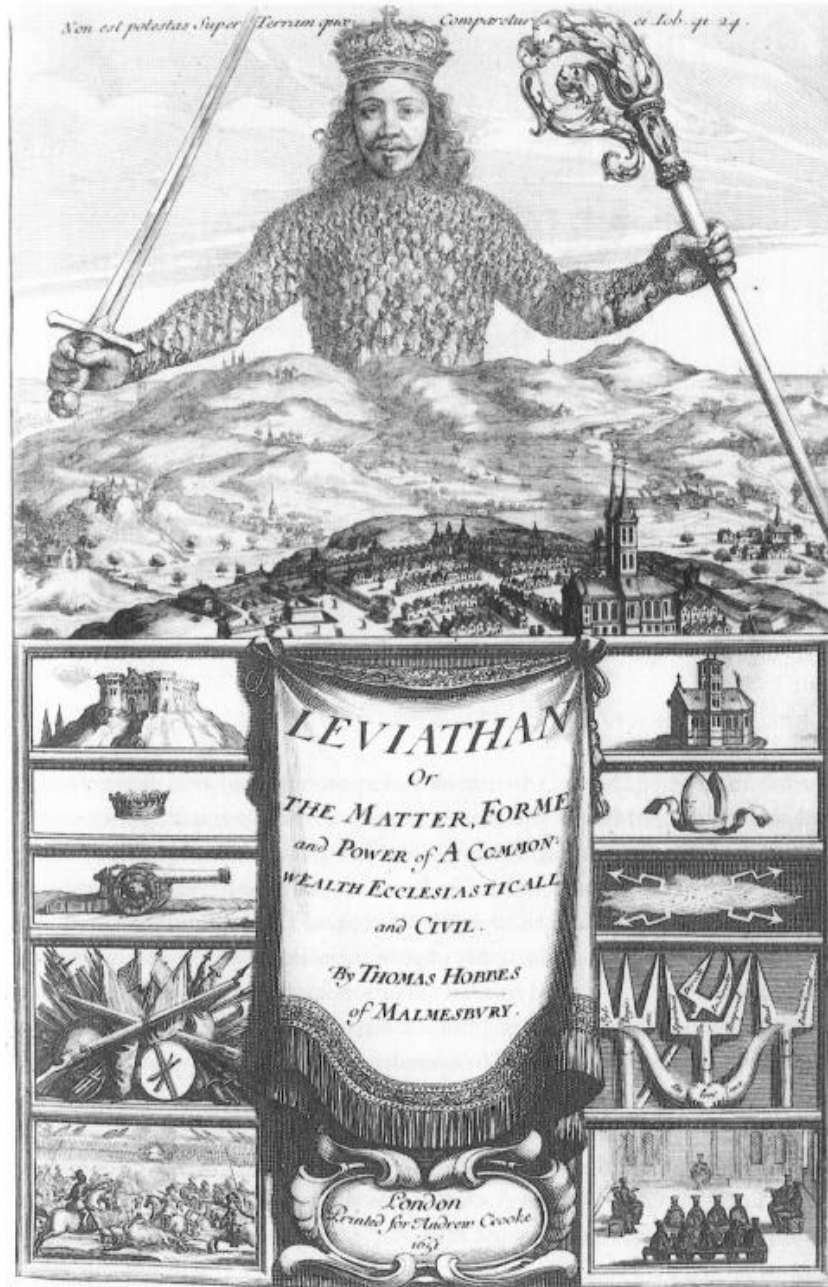


Figure 2 – Frontispiece of Hobbes' *Leviathan* (Source Bredekamp, 2020, p.3)

Post-positivist critiques of 'state theory' like those of Campbell, Bartelson, and R.B.J. Walker show how theories of state use new discursive bases to reify a notion of territorial sovereignty (Jessop, 2001, p. 164). These critiques disabuse attempts to find an Archimedean point from which a researcher could combine all vantages to see how borders and mobilities

operate. This chapter seeks to challenge state-ness as a visual abstraction that reifies exclusive sovereign control over linearly demarcated territory. As Buck-Morss (2007, pp. 171-2) states, “The sovereign is an icon in the theological sense [...] precisely the power of the collective to constitute itself” with “the power of the visible image to close the circle between constituting and constituted power.” Thus, the map’s artistic power lays in its ability to constitute both itself and the world. The cartographer assumes a sovereign gaze that peers and subsumes their audience into a mapped command on how where to be in a world to come. To challenge this iconographic end of state-centric cartography, I present a zonal theory of state that challenges state-centrism’s hold over visualizing borders, as zones are a theory of state that lack corresponding artwork, (i.e., a map and cartographic theory). The chapter will conclude by comparing the power of zonal and state aesthetic forms to map the transnational world, which I will now generalize.

Transnational remapping of state borders

Foucault (1977, p. 48) observes in *Discipline & Punish*, how state-sanctioned public executions function to “restore that sovereignty by manifesting it at its most spectacular.” So too, do maps. As Wendy Brown (2010) notes, state borders persist via the symbolic violence that walls, fences, and checkpoints wield over migrants. Maps, in turn, visually reify this sovereign violence as if a natural phenomenon by labelling migration as flows and influxes depicted with arrows crossing a state border (Steinberg, 2009). Linear state borders that crisscross maps of the world represent the crystallization of an international political order emerging from modern sovereignty, stemming from the invention of jurisdictions being associated with exclusive control over territory (Rajkovic, 2018). ‘Methodological nationalism’ and the ‘territorial trap’ (Agnew, 1994; Wimmer and Schiller, 2002) also inform why world maps have come to visually depict sovereign borders as natural political boundaries. Branch (2011, 2014) charts how state

spaces were built with new cartographic techniques, which visually erased the complicated web of jurisdictions and relations preceding the Westphalian inter-state order. Here, state actors (e.g., royal courts, colonial administrators, and bureaucrats) utilized cartographic technological innovations (like property surveys and geographic notations) to entrench and enforce a linear conception of borders.

Zone theory seeks to correct how state cartography contributes to rendering the sovereignty-property nexus invisible. Researching areas with blurred public and private forms of bordering can be understood as globalization's 'wild zones;' this zonal view helps reorient mapping towards gaps between companies, state institutions, and global standards that uphold a transnational legal order (Mak, 2021, p. 108). Since the 1990s, IR debates focused on globalization as a discernible phenomenon remapping the spatial characteristics of the state (Pozo-Martin, 2006, p. 224). Emblematic of this shift is Saskia Sassen's (2006, 2011) interventions that represent a zeitgeist and a turn to include non-state actors, like global cities, in the study of IR (Robinson, 2009, pp. 19–20; Schouten, 2011). Mezzadra and Neilson (2013, pp. 6, 8, 29) note how the advent of a global economy brought about a proliferation of mobile borders that now evade the 'cartographic anxiety' to correctly map non-state borders. The driving critique of transnational and globalization studies has been to point out how local zones being considered non-state actors enables the expansion of state relations, assemblages, and violence worldwide (Murray, 2017; Ong, 2006; Tsing, 2004).

A general zone 'theory of state'

I synthesize a zone 'theory of state' from the vocabulary and concepts with which transnational and globalization studies have unsettled state-centric IR assumptions. Disaggregating global security and border regimes into a series of zones avoids overstating the

extent of an organized structure that depends on local and regional use of connecting technologies and standards (Walters, 2011). Postcolonial IR seeking to provincialize Europe is as much a ‘remapping’ as it is a critique establishing a new gaze and heuristic with new assumptions on which to build analysis (Butcher and Griffiths, 2017; Santos, 2017). Here, a zonal theory accounts for the wide array of global actors contributing to transnational and global conditions wherein local politics are active, implicated, and autonomous in varying degrees.

Zones result when a local actor utilizes citizenship powers and assumes the right to perform sovereignty. Zones also result from the local, petty, or self-deputized sovereigns being capable of defining norms (and exceptions to them) that determine who can cross a given border (whether physical or administrative in nature). These individual zones are then networked to create a ‘state effect’ or economic phenomena (globalization or transnationalism) (Walters, 2011, p. 56). As skaidra (2022) observes in *Sanctuary Cities*, the zone can be infused with ‘acts of citizenship’, which explains the existence of asylum zones alongside the exploitative and economic zones that harm precarious migrants, which Sanctuary City actors seek to rectify. The zone as a ‘unit of analysis’ comes to describe local agents assuming sovereignty for the expressed intent to incorporate a locality into political and/or economic networks of power (be it understood as the state or economy). Bakonyi, (2022, pp. 4, 9) defines zones as modular technology of sovereignty wherein locals link a spatial area into the statebuilding project that projects “a central and supreme authority overcoming political fragmentations and societal divisions.” They continue on to add that zones also function as “a preferred spatial technology” and “switchpoints, (re-)routing global flows and interweaving infrastructure and logistics.” Weinfurter (2022, p. 9), echoes this observation by describing zones as “territories differentiated into a patchwork of spherical and self-contained spaces [...] individually climatised and

atmospherically regulated and governed – a process involving mechanisms ranging anywhere from local to international, including their various (even hybrid) combinations.”

The concept of a zoning theory of state refers to a performative act claiming spatial territorial control. Zones refer to that mediated spatial area that requires repeated performance, and thus can account for how movement creates an exceptional space (like transit areas, vehicles, and the presence of border enforcement agents) (Walters, 2011, pp. 55–56). Conversely, the spaces where exceptional power enables the restriction and control of movement also create the homogenous zones that coordinate to become consistent networks of economic flows used to cement territorial rule across vast expanses (ibid). In this manner, Walters (2015, pp. 472–4) conceptualizes ‘contact zones’ wherein routes, flows, and spatiality are transformed through governing technologies to create politically actionable infrastructures of inclusion, expulsion, contestation, or securitization. Hunter (1967) extrapolates works of the 19th Century thinker, Friedrich Ratzel, that a state is a type of function or emergent property from creating a zone in controlling mobility. This echoes Goettlich (2019) who distinguishes the rise of linear borders precedes state formation analytically distinct process; in a sense, the latter is a type of zoning that came to use linear borders to territorialize sovereign claims to territorial power.

Remapping borders with Geographic Information Systems

I will now outline the assumptions my maps make to visually theorize the zone ‘theory of state.’ A zone theory of state intervenes where knowledge production and constitutive political practices intersect to reify and rationalize both the state and its normative commitments. State-produced information in the form of reports, statistics, and disclosed documents invariably serve state actors’ interests as being a source and authority of knowledge. The lack of comprehensive, non-contradictory, and direct data on state phenomena reproduces institutional actors as

mystified objects for analysis. Presuming that states are coherent, rational, and self-aware institutions/entities, justifies a simplistic empiricism and positivism that disallows for speculative and imaginative research. I take the state's incomplete and opaque nature as a feature of the state, rather than a shortcoming of available research. The assumptions taken to remap borders using GIS software are of the same nature of those that state actors depend on to conjure the state as a stable entity. As Dijstelbloem and Pelizza, (2019, p. 59) explain:

[S]tates and seceries are co-produced. Instead of being each other's cause or consequences they emerge in mutual interaction. And instead of being well defined objects from the start, they develop as entities and attributes, in different circumstances. Neither states nor seceries have clear boundaries – they are mediated via each other.

As a Critical IR project, the maps below present a conceptual exercise to develop a visual method that charts relationships of power. Doing so, resists assuming that the state must *a priori* be depicted as a comprehensible entity. Walters (2006) explains how studying zones troubles epistemology, because they foremost describe a diagram of power as opposed to conducting a sociology. He cites Foucault's interpretation of Jeremy Bentham's panoptic prison architecture as the example *par excellence* of such a diagram. Bentham's 19th Century proposed prison arranges cells around a central guard tower with screens hiding whoever is watching. Foucault uses the panopticon as a 'diagram of power' to describe a spatial relationship and surveillance intended to make subjects internalize expected behaviors. Diagrams of power map relationships rather than surveying subject experiences to infer a phenomenon.

In remapping the inland border enforcement infrastructure of Ontario, Canada as zones, my method diagrams relationships between institutions and subjects otherwise overlooked when maps default to depicting state national and subnational jurisdictional boundaries (e.g., city boundaries, counties, regions, etc.). Moreover, this diagrammatic approach refuses the premise of mapping a state that exists 'out there.' Presuming there exists sufficient extant information to

map the state, in part or entirety, further reproduces state-centric assumptions of a coherent structure to national sovereign power. Seemingly, state secrecy and/or poor recordkeeping suggests that social scientists should seek better access to government files or decipher messy data practices. Opaque state data and information disclosure practices further serves to uphold an image that there lies hidden a discoverable and knowable entity known as the state (Dijstelbloem and Pelizza, 2019). Instead, I make artistic and aesthetic assumptions that construct a remapping of Ontario's inland immigration enforcement infrastructure as a series of borderzones, even without all possible data available.

Counter-mapping with ArcGIS Pro

I employ the Environmental Systems Research Institute (ESRI) proprietary GIS software, ArcGIS Pro. Each software tool I used carries assumptions associated with the function it executes, which are primarily public or private service provisioning (e.g., planning logistical routes or where to place facilities), identifying demographic trends, or visualizing costs (in time or distance) associated with travelling between points. As an infrastructurally-minded software, ArcGIS Pro is directly designed to map the technologies, sites, and logistics that create zones, flows, and corridors associated with state structures (Walters, 2018, pp. 2798–9). In conceptualizing how to map zones, my methodology reappropriates ArcGIS Pro tools that I list further below. Each map presented will have a brief description under it detailing how and why the parameters were altered to represent how a set of inter-governmental flows and networks creates borderzones. The maps will represent the border as routes, spider graphs, matrices, and networks.

In ArcGIS Pro, I use the Network Analysis Toolbox, which uses roads to measure distance, routes, proximity, and connections between locations to map spatial relationships.

Network Analysis centres how Walters (2015, pp. 468–470) encourages critical border studies to view the vehicle and the route as political sites of migration politics to counter the assumed static nature of the state. The following GIS tools were used and fall under the Network Analysis Toolbox:

1. *Shortest route (Closest Facility)* is self-explanatory and allows visualizing the first, second, and third shortest routes between two destinations. I apply Shortest Route analysis in Figures 1–4.
2. *Location Allocation (Maximize Capacity Coverage)* is a tool that answers ‘how best to distribute limited resources’ or ‘how to apportion a service evenly over a population’ within a given area. In other words, the tool locates where to allocate buildings (like fire stations or schools) that ensures consistent delivery times (fire truck response times) or service availability (schooling is apportioned in areas with a student population). ArcGIS Pro determines building placement according to either desired distance or travel time taken along roads between a set of facilities and a demographic/population (called demand points) within a given area. I apply Location Allocation analysis in Figure 5.
3. *Matrices (Origin Destination Links)* shows all the possible linear connections between nodes (locations). For example, a matrix could depict what airports offer connections to one another but depicted as straight lines between each. (Figure 6).

To draw these maps, I employ a ‘polymorphous engagement’ that eclectically combines different types of records to overcome the purposeful evasiveness of state immigration enforcement institutions (Gusterson in Moffette, 2021, p. 277; Muñoz, 2016, p. 21).

All the maps use migrant detention 2020 data from the Global Detention Project (GDP). I chose the time period of 2010–2013 because it contained the most complete data entries across all 48 facilities listed having detained a migrant in Ontario for the purposes of deportation or awaiting a hearing by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) who determine a migrant’s fate. Below is a list of assumptions that I deduce from sources.

1. Not every airport or border crossing shown is confirmed to have deported migrants. However, according to the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA), who carry out deportations, only certain airports have Inland Offices whose officers must sign off on a removal (CBSA, 2022; IRCC and CBSA, 2017). I assume that these airports would be prioritized for removals.
2. Not every route is confirmed to have been used by the CBSA. However, each plotted route represents the shortest route between a facility with a detained migrant. All the roads depicted were from a DMTI Spatial Inc. (2019) file from 2018, therefore, it is possible some routes were inconsistent with actual routes used in 2010-2013.
3. Detention, immigration, and removal hearings for migrants can be teleconferenced or in-person hearings (IRCC and CBSA, 2022). I am unable to ascertain which correctional facilities have conference rooms to conduct an in-person immigration hearing of detained migrant. I err on the side of caution and assume immigrations adjudicators did not travel to prisons or detention centres and instead, had migrants brought to hearings.
4. A series of CBSA offices listed are those that could be involved in investigating and presenting information at IRCC hearings that determine a migrant's case. The CBSA omits who among and where their officers involved in hearings are located.
5. Winnipeg, Manitoba and Laval, Quebec lay outside the borders of Ontario and possess nearer detention facilities to which CBSA could transfer detainees from Kenora and Fort Frances. Including the possibility that migrants would be transferred across provincial borders would require creating an inordinate amount of data beyond the scope of this conceptual research.¹²
6. There is no data for how long someone was held in any given facility. 2010–2013 was chosen because the timespan encapsulated consistent records among the 48 facilities (ranging from prisons to hospitals) detaining migrants. Echoing De Genova (2017), the

¹² Deciding to omit sites for the sake of expediency illustrates the challenge which state borders impose on the cartographic representation of data. With roads mapping files being segmented per province, meaning the roads end at the provincial border's edge, the interconnection and span of Canadian federal authority is erased.

facilities represent where the potential for and power of detainability arises; these sites are the infrastructure that enables detaining, and thus to deport, migrants.

In each map, per cartographic convention, the map's title describes the information being rendered (Norheim, 2012). I respect some of these conventions for the purpose of appropriating the visual authority that maps evoke in the service of critique (Toscano, 2012). Following select map labelling conventions serves to further reappropriate and refashion GIS for its emancipatory potential. To rephrase (McLuhan, 1994), "the map is the message," and by presenting these maps as no different than that of the state's, they are counterclaims on the depiction of sovereignty and borders. I forego other cartographic conventions, discussed in the conclusion, to resist visual elements that reify state-centric conceptions of sovereignty. Figure captions are preliminary proposals for terminology to characterize the zones depicted. The brief analysis following each map's caption suggests avenues for future research.

Routes Between Closest Airports and Migrant Detention Facilities from 2010-2013 in Ontario Canada

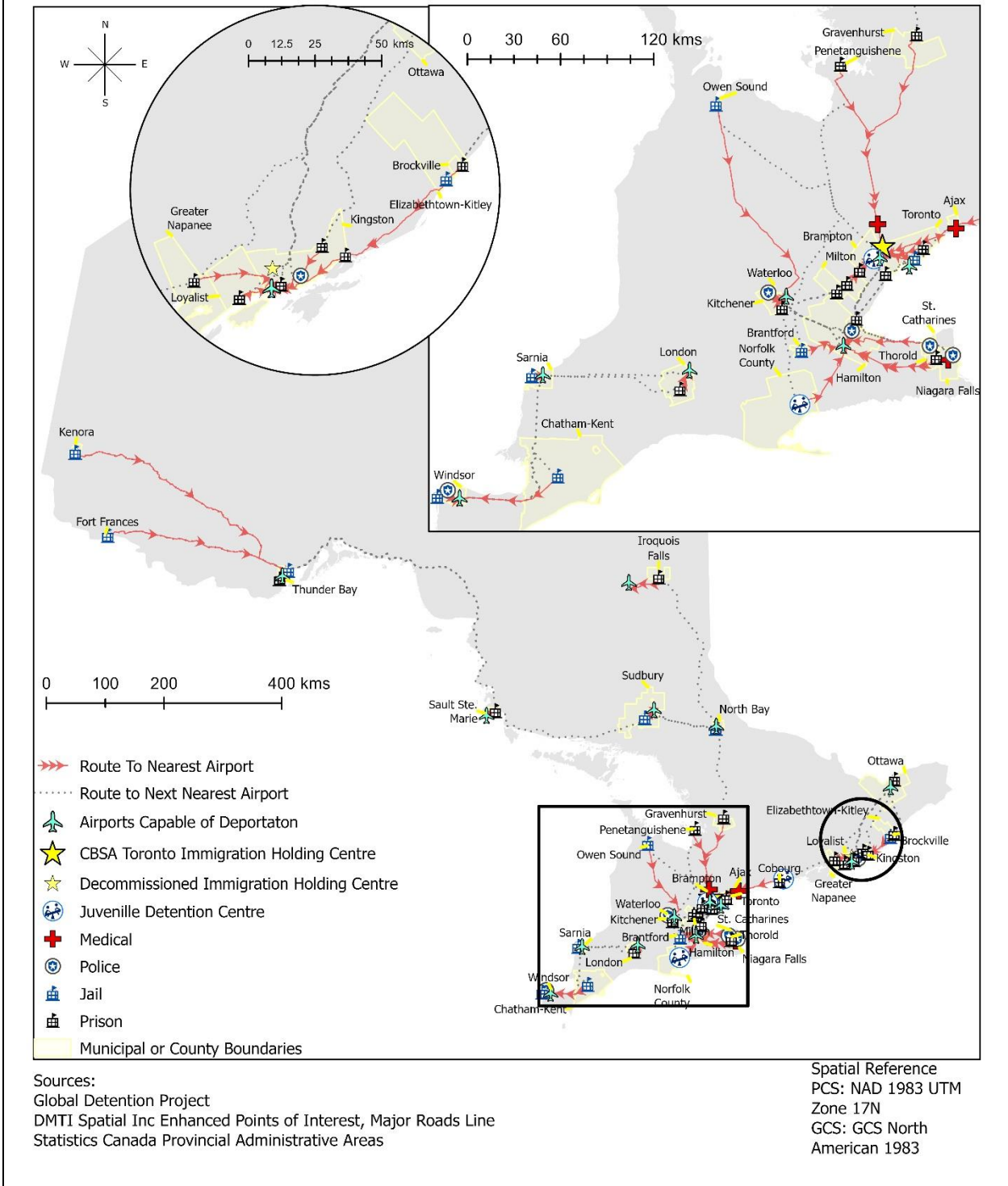


Figure 3 – Aerial deportation borderzones

Figure 3 deduces from Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) and Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) (2017) Operational Manual on deportation involving airports. The Removals Manual and CBSA (2013) lists designated ‘Airports of Entry’ (where international travel occurs) and possess offices where detained migrants could be driven to be processed for aerial deportation or relocation to Toronto’s Immigration Holding Centre. In ArcGIS Pro, I use the closest routes option. The detention facility is the origin point, and the mapped route is towards the nearest airport with one alternate option. CBSA officers must accompany the migrant and confirm they boarded a flight when being deported when using commercial airliners (CBSA and IRCC 2017). There are reports of privately chartered airplanes used where the CBSA conducts a mass deportation of detainees (Muñoz, 2016).

This map reconceptualizes aerial deportation as beginning at the migrant detention facility in question. By reimagining aerial removals as occurring on the ground and the involvement of private commercial airlines, private airport security companies, different types of sovereign border controls become apparent (Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2012; Walters, 2018; Weber and Pickering, 2011). While the CBSA officer is considered the sovereign representative of the state, they necessitate collaborators. The airplane pilot is sovereign during the flight and has ultimate authority over the conduct of crew and passengers if they disturb the peace or endanger the journey (Muñoz 2016). This technicality has caused a series of activists to refuse to be seated during flights where a detainee is known to be on board (ibid). Aerial deportations depend on and perpetuate an invisible border violence, wherein the lacking spectacle (of a detainee in chains or overt physical use of force) mirrors how the private property and infrastructure of the airline industry is implicated in the process.

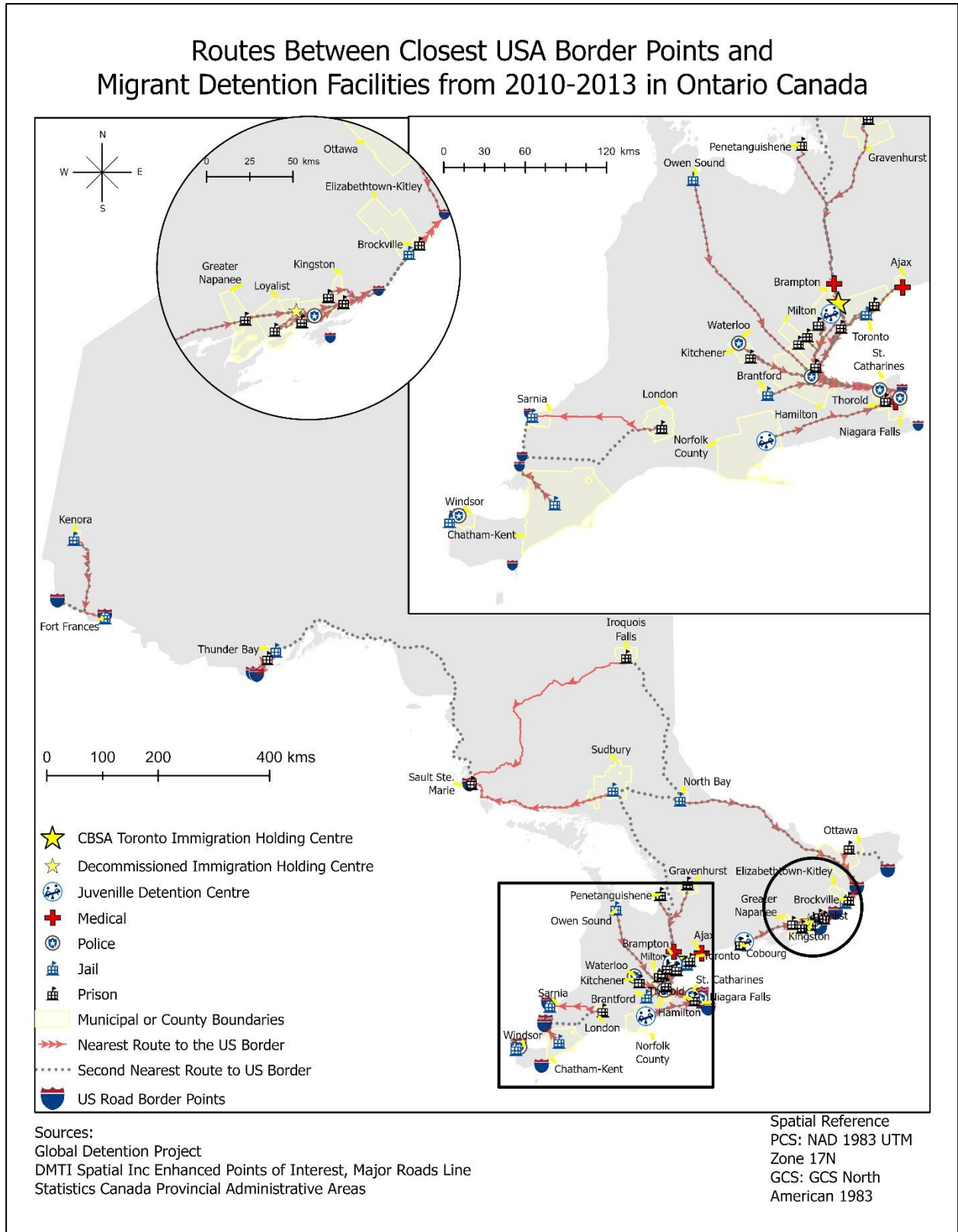
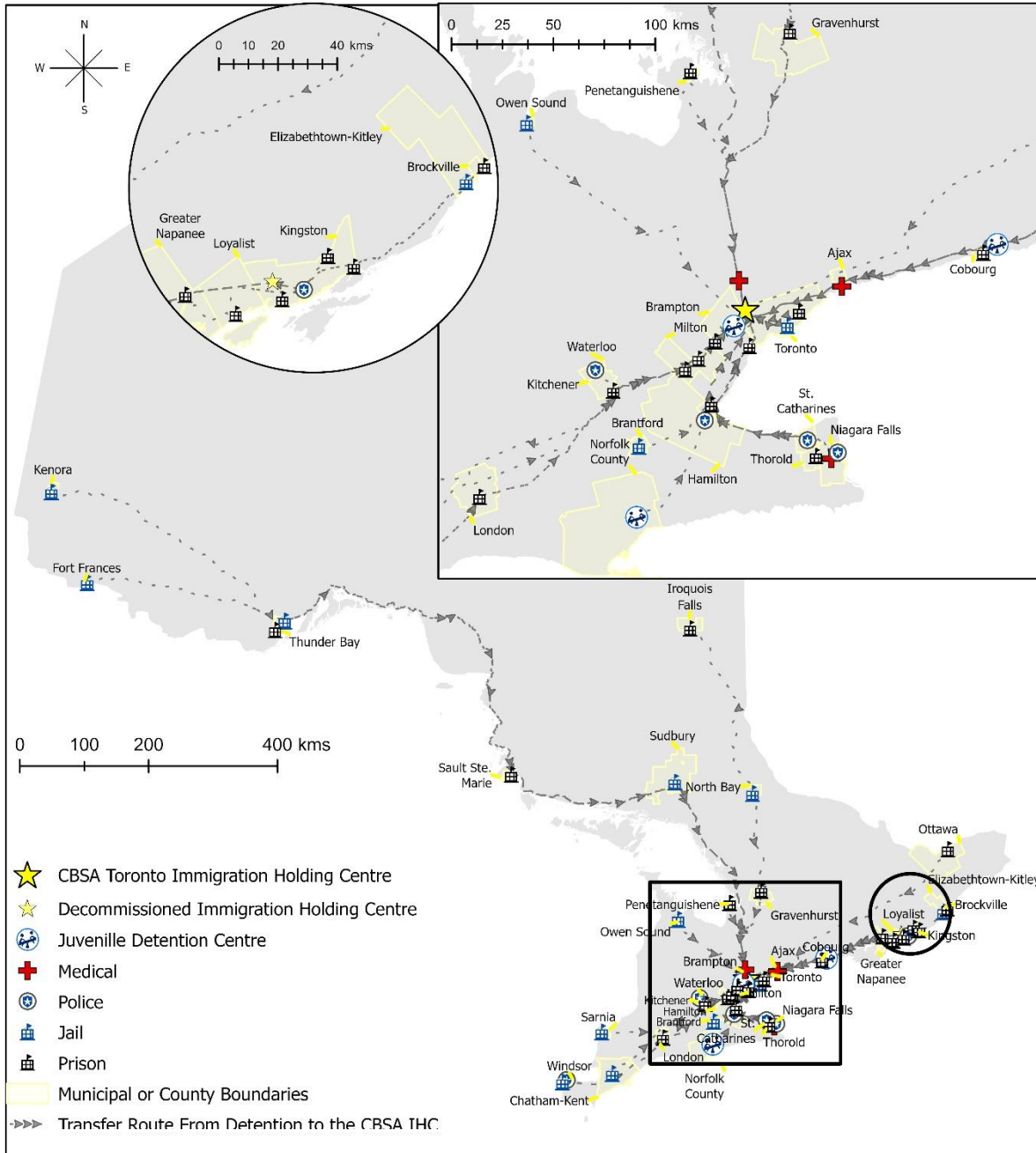


Figure 4 – Road vehicular borderzones

Figure 4 deduces from CBSA's Removals Manual and CBSA border hubs where detainees could be driven to be transferred to USA border authorities. CBSA only departs detainees to the USA when they can transfer custody to their respective counterpart (CBSA and IRCC, 2017). In this manner, the US border is where mutually staffed hubs are mapped. Like with Figure 3, these routes show the closest route between where a migrant is detained and an international road crossing to the United States. Canada has signed the "Safe Third Country Agreement" with the United States that automatically considers any asylum claim of someone who crossed the American border to be ineligible for refugee status (Abu-Laban, 2017). In effect, these routes represent is an extension of the USA asylum system being enforced. This echoes analysis by Huysmans (2006) that demonstrates how the European Union border enforcement agency (Frontex) cooperates with neighbouring countries to pre-emptively stop unauthorized migrant crossings, and is also a case of borders extending into another state. These maps represent how to conceptualize roads as a border being a capillary or archipelago of globally coordinated infrastructures of removals, expulsions, and segregation. As Mountz (2011, p. 324) notes about mobile offshore borders, these routes show the externalization of US refugee and asylum determination. She elaborates how the 'island' is a tactic of creating invisible border enforcement (p. 325) which here can be taken in a metaphorical fashion to mean the floating areas beyond the central decision-making locale of border enforcement.

Transfers of Migrant Detainees from Detention Facilities to Canada Border Services Agency's (CBSA) Toronto Immigration Holding Centre (IHC) from 2013-2013 in Ontario Canada



Sources:
 Global Detention Project
 DMTI Spatial Inc Enhanced Points of Interest, Major Roads Line
 Statistics Canada Provincial Administrative Areas

Spatial Reference
 PCS: NAD 1983 UTM
 Zone 17N
 GCS: GCS North
 American 1983

Figure 5 – Carceral transfer borderzones

Figure 5 illustrates the procedure outlined in CBSA's Detention Manual, stipulating that long-term detainees in provincial and local jails, along with those in non-correctional facilities like hospitals, should be transferred to Toronto's Immigration Holding Centre (IHC) (IRCC and CBSA, 2020, p. 20). The CBSA has the right to contract this task to private security companies. Figure 3 shows the closest routes between where migrants are known to be detained and the TO-IHC. Between the 48 Detention Facilities, CBSA contracts or assumes the transfer of migrant detainees because Ontario police and correctional bodies lack the jurisdiction to do so.

Transferring migrants is a matter of correctional authorities reproducing carceral power. Prisons and detention facilities are, to an extent, static places. Imprisonment and confinement represent the negation of mobility by constraining those in custody. By moving and displacing a detainee, the carceral system exerts power and reinforces a classification system onto migrants being subject to the correctional system (Conlon and Hiemstra, 2017). These circuits are epistemologically invisible when mapping constrains itself to visualizing immobility (Gill et al., 2018). When the CBSA is reported to be unsure of where and how many migrants are detained, the circuit proves instructive to show the retributive and obfuscating function of carceral transfers. The border, here, is a physical network that depends on moving migrant bodies away from different levels of governance (whether local, regional, or provincial). Thus, the transfer of bodies imposes the Canadian border (as opposed to the subnational ones) onto migrant bodies.

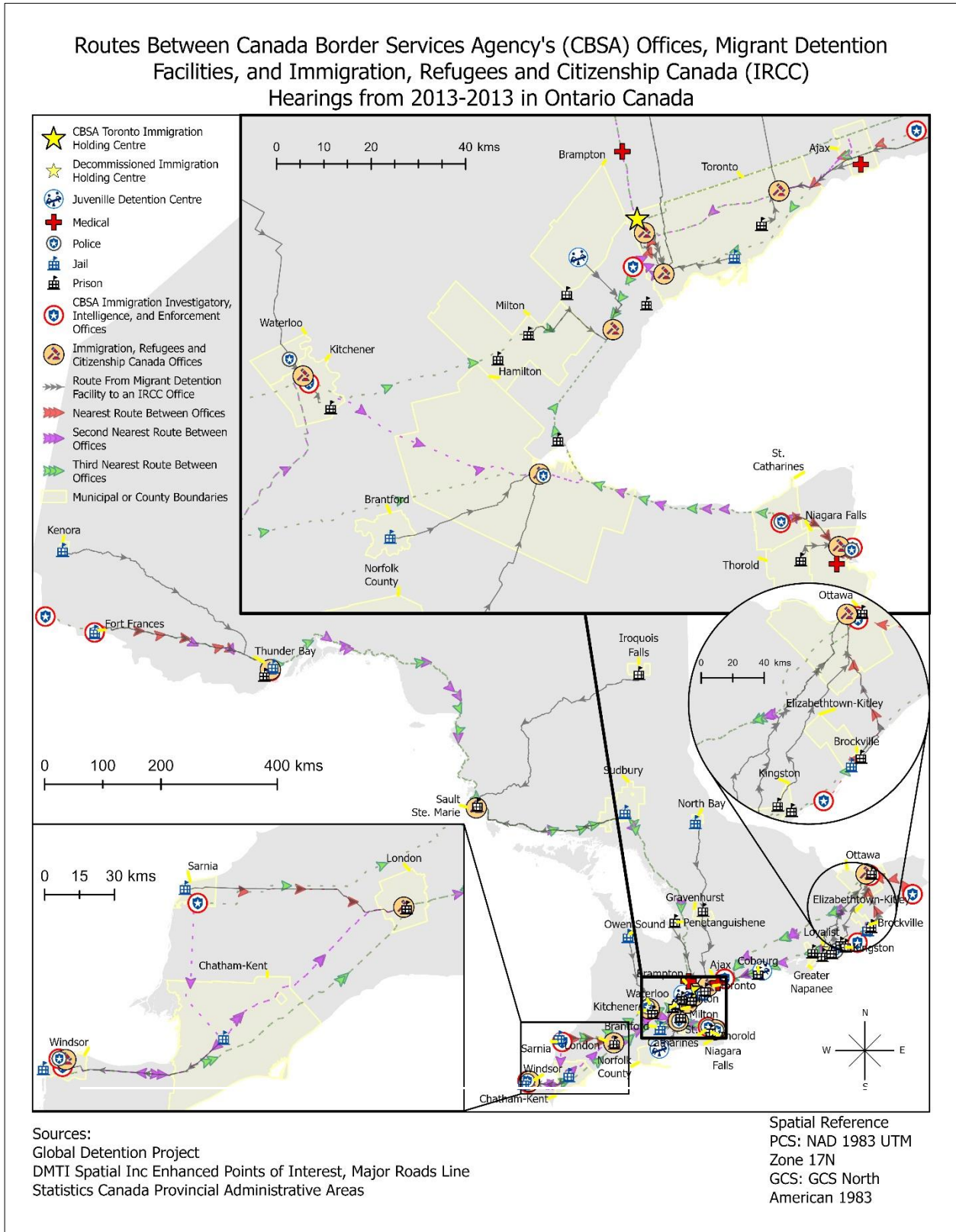


Figure 6 – Judicial circulatory borderzones

Figure 6 is deduced from procedures and processes outlined in IRCC and CBSA's Hearings (2022) manuals. The central nodes are IRCC offices that determine a migrant's detention as well as overseeing applications for refugee status, permanent residency, and citizenship. Hearings are composed of a CBSA's Hearings Officers, the migrant and case worker or representative, and three IRCC officials from their respective divisions—the Refugee Board or Immigration Division (CBSA and IRCC, 2022; Atak et al., 2019). The routes depicted are the shortest routes between the central node, migrant detention facilities, and CBSA offices that have immigration and investigative capacity.¹³ I ranked the order of which CBSA offices send officers to detention reviews or status hearings that determine a migrant's fate. What we do know is that IRCC offices and the TO-IHC are where in-person hearings occur (though sometimes they can be at detention facilities themselves or are teleconferenced). Using the closest facilities tool (like with deportations and transfers in Figures 3-5), I calculate the routes between potential locations of hearings officers and where the fate of detained migrants could be determined. While it seems that teleconference is the primary means of hearings of migrants, I assume that is not always the case or was not always the case. Sometimes IRCC officials would go onto a detention site (there is a room in the TO-IHC) to conduct a hearing.

These routes, even if outdated, are representative of the jurisprudential circuitry that connects the removals networks and zones together. As Gill et al. (2018) outline, critical mapping seeks to uncover hidden connections and to invite scrutiny on governments. Figure 6 links the offices determining immigration status with the carceral infrastructure administering detention. Migrant justice advocates and internal audits have criticized Immigration, Refugees,

¹³ The locations of the following offices which, according to the manuals, would possess information or present information used or cited by IRCC offices: the CBSA Immigration Unit, Immigration and Customs, Investigations, and Immigration Enforcement Offices.

and Citizenship Canada hearings for overly depending on CBSA officers' evidence, while relying on preconceived notions of migrant cases. Figure 6 calls for scrutiny on the individuals who staff these IRCC nodes that cooperate with the CBSA. As Huysmans et al. (2021, p. 816) note, to critique sovereignty and methodologically privilege mobility requires locating the nodes where “a meshwork of entanglements” come together into a network. Thus Figure 6 represents a sort of knot that ties Figures 3-5 and 7-8 together. It is these nodes that show the materiality of law being physical locations where multiple infrastructures interface (Gill et al., 2020) being the carceral, administrative, and enforcement institutions.

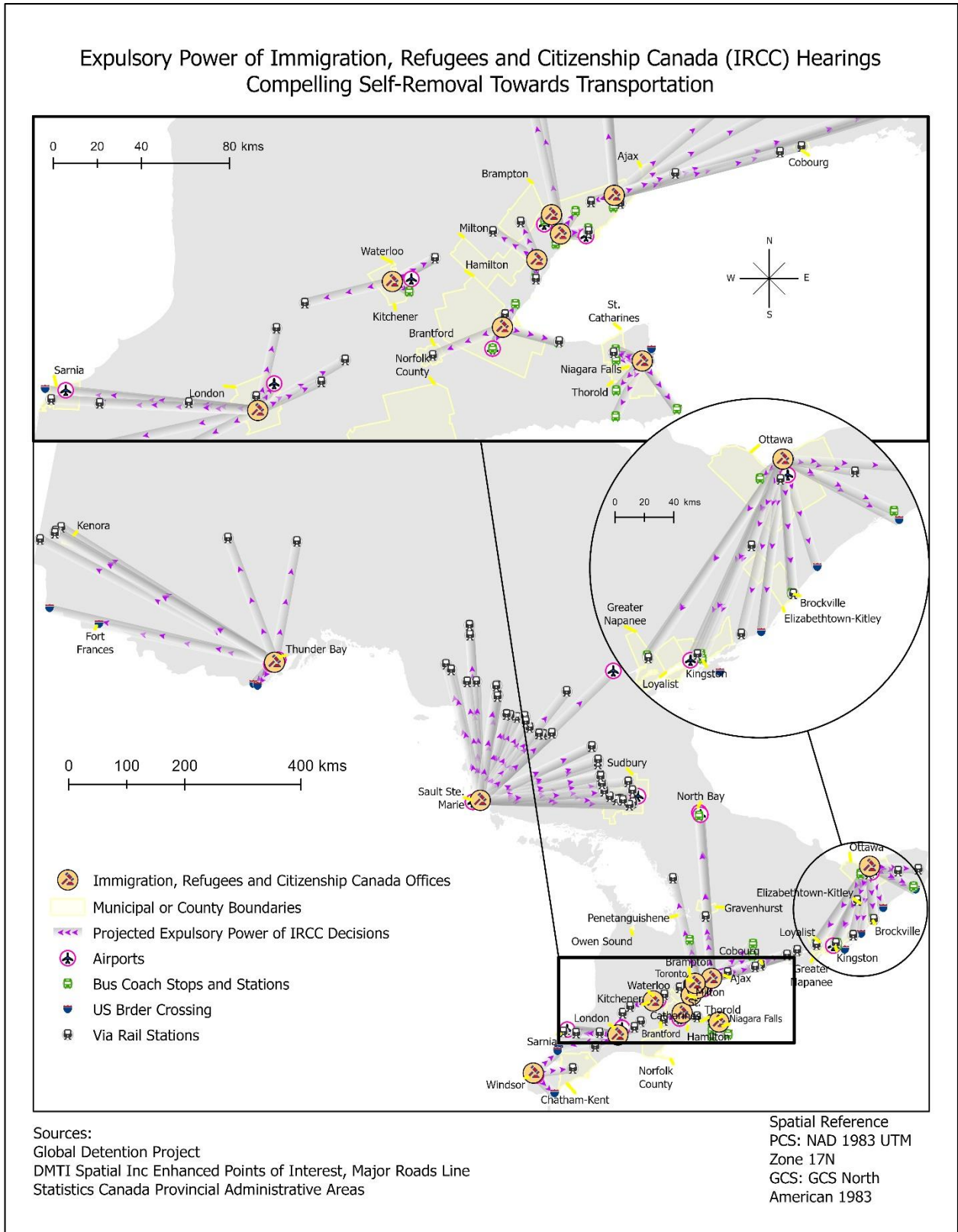


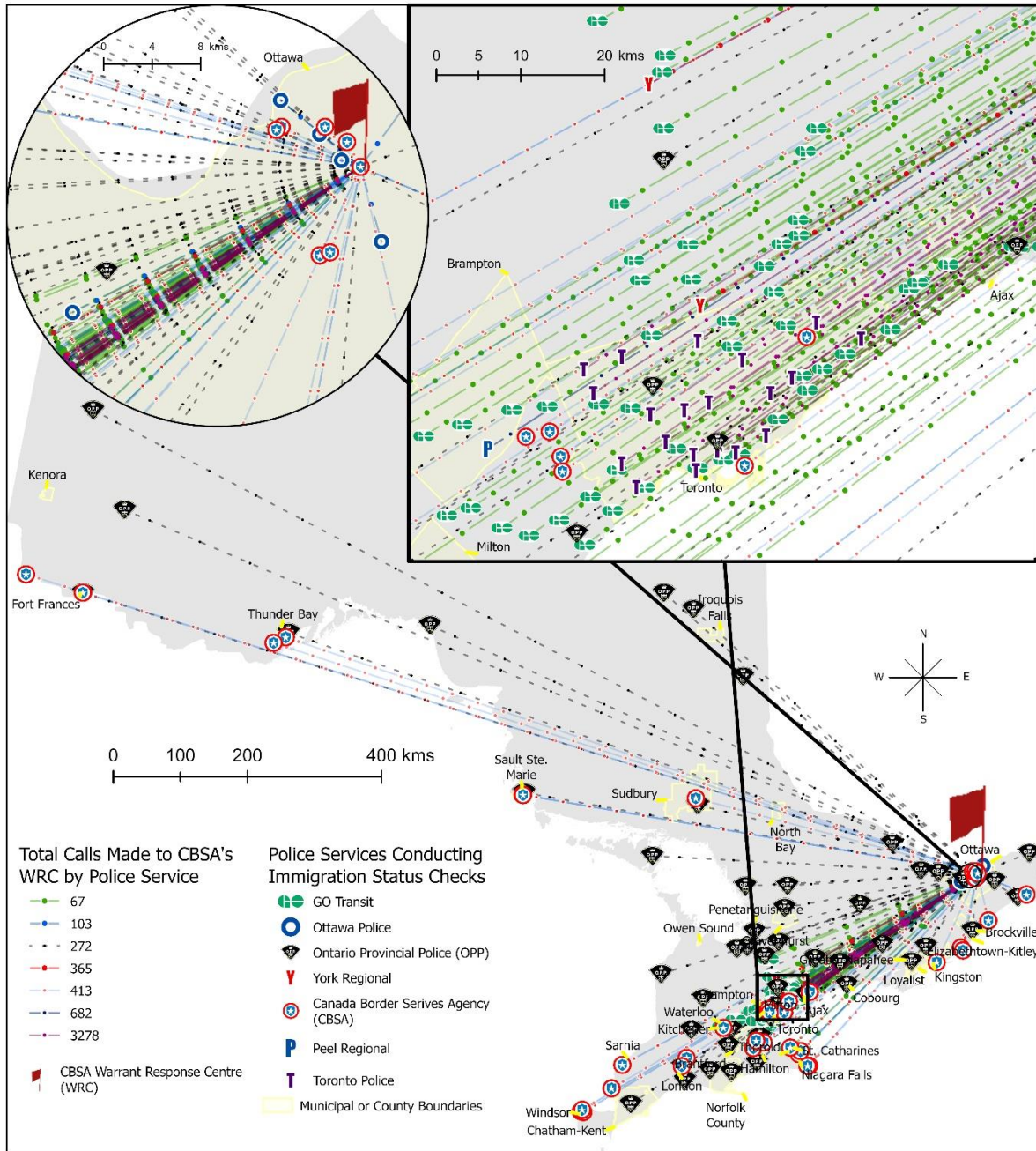
Figure 7 – Compelled exile borderzones

Figure 7 conjures a form of flow and mobility based on the location of transportation stops that connect to international destinations and IRCC offices conducting hearings. The ArcGIS tool used is called ‘Maximum Coverage’ wherein the software calculates how best to allocate limited services/capacity (locations or hours) across a given spatial area or to meet specific delivery schedules. Crucial for this operation is knowing the population or clientele to be served. There is no existing data on the distribution of failed refugee, permanent resident, and/or citizenship applicant reside in given areas. As a proxy for population centres, I recrafted transportation stops (bus, train, and airports with connections to international destinations) as the demand points which the IRCC offices serve. Figure 7 measures here the ability for border enforcement to enact ‘self-deportation’ or removals. These nodes distribute the decision for ‘expulsion’ as a service among a population represented by transportation stops. The purple arrows pointing towards the transportation points represent the outward pushing motion the IRCC enacts onto migrants made to remove themselves from Canada. The border is conceptualized as a ‘pushing’ action driving people to the outer edge of the international realm, where the inside of Canadian space interconnects with the beginning of its outside. The sovereign decision to remove an individual from Canada originates in a hearing room and then determines the individual’s movement along a circuit towards the transit point that will bring them ‘outside’ of Canada. In Figure 7, the border is a liminal outsidersness that begins within Canada at these transportation stops as someone begins their trek towards exile.

As a zone, these flows represent a type of zone lacking in delineated boundaries, and instead, is a node pushing for circulation that connects multiple border technologies. The IRCC is the Canadian ministry responsible for issuing, administering, and determining visas and immigration matters (Arbel and Joeck, 2021). These flows emanating from IRCC decisions are a

‘bad circulation’ of compelled movement linked to global biopolitical data and border enforcement regimes (Minca and Rijke, 2022, p. 5). This is an instance of the ‘making of migration’ as a political technology; people are ordered to leave and thus that perpetuates an economy and infrastructure that manages the flows inside and outside transportation centres (Huysmans et al., 2021, p. 817). By exhausting migrants, mixing them within the normal circulation of people and goods, this compelled mobility creates a zone of disrupting migrant livability (Tazzioli, 2022, p. 10). Figure 7 is the paper prison wherein the administrative decision expelling someone is devoid of spectacle as the migrant leaves in a consensual manner (van Houtum and van Uden, 2022, pp. 23, 25). The border appears when the decision is carried out by the migrant, ordered to self-remove, as they simultaneously encounter an end point and start point of the meeting of global border circuits. As Gill et al. (2018, pp. 189–193) outline, circuits are mappable compulsory movements and a component of a larger system, which returns its flows to a point of origin. Figure 7 conceptualizes and maps where the self-removal circuit leads, points that also enable entry into Canada, and connect IRCC decisions to the global regime of border enforcement which uses biometric data which the IRCC produces.

Total Immigration Status-Check Calls Made by Police Services in Ontario to Canada Border Services Agency's (CBSA) Immigration Warrant Response Centre (IWC) in 2015



Sources:
 Global Detention Project
 DMTI Spatial Inc Enhanced Points of Interest, Major Roads Line
 Statistics Canada Provincial Administrative Areas

Spatial Reference
 PCS: NAD 1983 UTM
 Zone 17N
 GCS: GCS North
 American 1983

Figure 8 – Canada Border Services Agency oligoptic borderzone

Figure 6 illustrates the findings from investigation conducted by the migrant rights group No One Is Illegal Toronto (NOII-TO), David Moffette, and Karl Gardner (2015) who submitted Access to Information requests (ATIs) to the CBSA regarding the identity and frequency of who contacts their Warrant Centre to check on the immigration status of a given individual. The tool used in ArcGIS is known as an Origin-Destination Matrix that is used to simplify the representation of connection in a network by drawing straight lines irrespective of physical geography between nodes. I use the tool to represent the lines of communication between the police stations or transit stops (at which fares could be checked) calling the CBSA to conduct a warrant check. The lines are color coded to indicate the frequency with which a given agency contacts the CBSA to check on the identity of a (usually detained) person's immigration status. While the documents which NOII-TO, Moffette and Gardner (2015) procured lack the specific location where a status-check is made, the data clearly shows which institutions practice citizenship and immigration 'status checks' by calling the CBSA's national warrant centre. They therefore create the distinct possibility that when encountering these security forces someone may be subject to a status check.

Figure 8 depicts an inter-borderzone network of security forces, each autonomous within their areas, to answer to a central banner representing the CBSA's Warrant Centre located in Ottawa. While beyond their mandate, local authorities regularly make use of the CBSA Warrant Centre to round up migrants. These are all potential border checkpoints. The coloured lines represent the border-as-phenomenon being instantiated at moments where it could be a traffic stop, identity verification (also known as carding), checking someone's transit fare, or any other matter involving local police. The large red banner represents Canada as the aestheticized ideal, which is upheld by local authorities collaborating with border enforcement to enforce the idea of

the Canadian state. The banner also represents how local authorities are linked to the international realm where sovereign states meet. The CBSA Warrant Centre information is connected with the Five Eyes Network, which is an intelligence-sharing transnational organization among security agencies from the US, Australia, UK, and New Zealand. Bigo, (2019) describes the Five Eyes as a transnational guild wherein security officials share a common loyalty by coordinating programs to maintain and reproduce a global borderzoning edifice. Dijstelbloem and Pelizza, (2019, p. 52) use the term “oligoptica” (as an antonym of panoptic) to describe centres of border enforcement for their ability to centralize, standardize data, and coordinate information sharing to enable agents to operate from a distance. As opposed to a governmentality or regime of truth, the oligoptic is a shared realm in which actors centralize their vision in order to conceptualize and enact technologies of power.

The CBSA’s Warrant Centre bridges two broad constituencies of security agents sharing one venue to create a transnational network, linking local Ontarian spaces to a global-reaching border enforcing institution. Border enforcement agencies double as knowledge creation and coordination oligoptic sites. As Lippert and O’Connor (2006), and Bagelman and Kovalchuk, (2019) note, the ability of the CBSA to interface with private or local police forces reconstitutes border checkpoints because of their assuming that information sharing is a component of their jurisdictions. Pallister-Wilkins (2022) describes this phenomenon in the EU border enforcement agency, Frontex, as being able to conjure and coordinate among levels to counteract ‘hotspots’ of immigration infractions. Similar to the CBSA Warrant Centre, Frontex then has non-border authorities look to, and call, an oligoptic centre to create hierarchies via requiring immigration status in everyday spaces to counteract supposed threats to a distant border. Interfacing local and global scales requires zones be connected to nodes like the Warrant Centre.

The aesthetics of zones

So, what is a zonal aesthetic in each of these figures? Conceptualizing the border in terms of roads, service distribution, and a matrix of telecommunications provides visual abstractions that are incompatible with hegemonic cartographic technologies that depict the state as a cohesive and enclosed space. Rakjovic (2018, p. 269) aptly summarizes how mapping differently reveals the transnational forces that state borders overlook:

Privileging visually, for instance, 250,000 kilometres of state borders, while obscuring the material and juridical impact of 64 million kilometres of highways, 2 million kilometres of pipelines, 1.2 million kilometres of railways, and 750,000 kilometres of undersea internet cables – to note only a few static infrastructures transforming twenty-first century geography, authority and exclusion.

The linear border demarcating state and sub-state territorial boundaries remains embedded in popular and mainstream academic understandings of maps (Rakjovic, 2018, pp. 283–4). Specific visual strategies enable representing and reducing the world into territorial compartments known as states. Conceptually, notions of territoriality precede that of linear borders, which state and imperial bureaucracies adopted. The increasing mathematical and geometric cartographic methods came to equate territory with calculable and delimited plots exclusive to other forms of territorial claims (Goettlich, 2019). State-centric visual techniques include:

1. **Standardized labelling** practices such as the typography, size, and font of the names of map features (points, lines, shapes which may depict cities, rivers, roads, bodies of water) (Jacobs, 2006). For example, city labels that enlarge/shrink per population size renders the world as a series of interchangeable calculable components amenable for exploitation (Wood and Fels, 2008).
2. **Coloring** conventions based on European customs that associate water with blue, the ground with brown, and state borders with a thick black line, which are universalized at

the expense of showing varying local terrain and/or political characteristics (Harley, 2002, p. 202).

3. **Drawing a grid** using longitudinal and latitudinal lines (Ford, 1999, p. 853) and the use of geometric coordinates (X, Y) to create a uniform spatial field (Krzywicka-Blum, 2016, p. xvii). This technique enables conceptualizing a numerical value to visual scales (e.g. 1cm on a map represents 100km) and interlocking maps together by translating all locations through common notation system (Krzywicka-Blum, 2016, p. xvii).
4. **Depicting jurisdictions** and their territorial boundaries of regional, subregional, municipal, etc. entities (like provinces, counties, cities) wherein there are no gaps nor overlapping boundaries (Ford, 1999, p. 867). Consequently, in maps doing so, they reject ambiguous or contested territorial claims and/or different forms of authority.

These state-centric cartographic conventions help create a look, aesthetic, and form that becomes associated with scientifically valid truth and empirical observations. These visual cues lack any scientific basis. Instead, they remain indebted to graphic traditions of advertisements, travel brochures, marketing, atlas book covers, and historically European cartographic decorative methods (Wood and Fels, 2008). Taken together, conventions one-through-four constitute a state-aesthetic that shows sovereign borders enclosing a calculable, Eurocentric, and scalable territory devoid of jurisdictional ambiguity.

State-centric aesthetics and cartographic conventions play a crucial role in answering Mitchell's (1999, p. 88) query: "What tactics and methods in modern forms of power create and recreate this mythicized [state] abstraction?" The preceding maps of Ontario borderzones seek to resist state-centric cartographic assumptions. Thus, Figures 3–8 resist drawing new zones as defined in with new borders enclosing a spatial area. As the maps demonstrate, the inland border

enforcement infrastructure exceeds but involves municipal, county, and transit territorial jurisdiction. Instead, each map shows how relationships between the IRCC, CBSA, migrant detention facilities, and police service produce a ‘field’ generated by forcibly removing, transferring, conducting hearings, or communicating with one another. These fields, as Bigo (2016a, b) describes, are constituted when actors share information and infrastructure to be included in a sociopolitical structure that grants them position, status, and material benefit. These maps contribute to translating the notion of fields as transnational zones in Ontario that empower prisons, healthcare centres, and transit police in the global governance of migrants.

Figures 3-8 contributes to International Political Sociological (IPS) methodological approaches to borders that, as Aradau and Huysmans (2016, p. 134) explain, is

‘messy’ [by] connecting and assembling. Philosophical coherence between the various elements is less important than tentative and explorative assembling of ontological and epistemological perspectives as well as data and concept fragments in relation to a research question or set of issues that drive the development of knowledge

As Basaran and Guild (2016, p. 273) elaborate, an IPS approach shows borders are: 1) dislocated from national territorial frontiers, they “can be found anywhere,” 2) result from disaggregated state where a myriad of “public, private and semi-private actors” that include “lawyers as well as security professionals and private companies.” Figures 3-8 depict zones as routes, networks, and matrices that show relationships of power that would remain even if given facilities or sites of detention change locations. In their messiness, I show how borders in their totality exceed the law, the state, and categorical definition of any one territorial jurisdiction in Ontario. Instead, borders are in constant evolution and require an aesthetic approach.

State-centrist aesthetic forms revolve around naturalizing a Westphalian conception of political authority—the graphic and visual elements which lend themselves to how state sovereignty has been codified and practised in international law, treaties, and global regulations (Rakjovic, 2018). Zones show a more diffuse and disaggregated series of actors which opens more possibilities on where to intervene. Non-territorial authority is illegible in conventional cartographic representations that privilege the depiction of a singular mega ‘state’ zone being the only true form of political boundaries in the world (Branch 2014, pp. 90–92).

Tazzioli (2020) implores of Critical Migration studies to seek new aesthetic metaphors to reveal non-existent subjects missing from archive. Walters (2015, p. 476) observes the dynamic with how migration is imagined in the eyes of the state, with the vehicle or tactic used to transport migrants becoming the moniker of their movement (e.g., “boatpeople, wetbacks, stowaways, hobos, etc.”). These dehumanizing terms show how *seeing like the state* reduces people to their relationship with the state border, which then essentializes the migrants’ identity. IR needs to reveal how invisible state power operates at the micropolitical level, but also how imperialism operates at a scale and with such complexity that transcends state-centric visual cartographic representations (Mulich, 2018). Escaped slaves, Indigenous revolts, mutinous sailors, pirates, and frontier settler-colonists were erased from histories of how early modern European sovereignty emerged in part by conceptualizing the state as the locus of political authority (Linebaugh and Rediker, 2012). State actors and institutions reify themselves as a stable cohesive unit by occluding the presence and potential agency, subjectivity, and sites where migrants and border enforcement institutions constitute zones.

Choosing to depict a zone theory remapping of world politics forefronts critical commitments to focus on mundane frontiers (Mitchell, 1999, p. 94). Zone theory situates within

a long intellectual trajectory of critiques against *seeing like a state*. Similar to efforts to *see like a city*, the zoning critique of borders deconstructs how the gaze of unitary state sovereignty obfuscates the constitutive elements of the global economy being applied locally and regionally (skaidra, 2022). In displacing notions of a static and unitary state, Critical IR privileges the interpretation of local economic movements as the basis of world politics (Huysman et al., 2022). Transnational and globalization texts would locate and enumerate a given link between micro-level actors and broader global political economic effects (e.g., a supply chain, a case of variegated citizenship) (Berenskotter, 2018, p. 815; Lake, 2013, pp. 571–4). Transnational theory shows how the state exists as a rationalization of local and global economic actors with enforceable claims to property and territory (Garrod, 2017, p. 281). To *see like a zone* necessitates visually applying a ‘theory of state’ that resists the visual depiction of linear container-like borders which forms the lasting ‘state effect’ of modern sovereignty that still dominates mapmaking.

Chapter 3: Seeing like a zone: Privately deputized sovereignty in Toronto's Sanctuary City

Preface

This chapter in the dissertation reprints an article published with *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* with the citation: Skaidra, S. (2022). Seeing like a Zone: Privately deputized sovereignty within Toronto's Sanctuary City. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, 40(6), 1346-1364. This chapter serves as another case analysis for the dissertation.

Abstract

Scholarship is split between seeing the Sanctuary City movement in a progressivist light of antiborder civil society movements, or, viewed as another iteration of citizenship controls. Critics point out how Sanctuary Cities, wherein municipalities provide services regardless of immigration status, do little to guarantee security for undocumented peoples who are at constant risk of deportation. Those who are optimistic about the movement's emancipatory potential celebrate Sanctuary Cities' ability to challenge the policing of migration. Why are the interpretations of Sanctuary City policies so polarized? I argue Sanctuary City literature suffers from trying to resolve the contradictions of state-based citizenship, devolving the challenge to the city, thus obscuring how state officials, business, and civil society actors can each possess local sovereignty control over urban space. My paper develops the metric of 'private deputized sovereignty' to trace how local policy discretion can implement or contest control over citizenship enforcement powers. I investigate how 'private deputized sovereignty' emerges from zoning technology inherent to urban spatial production. Conceptually, I introduce 'seeing like a zone' as a heuristic to challenge methodological nationalism and cityism which assume sovereignty resides with corporeal structures. In applying zoning analysis to Toronto's Sanctuary City policy, the paper identifies economic and sanctuary zones where jurisdictional exceptions

empowers local authorities, civil society, and/or private actors to either grant amnesty or exile migrants. Toronto being located within an immigrant federal state and being a global city offers a case for multiscalar analysis where migrants' well-being and harm depends on the 'privately deputized sovereign's' zoning choices in workplaces, healthcare, schools and the street

Keywords

Sanctuary city, Agamben, citizenship, sovereignty, Toronto

Introduction

Sanctuary City literature cites Toronto as signalling the movement's spread across Canada. Alongside Vancouver and Montreal, Toronto hosts most of the country's 500,000 undocumented people (Hershkowitz et al., 2020). Toronto is a global city, a national economic powerhouse, and a provincial capital. Its policy decisions not only reflect how immigration federalism frameworks operate, but also various governmental responses to global migration. Toronto is therefore well suited for a comprehensive and expansive case study analysis of Sanctuary Cities as situated within the globalized political economy. Toronto's size, influence, and jurisdictional positionality facilitates the testing of the plausibility of a phenomenon's effects in major urban centers, supports theory-building to account for hyper-interconnected local economies, and lends itself for a rich description of policy implementation and political action (Lai and Roccu, 2019). Moreover, the municipality makes it possible to gauge Sanctuary as an (in)dependent variable compared to others such as; being a global city, being a substate capital, and having a sizeable migrant population. (Ireland, 2017). Sanctuary Cities feature prominently in research on subnational policy interventions into immigration related matters such as healthcare (Barnes, 2011; Magalhaes et al., 2010; Marrow, 2012), education (Villegas and Brady, 2018), activism (Basok, 2009; Monforte and Dufour, 2011), and police services (Ridgley,

2008; Sullivan, 2009). The policy further serves to corroborate trends in international politics/relations (Bulley, 2017), urbanism (Cordes, 2017), and legal/public policy analysis (Bilke, 2009; Noll, 2010) regarding migrant rights and the role of cities (Bauder, 2016a).

For Canadian Sanctuary City literature, Toronto remains the first and enduring paradigmatic case. Toronto City Council adopted a series of motions in 2013 and 2014 that have come to be known as ‘Access T.O.’ (City of Toronto, 2018). The motions implement ‘Access Without Fear (AWF) policies across city services and direct frontline city staff to eliminate any citizenship requirements to the access of municipal services. The motions built upon the work of The Solidarity City Network of activists who supported the efforts by the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) and women’s shelters to resist the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) targeting undocumented students in schools or families fleeing domestic abuse. Despite the Sanctuary City designation, in 2015 the group No One Is Illegal and the Immigration Legal Committee found that the Toronto Police routinely violate their equivalent AWF policies (Moffette et al., 2015). Since enacting their own policy, police have referred 3,278 individuals to the CBSA (Hudson et al., 2017; Keung, 2015). Toronto’s case shows how citizenship and social movement literature can highlight different data points to celebrate (Abji, 2013, 2018; Nyers, 2018; Vrasti and Dayal, 2016) or critique (Moffette and Ridgley, 2018; Villegas, 2015, 2018) the possibilities of Sanctuary Cities.

Sanctuary City scholarship remains divided with regards to evaluating the policy’s effectiveness and normative consequences. Current literature claims Sanctuary Cities embody an alternative to sovereignty and state-based citizenship (Bauder, 2016b; Cordes, 2017; Darling, 2017; Nail et al., 2010; Roy, 2019). Progressive analysis either celebrates Sanctuary Cities alongside other anti-border civil society movements (McDonald, 2014; Squire, 2011; Zorn,

2014) or derides them for being too preoccupied with state citizenship (Darling, 2013; Houston and Lawrence-Weilmann, 2016; Johnston, 2015; McBride, 2009). Claims of Sanctuary Cities' revolutionary or of their state-collaborationist character each garner a substantive literature presenting subnational immigration governance research with a dichotomized view of the policy and/or the challenge of synthesizing the aporia.

Wherever citizenship or immigration documentation determines someone's access to public services, or discloses their non-status to potentially reporting authorities, frontline staff effectively operate border checkpoints. Sanctuary policies like AWF appear to appropriate border enforcement powers; the traditional prerogative that epitomizes state sovereignty. This appropriation of sovereign power also applies to employers threatening deportation as a means to control undocumented labourers. I propose labelling this phenomenon *private deputized sovereignty* to denote when agents perform exile or amnesty powers within given areas that are infused with citizenship jurisdiction. I argue *private deputized sovereignty* conceptually explains how these ambiguous features of sovereignty undergird Sanctuary City's contradictory policy effects. I extend critiques of methodological nationalism and cityism to Sanctuary City literature that privileges unitary state/city actors and notions of citizenship.

To begin, and to escape state- and city- centric thought, I theorize a *seeing like a zone* approach in order to disaggregate state and city actors and reveal local spatial production of multiple, even incongruous, forms of urban relations. Drawing on Agamben's (1998) 'zone of indistinction,' this chapter charts how cities and states claim sovereign interpretative powers to depoliticize and jurisdictionally draw boundaries and exceptions around urban means of spatial production. Agamben's insights demonstrate how methodological nationalism/cityism mirrors a sovereign's capacity for producing knowledge/power (like historical/bureaucratic

record/categories). This enables the demarcation of who/what is inside or outside a polity, and thus who is an exception and beyond its politics and law. I outline how cities arguing for urban sovereignty, like states, project a public quality onto their citizenship powers, whilst demarcating the exertion sovereignty by other actors (in a personal, civil, cultural, social, or economic capacity) as an apolitical private matter. I contend that these invisible sovereignties constitute macro-structural phenomena such as planetary-wide urbanization and globalization, whilst state and city gazes look upon urban sociopolitical-economic realms as their own private domain. Following the theoretical exposition, I trace how tensions and ambiguities in Sanctuary City literature reflect a myriad of conflicting *private deputized sovereignties* spatially producing zones interlinked by global, national, regional, and municipal networks. I conclude by applying my zoning approach to identify the *private deputized sovereignty* configuring Canadian, Ontarian, and local spaces of immigration services, public schools, universities, health clinics, workplaces, and local policing in Toronto.

City limits

When normatively evaluating the potential benefits and harmful risks of Sanctuary Cities, research tends to link the phenomena's effects to an assumed unit in the word city. 'Seeing like a city' methods inform framing Sanctuary urban struggles as a means to explore how cities provide alternative sources of "membership, belonging, and identification" (Darling and Bauder, 2019, pp. 4-5). Looking at the city as a cohesive whole reproduces the problématique of statelessness inherent with state-territoriality (Walker, 2015) by analytically devolving sovereignty from the state downwards to cities. When 'seeing like a state' became 'seeing like a city,' migration scholars exported state sovereignty to the urban. And with such a move, the problématique of fitting human rights within the Westphalian system transmutes into affirming 'rights to the city'

within municipalities embedded within states. Notions of emancipatory forms of urban governance, scale, and empowered subnational bodies appear in geographical theories of the rebel/insurgent cities (Cordes, 2017), ‘right to the city,’ local self-government (Magnusson, 2015), and urban citizenship (Smith and McQuarrie, 2012); all perpetuating a homogenized conception of the city. Sanctuary City scholarship theorizing in terms of migrant irregularity (Ellis, 2015c), precarity (McDonald, 2014), and illegalization (Hannan and Bauder, 2015) imports the antagonism of state power as the cause and potential solution to harmful citizenship practices. Potentially reproducing state power troubles Sanctuary City scholars. As Moffette and Ridgley (2018, p. 152) characterize the challenge, “Whether we are organizing in Canada or elsewhere, we need to refuse to choose between pragmatic reform and what is portrayed as idealistic radicalism.” Yet, the emancipatory and pragmatic potential of Sanctuary Cities nevertheless transubstantiates elements of liberatory state power into the conjured unit of the city, capable of solving migrant marginalization without addressing the aporias of sovereignty. As Houston (2019) explains, conflating Sanctuary with a city policy assumes a bureaucratic designation reflects on-the-ground realities; Sanctuary practices evade a common definition because the movement is more a process than a uniform goal.

Uncovering the hermeneutic of structural vision and gazes of states, cities, or sovereigns, involves engaging the epistemic appropriation of life-forces and production. Examples of epistemological erasures include the ‘territorial trap’ (Agnew, 1994), ‘methodological nationalism’ (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002), and methodological cityism (Brenner, 2014). Scott (1998) describes ‘seeing like a state’ like a grid, as if beaming from the Leviathan’s sight, subsuming societal life-force into linear and rationalistic modern logic. Magnusson (2011) and Valverde (2011) overcome this by choosing to ‘see like a city’ and thereby resist the Hobbesian

monster's gaze. Thinking as a city no less appropriates material productive forces inherent to the emergence of societal spatial production. A city gaze problematically equates local rhythms as determining place, negating the potential of mobile temporalities to produce space (Massey, 2005). I propose to *see like a zone* to continue the tradition of disaggregating state, city, and territorial gazes that presuppose their respective political units as epistemologically self-evident. In the following section, I will show how city-ness obscures the forces pregnant with 'planetary urbanism' which nation-states mystify as their own.

Enter the zone

Conceptually, zones accept the ontological family resemblance between the productive origin of property, frontiers, and territory in articulating place. Zones epistemologically marry the constitutive elements within territoriality and enclosure involving a performative act (or 'event'). Massey (2005) describes how modernity fixes linear and bounded temporalities by repetitively associating a delimited area to a regulative ideal. Public, private, cultural, economic, etc. are scripted customizations attached to qualities that spatial borders enact. The city is a product of a constellation and competition of performed spaces (Amin and Thrift, 2002). So too is the state. Zones iterate and identify the spatial performativity (practices) that when reified, possess the wellspring for institutions and structures (Lefebvre, 2014). The zone is an irreducible unit of political technology emerging from urban social reproductive forces, encompassing social, economic, political, cultural, and other aspects of urban life. Zones are imminent spatial political powers capable of articulating performative sovereignty over locales, 'others,' and ourselves, and with enough terror and coordination, create macro-zonal connections we recognize as the nation-states of today.

Zoning theory demonstrates micro-machinations of sovereign decision-making creating globalized border geographies and jurisdictions in everyday spaces. Agamben's theory of the 'zone of indistinction' animates interventions recognizing this reality. Murray's (2017) *The Urbanism of Exception* and Ong's (2006) *Neoliberalism as Exception* use Agamben to show the indistinguishability of local and transnational spaces. Agamben's work undergirds the seminal works of De Genova (2013) and Edkins et al., (2004) who locate global borders and citizenship structures as being locally instantiated. Agamben (1998) describes 'the camp,' after the German concentration sort, as a zone produced by sovereign agents representing both the law and an exception to legality. The camp produces 'bare life,' a figure without citizenship and banished from law, yet still subject to legal sovereign violence. Such sovereignty appears inescapable considering how polities self-constitute by delimiting an ordered internal space contradistinguished by an indeterminate and exceptional outside space beyond their pale of law (Johnson, 2014). Defining what is exceptional becomes the means to constitute (and locate) a sovereign community's internal regulative ideal exceeding its legal order.

Exceptionality is a misnomer on account of how normal Agamben's 'bare life' and camps are in the function of global capitalism. A typical view is Dauvergne (2009: 28) *Making People Illegal: What Globalization Means for Migration and Law*, viewing exceptional international legal categories for migrants a "trend" and a departure from pre-globalized politics. Such use of Agamben elides his application of the 'zone of indistinction' to describe how political and economic realms interact. Agamben (1998, 2011) contends that politics assumes the administration of the good life by cordoning off a political domain from nature. However, power assuming the need for a cordon precedes erecting city walls segregating citizens from the undistinguishable mass of humanity qua animal. Agamben (2011) in *The Kingdom and the Glory*

shows how sovereign exceptionality traffics in notions of economic providence, where pursuing glorious prosperous cities on earth represents divine blessings. The Western European Catholic Church theologized notions of citizenship (later secularized) to inscribe glory onto inhabitants being admitted into the City of God. Agamben (2011:282) writes “Political Economy is constituted [...] as a social rationalization of providential *oikonomia*.” *Oikonomicus* connotes household relations providing sustenance and throughout Western political theory is allegorized as a form of rulership when contradistinguishing politics (the realm of equal citizens) from the *oikos* (the place of slaves, women, children, and barbarians) (Owens, 2015). Household space, now read as the economic/private, bifurcates life-production from politics. The former serves as the basis of material power and glory from which sovereignty derives force in claiming its apolitical (exceptional) administration. Exceptionality undergirding citizenship emanates in distinguishing forms of rulership and sovereignty’s claim to sublimate economic power to politics and vice versa.

Converting migratory economic force as a basis for city sovereignty and/or citizenship pervades Sanctuary City literature. Whether in describing migration as economically beneficial or contributing to the community, proponents of urban sovereignty or ‘citizenship’ cite migrant labour to justify municipal sovereign claims to power (Kuge, 2019). Agamben’s insight pinpoints how sovereignty sublimates the differentiated forms of governance which meet in a ‘zone of indistinction’, i.e., sovereigns assume power in administering their demarcated sources. De Genova (2013, p. 1194) identifies how spaces of migrant illegality represent a zone where the “universal disposability of all labour” is revealed and proclaimed, with ghettos and migrant precarity stemming from admitting deportable labour. Citizenship regulations mask (and are indistinguishable from) alien economic powers, akin to how commodity-relations mystify

capitalist violent force (pp. 1187-8). Sovereignty sublimates migrant illegality (or labour relations) as a ‘private’ individual affair wherein deportation (or work contracts) is depoliticized into legal or economic administration (p. 1189). Someone’s potential deportation results from the ability of a sovereign to convert the indistinguishability of political-economy into a decision; in being able to determine a person’s inclusion/exclusion within and between arbitrary construed public/private spaces. Simply, “the phantasm of exclusion is essential to that essentially political process of labour subordination, which in fact is always a matter of (illegalized) inclusion and incorporation” (p. 1190). Agamben’s exceptionality historically pervades state use of emergency powers to quash labour unrest (Neocleous, 2006). Only in claiming an economic realm crucial to life and prosperity can sovereignty render labour demands beyond the pale of citizenship rights, yet apply such exceptions to the citizenry.

States claiming adjudication over public-ness is a triumph of subjugating urban forms of sovereignty to invisibility (i.e. private) in the eyes of an inter-state society whose members behave as if amongst an assembly of black boxes (Curtis, 2016). International political invisibility reveals both oppressed peoples (the others of international law) and private powers uninterested in the accountability that comes with international legal personality (Cutler, 2001). Western political thought has long suppressed others’ spatial claims by seeing socially reproductive labour as being private (Massey, 1992). ‘Planetary urbanism’ theory echoes these observations by noting how cities and states assume jurisdiction over urban forces in order to monopolize the zoning means of spatial production (Merrifield, 2014; Schmid and Brenner, 2014). Global urbanization represents a *long durée* whereby urban zones reorganized global spatial relations to facilitate the rise of capitalism. Murray (2017) describes how colonial outposts of anomalous law established bridgeheads to reconfigure spaces and link them to

metropolises. Zones are those spaces endowed with private authority (colonial administrative centres, ports, crown corporations, protectorates etc.) where local sovereign exceptional regulatory control connected to global economic networks whilst remaining outside of the inter-state legal system (Murray, 2017). Exceptions included citizenship laws, which contemporarily continue to configure admittance and rights within customized spaces that remain exempt yet contained within the global economy (pp. 222-231). Examples may include “special economic zones, free trade areas, export manufacturing zones, imported-migrant-labour construction sites, gated tourist resorts, [and] offshore finance centres” (p. 214). Reading into exceptional forms of citizenship helps situate other identities within the ‘zones of indistinction’ inside/outside social, economic, and political realms obscured by state- and city- centric theories of sovereignty predicated on demarcating household affairs as private.

Performative exceptionality

Zones as a unit of analysis describe performances producing political and private objects such as property, urban spaces, and jurisdictions networked and amalgamated into cities, states, or transnational organizations. The city operates as a difference machine differentiating residents(-ces) and thereby inscribes historicity spatially (Isin, 2002). The decision involved in making any difference official requires historicizing the judgment into the annals of records. Jurisdiction then expresses the extent and reach of claims of where sovereign decision-making locates itself (Davis, 2012). Such a process typifies sovereignty, creating borders between identities, in turn, requiring these historically noted identities such as race, gender, citizenship, worker, etc. to be performed/reproduced. City-ness describes performing the urban and/or civility difference via technologies of citizenship – such as medical, social, housing, and educational services – demarcating their locales (Isin, 2002). Administratively uniting both

providential urban-economy and civil-political realms comes to empower bureaucrats to interpret jurisdictional spaces that conjoin the urban/civil and residents/citizens; but crucially, what lays between these realms are the ‘zones of indistinction’ wherein exceptions to these spaces are in effect.

The exceptionality undocumented migrants experience indicates the purpose of each of the jurisdictional city walls imposed upon them. Nail (2015) observes how agrarian, feudal, colonial, and (capitalist) privatized zones correspond to the creation of irregular identities contradistinguished by the administrative zoning of farmlands, fiefs, outposts, and property, producing irregular/citizen binaries like farmer/nomad, commoner/vagabond, citizen/barbarian, and bourgeois/proletariat. As Isin and Rygiel (2007, p. 196) succinctly put it, “the logic of zones is to act as a filter in the citizenship-making process” by tying legitimized identities to delimited spaces with customized services, rights, and/or networks. These are “embodied borders” (Sampson 2019, p. 256) where socioeconomic and legal constructs create geographic realities through performing inclusionary or exclusionary measures onto migrant bodies.

Borders delimit zones where officials are empowered to normalize or irregularize identities, which justifies their sovereign decision of who is inside/outside citizenship spaces. Sanctuary City processes extend beyond immigration and seek to eliminate the denial of public services on grounds of documentation, which also concerns people experiencing homelessness, transgender individuals, and racialized residents (Houston, 2019). Administrating exceptions enables projecting extra-legal borders onto others who then embody the exceptions local sovereigns exert when exercising exclusionary socioeconomic, racial, and gendered categories (Sampson, 2019). It is worth noting how citizenship derives its powers by being an incomplete construction. If the definition of what constitutes a citizen remains indeterminant, then required

citizenship documentation is amendable to suit state and zoning ends. Assigning non-citizenship enables articulating spatial power with borders of gender, class, race, and nationality embedded in documentation, not solely that of immigration.

Private deputized sovereignty

Sanctuary Cities harbour three types of exceptions. First, the exceptionality whenever city officials and/or frontline workers determine regulative identities associated with specific spaces, i.e. the norms for admittance to areas and ergo, the exceptions to such rules. Second, the exceptionality of policy inaction wherein Sanctuary City policy functions by conscientious omission of information pertaining to or avoidance of cooperation with deportation enforcement, thereby making an exception to the ‘rule’ of federal border jurisdictional reach. Lastly, the exceptionality of novel administrative strategies that Sanctuary City stakeholders develop to distance state agents’ presence around local services. Taken together, Sanctuary Cities *de facto* appropriate, via these exceptional inactions, sovereign-state-actors’ spatial production by rejecting the regulative identity of citizenship as the basis for providing services to city residents.

I postulate the term *private deputized sovereignty*: *private* denotes that an individual or sub-state body is acting; *deputized* signifies the auto-appropriation of any said exceptions (either by business, activists, or frontline city staff); and finally, *sovereignty* means the political performance responsible for creating space through defining a delimited area’s criterion for what constitutes its inside/outside. Together, these appropriations produce the power of suspended exile (held by employers of undocumented people) and the power of arbitrary amnesty (by frontline workers providing services regardless of citizenship status). Both powers differ in their qualitative operationalization of irregularity, or illegalization, operating within urban spatial production. The basis on which (non-)citizenship creates irregularity and/or illegality expresses a

sovereign authority's expectation for migrants and residents. This conceptual design captures how Villazor and Gulasekaram (2018) describe groups adopting Sanctuary City rhetoric or policies to become stakeholders possessing immigration powers. The ability to wield exile or amnesty explains why immigration enforcement agencies and laws monitor businesses, educational, and religious institutions that could offer amnesty or help exiling migrants (pp. 1272-80). Such potential means holders of authority within these domains could zone their spaces into sources of private power over non-citizens within them.

Property alone differs from zoning, however, when performed with exceptionality, it transforms enclosed areas into zones harboring *private deputized sovereignty*. Nail (2016) and Rankin (2016) describe how private sovereigns birthed from the capacity to administer property as a form of exercising exile and displacement. Nail (2016) documents how configuring and enforcing trespassing tailors land occupancy, thereby transforming propertied-spaces into border checkpoints filtering out (un)desirable identities based on socioeconomic and political logics. Public services using private contractors for transit fare checkers, airport security, detention facilities, and healthcare providers, privatize discretionary powers on public property where demands for immigration documentation becomes a means for profiling racialized peoples (Bagelman and kovalchuk, 2019). Default criminalization of undocumented migrants results in part from their designation as being undeserving of help unless they are admitted within the confines of the refugee-asylum or through sanctioned economic-migration systems, which consequently, spatially confines migration into camps or surveilled workplaces (Johnson, 2014). Conversely, Sanctuary Cities see civil society engage liberal logics to describe migrants as productive members of the community and thus deserving of protection. Villazor and Gulasekaram (2018) document how American Sanctuary homes, universities, and workplaces

draw from the 4th amendment of the US constitution and common law norms against unlawful entry, search, and seizure, to resist immigration enforcement. These city services and businesses are performing ‘acts of citizenship’ (Isin, 2012) and democratization by restricting immigration police entry onto property to protect the undocumented. However, making economic meritocracy or constitutionalism the basis for Sanctuary forms of property also empowers the land owners and/or the community with discretionary exile powers over migrants (if deemed criminal, thus underserving of amnesty) (Kuge, 2019). Herein, the zonal approach explains how federal immigration zoning operates by broadening state network of zones by converting public and private property into border checkpoints. Sanctuary networks represent interconnected zones that are produced by agents using ‘acts of citizenship’ to grant measures of asylum.

Toronto zoning

Zoning deconstruction highlights how the Canadian state and province of Ontario jurisdictionally claim Toronto, which itself seeks political autonomy. Canadian urban political theorists consider Canada’s cities to be legally “creatures of the provinces”; however, as Magnusson (2015) interjects, it is more appropriate to say provinces are creatures of cities. Canadian provinces amalgamated previous colonial entities wherein cities were nodes connecting peripheral extractive spaces into the global economy (p. 227). Canadian settler-colonialism depends on disregarding the possibility of multiple overlapping and shared jurisdictions that typify Indigenous land governance (Simpson, 2008). Treaties with Indigenous peoples often seek to impose the hierarchy of property relations and create Westernized citizens by necessitating the conversion of their communal lands into individualized plots available for settler purchase (Lyons, 2010). Whereas Indigenous polities long configured their zoning as

open, fluid, and non-exclusionary, Canadian settler-colonialism produces properties and citizens networked by colonial administrative centres.

Historically, provinces representing their industries' interests came to determine the trajectory of federal immigration policy that in turn formalized industrial *private deputized sovereigns'* variegated citizenship criteria. From Confederation until the early 20th Century, agents from railroads, manufacturing, and landowners primarily recruited contract labour, offering land and residency (Green and Green, 2004). Provincial jurisdiction in the British North American Act of 1867 (Canada's original constitution) granted provinces the power to incorporate companies and manage land, i.e. constituting the very corporate entities who dictated provincial immigration policy (Stevenson, 1979). Canada's unitary federal immigration policy represented the Quebecois, Manitoban, Maritime, and Eastern Ontarian dominant capitalist classes who were seeking to control immigration, recruitment and the internal migration of their labour forces (Green & Green, 2004). Between 1910-1931, Canada entrusted the railways with recruiting migrants while the federal Cabinet dictated restrictions on racial and national grounds (pp. 106-10). Canada continues to customize labour control with specialized immigration programs granting businesses sweeping powers over their domains. Federal departments functioned in a networking capacity to coordinate these workplace zones. In 1966 the Department of Labour and Department of Citizenship and Immigration merged and in 1967 introduced a point-system determining migrant admittance tailored according to industry needs (pp. 127-8). Quebec's use of these powers in the 1970s, to enact linguistic and cultural regulative ideals by preferring French-speaking migrants, demonstrates how the customizable nature of Canada's federal immigration regime fulfills provincial nation-building or province-building sovereign projects (Paquet and Xhardez, 2020).

Canadian employers and provincial agents assume *private deputized sovereignty* by controlling the recruitment, drafting contracts, and enforcing migrant compliance in sectors with variegated entrance requirements and irregular workplace conditions. Both the ‘Provincial Nominee Program’ and the ‘Temporary Foreign Workers Program’ are employer and province driven whereby each actor submits a ‘Labour Market Opinion’ to determine recruited migrants’ wages (Fudge and MacPhail, 2009). The Canadian government is “not a party to the contract” in either program, relinquishing oversight of employee/employer relations to underfunded and understaffed provincial labour complaint boards (pp. 30-31). Here, conditions of irregular and exceptional power over non-citizen migrant labour crystallizes, empowering whoever oversees a migrant contract, i.e. a *privately deputized sovereign*. Provinces intervene and assert jurisdiction in immigration matters by involving and funding semi-autonomous agencies and NGOs (Fudge and MacPhail, 2009). Before 1950, Ontario lacked direct immigration programs and only in 1971 opened Welcome Centres and funded civil society groups working with migrant communities (Paquet, 2019). From the 1990s onward, Ontario addressed sector-specific needs, from municipality partnerships agreements, interpreter and anti-racism programs, or by involving more industry-centered councils and foundations (p. 102). Provincial engagement in immigration shows the bottom-up nature of existing zones (of NGOs and business) having their private power formalized and networked. Federalization and province-building demonstrates how private agents’ interactions with non-citizens translates into a sovereignty over programs and spaces. Zones are created by Ontarian civil society or employers interpreting immigration jurisdiction to determine migrant admission into a given space. These zones are then networked by provinces and the Department of Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship of Canada (IRCC).

Four types of zones operate within Toronto Sanctuary City. First, economic regulative ideals for migrants (the basis on which Toronto's municipal government seeks administrative immigration control) enables workplaces to possess exile powers. Second, the Toronto Police Services (TPS) asserts autonomy from local governance by appropriating federal immigration enforcement powers, thereby deputizing local officers to become border agents. Third, Toronto municipal services implement Sanctuary City policies by refusing to disclose information to the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) to produce spaces with administrative amnesty. Fourth, local shelters, clinics, and schools exercising non-cooperation with the CBSA produce Toronto's first instances of Sanctuary spaces. These nascent types of zones are divided into two strategies of exceptionality that define regulative identities: the economic/secured and the administrative/Sanctuary. In each, policy and administrative inaction (i.e. applying exceptions) transforms schools, frontline services, and workplaces spaces into either type of zone. The case analysis begins with secured exile powers over undocumented labour spatially producing economic zones, and then concludes with administrative amnesty powers producing Sanctuary zones.

Economic and security zones

Toronto migrant labour conditions illustrate the *private deputized sovereign* status of employers who enjoy an invisibility through being seen as mere 'economic' actors whilst benefiting from the city politically administering a connection to the global economy. Nonexistent labour protections and the pervasive threat of CBSA raids come together to create 'zones of indistinction' for non-citizen employees situated outside the legal economy whilst participating within it insofar as being excludable at any point.

Administrative exile and labour.

The City of Toronto Act of 2006 defines the municipality as a corporation (Siemiatycki, 2015), onto which the province delegates power, with the City Council in turn, further delegating to communities, divisions, and agencies (Sancton, 2016). However, because border enforcement is a federal prerogative, any municipal role in the matter (apart from the autonomous police) equates to *deputized* private citizens (Aoki et al., 2008). To which I argue, sovereignty operates within workplaces dependent on deportable migrant labour lacking documentation. Toronto, without exception, allows this possibility within its Sanctuary policy which stipulates that the city will hand over migrant information if required by federal or provincial legislation (Hudson et al., 2017). Sanctuary City policies can therefore be seen to enact an alternate form of variegated sovereignty already present in Toronto's migrant labour pool, which empowers employers with workplace exceptionality.

Federal and provincial governments coordinate within the IRCC working group that develops strategy and logistics on immigration policy; there, Ontario demanded to increase economic migrants to 70% of intake in 2012 (Schertzer, 2015). Toronto, as the sole municipality with Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) with both the province of Ontario and the federal government, demonstrates agency on the matter (Ellis, 2015b). Ontario's refusal to grant voting rights to Toronto's all non-citizen residents whether documented or undocumented, per the city's request (Siemiatycki, 2015), indicates Ontario's policy inaction to cement their place in the apolitical realm. Market actors, possessing full political rights, are able to secure their household rule in exceptional workplace zones. Ontario's immigration requests from the federal government are driven by Toronto's push for more skilled labour (Ellis, 2015b) and demonstrates market concerns are defining the regulative ideal of the city. Toronto city officials

are conscious of such relations and link the provision of services for migrants to bolster the construction, manufacturing, and hospitality industries, which benefit from their workers constantly fearing authorities (Laman, 2015). Municipal politicians lobbying for a larger labour pool, minus protections for those who become irregular/illegalized, *deputizes* employers overseeing undocumented labour and become *exceptionally* powerful over vulnerable workers.

Sites employing undocumented migrants in Toronto benefit from endowed power to exile migrants and constitute zones of economic marginalization stemming from irregular citizenship status. As Pekic (2016) observes, Toronto disavows substantive intervention against deportations while providing migrants minimal services to ensure labour wellbeing, insofar as they benefit industries. This reveals how the private sector chooses and delineates migrant economic worthiness for inclusion while assuming sociopolitical exceptionality to exclude undocumented workers. Sanctuary Policy, in effect, enables employers to become the city wall enclosing workers whose escape would result in them facing strict refugee criterion for amnesty. To avoid taking such a risk, many undocumented workers are pushed into the precarious informal sector (Darling, 2016). Employers are *deputized* when they take advantage of such possibilities, thereby transforming worksites into zones made possible by Toronto's strategy to attract migrants without guaranteeing protections for them.

Local transnational police.

Despite its common practice, the TPS lack jurisdictional grounds to report undocumented peoples' status to the CBSA. Contravening their 2006 policy Victims and Witnesses Without Legal Status and the Police Services Act, which requires a federal warrant to issue information to the CBSA, TPS officers routinely assume reporting is within their discretion; TPS practice thus "can be regarded as extra-legal" (Hershkowitz et al., 2020, pp. 5-8). These claims to extra-legal

jurisdiction correspond to police exerting exceptionality to racially profile migrants in disregard of non-discrimination statutes (Ellis, 2015b). Judging by field reports, undocumented peoples experience constant fear when accessing Toronto municipal services (Hudson et al., 2017). Such impressions confirm the conceptualization of cities as a means of producing precarity and illegalizing migrant life so to accomplish specific policy ends (Darling, 2017). Areas with TPS presence become border checkpoints wherein racial profiling *deputizes* officers to assume exile powers that spatially produce security zones.

Though Toronto Police retain some autonomy from the city, they regularly call the CBSA to check a person's immigration status with or without cause (Bauder, 2016). The willful municipal and provincial inaction on TPS AWF policies result in shuttering undocumented people into exceptional spaces. The TPS claims immigration jurisdiction, in effect *deputizing* themselves with absolute authority (i.e. sovereign) over undocumented migrants (Hershkowitz et al., 2020). Inaccessible police services affect women and children fleeing domestic violence and sexual assault; risking prolonged shelter stays, the inability to press charges, and/or ongoing household abuse (Hudson et al., 2017). Similarly, lack of police protection decreases reporting of workplace injuries/abuses that carry long term health problems (p. 22). This further shields employers from the rule of law, enabling their exceptional exercise of power over undocumented people, to exile them into precarity or back abroad. Such employer autonomy suggests their private sovereignty stems from the TPS enforcing a securitized global border regime. The ordered asylum and refugee regulative ideal by in large defines immigration systems worldwide (Johnson, 2014). Undocumented migrants who refuse to live in and be processed through camps are unrecognizable to the system and become subject to exceptional rule and expulsion (48). The criteria put onto the undocumented people, by a sovereign authority or government, enables

auto-deputized immigration police who assert internal city-walls. Worksite property and policed areas are zones networked to the global economy via provincial and federal immigration programs allowing private actors to define migrant regulatory identities and spatial relations.

Administrative and sanctuary zones

To implement Sanctuary policies, Toronto's civil authorities confer frontline workers with jurisdictional discretion to ensure non-citizens can be included within public services whilst excluding their data within administrative records. Drawing on property rights, omitting identification, or evasive data entry, civil actors perform a sovereign decision with 'acts of citizenship' reconciling undocumented people's civic exclusion and their need for social inclusion. Doing so creates 'zones of indistinction' reliant on interpretative administrative categories pregnant with exclusionary potential. Administrative exclusions enable healthcare, educational, shelter, and civic institutions to admit undocumented non-citizens' and ensure inclusive services, but that nevertheless possess the potential for later non-admission.

Administrative data amnesty

The City of Toronto bureaucracy refuses to collect data on undocumented residents because according to the Freedom of Information Act, once collected, all data might be shared to enforce laws governing deportations (Hudson et al., 2017). In that regard, the city shares a specific resident's records only to authorities submitting a written request to Toronto's Corporate Information Management because Canadian privacy laws forbid indiscriminate gathering of personal information. City administration requires the CBSA and other agencies to request a suspect's full name to access any of their files (Hudson et al., 2017). The administrative exception here transforms city governmental infrastructure into delimited areas where undocumented people have limited access to public spaces/services. Lacking a AWF policy,

provincial offices such as Ontario Works¹⁴ are unwilling to collect demographic data necessary to serve these communities despite the desire to do so (Atak, 2019). Thus, foregoing information-sharing enables the conversion of these social service spaces into variegated zones of quasi-inclusion.

Data sharing and control represents a direct means to inscribe identities for spatial control. TPS and CBSA officers view information sharing as a tool for immigration enforcement and fulfilling bureaucratic norms by drawing from state citizenship categories to justify their actions (Hershkowitz et al., 2019). Universities and educational institutions recognize how sharing immigration status with authorities renders campuses and schools into border checkpoints. In the United States, they also recognize and withhold such information (Villazor and Gulasekaram, 2018), whereas in Toronto, the strategy involves omitting immigration status during enrollment. The Toronto District School Board (TDSB), informally beginning in the 1960s and culminating in the Education Rights Taskforce in 1999, developed an administrative system labelling undocumented students' status as 'visitors' (who are charged for tuition), only later dropping this strategy and associated fees (Villegas, 2019). York University is exploring similar strategies (Atak, 2019) where administrators appropriate data control that would otherwise transform schools into checkpoints. Administrations *deputize* themselves with sovereign discretion to control a school's virtual private space, thus producing Sanctuary 'zones of indistinction' imbued with the regulative ideals of a student's right to education, making them deserving of protection from deportation.

¹⁴ Ontario Works is a public program providing financial and employment assistance.

Discretionary borderless services.

Implementing Toronto's Sanctuary City required finding a manner to *deputize* officials to enact the policy with grassroots support. The city working group, which included representatives from 21 agencies/divisions and an Executive Director, oversaw training across city divisions who were each responsible for crafting their own interpretation of AWF (Hudson et al., 2017). As such, AWF depends on a division's willingness to evoke exceptionality in their respective policy zone. Likewise, Toronto hosts 15 clinics for individuals without provincial health insurance (Migration as a Social Determinant of Health, 2014). Managers include the undocumented patients by appropriating discretionary policymaking powers within healthcare legal provisions that protect visitors (Landolt, 2019). Such nevertheless determines migrant worthiness in relation to zones where community healthcare services budget for uninsured individuals as opposed to migrants who depend on personal connections to borrow health cards to gain admittance elsewhere (Ellis, 2015c). Regulative ideals such as duty to patients or students' right to education, combined with exercising policy exceptions, zone these spaces into Sanctuaries. Also notable are women's shelters that refuse to collaborate with the CBSA, who target undocumented migrants fleeing domestic abuse. (Siemiatycki, 2015). The exceptions, embedded in irregular categories such as visitor or uninsured, perform a zoning in schools, select city divisions, shelters, and some clinics where service providers oversee a space beyond border enforcement, granting in a sense, amnesty.

However, as Landolt and Goldring (2019) note, 'status blindness' proves insufficient for guaranteeing citizenship rights to undocumented students. The 2007 TDSB policies enabling undocumented students to enroll required coordinating and standardizing administrative discretions due to principles asking undocumented parents prove their deservingness (often in

economic terms) to enrol their kids (Villegas, 2019). Despite overall success, there are cases of TDSB administrator error that force students and parents to appeal to the TDSB Student and Community Equity Office or seek legal aid to rectify the situation (Villegas, 2010). In these cases, The Equity Office becomes TDSB's *private deputized sovereign* to rezone a given school as a Sanctuary. Teachers and administrators' powers end at the school zones' edge, whereupon they lack auto-deputizing powers to halt deportation proceedings underway or help students finance post-secondary studies. Modest successes with versions of AWF in the TDSB and Toronto Public Library are linked to their autonomous status from the city which only appoints/sends representatives to their governing boards (Hudson et al., 2017). Bottom-up events spur spatial counter-interventions when authorities enforce state borders zones. The Toronto Sanctuary movement can be traced backed to civil society protests advocating for Algerian refugees facing deportation in the 1990s, and in the wake of a series of TPS and CBSA raids on Latin American and Portuguese communities in 2006; these events pushed the city government to study and implement limited AWF policies (Atak, 2019). The description 'place as event' applied to zones explains why in 2007 the TDSB needed to reassert its Sanctuary policy when the CBSA arrested two undocumented students on high school property (pp. 113–4). Beforehand, parents had to know which school zones were offering safe enrollment and protection (Villegas, 2019). The precarity of TDSB's policy reveals how an administrator's asylum powers require constant reiteration to spatially produce a zone. These border enforcement encroachments sought to rezone schools into border checkpoints, thereupon provoking countervailing grassroots Sanctuary zoning performances.

Concluding gazes

Toronto's Sanctuary policies *prima facie* suggest that a city government can diffuse Sanctuary norms among the populace and propel local political change (Villazor and Gulasekaram, 2018a; Vraști and Dayal, 2016). Another reading takes Toronto as a global city with devolved public services (Ireland, 2017) hinting at the linkage between disaggregated social spaces (healthcare and education) and worldwide efforts to enact inclusive global urban citizenship (Merrifield, 2014; Nyers, 2018). For policy/legal-minded analysis, Toronto's Sanctuary City proffers a model for sub-national citizenship within immigration federalism, where multiple levels of government share jurisdiction on immigration matters (Bhuyan and Smith-Carrier, 2012). Toronto as a case confirms claims by Critical Urban and Migration scholars that sovereignty cannot be fully reduced into either structural or agential terms. For instance, Toronto's 'community policing' of immigrant neighbourhoods stems from and perpetuates colonial discourses developed to pacify oppressed racialized peoples (Saberri, 2017). CBSA operations in Toronto and its implication in transnational information sharing regimes means that the city operates at an intersection where new forms of data technology and the global securitization of migrants (Bigo, 2002, 2019; Hudson, 2019). Yet, critical border studies still lacks sensitivity in recognizing how new surveillance technologies re-assemble racializing categories during data collection (e.g., where databases associate race to policing conflicts, managing traffic, or investigations) (Moffette and Walters 2018). Zoning theory furthers these research agendas committed to situating the space where local and global knowledge/power co-constitutively take hold.

Literature embracing Sanctuary Cities demonstrates yearning for theorizing past scalar thinking (Isin, 2012; Smith and McQuarrie, 2012) and state-centric notions of citizenship that erase migrant agency (Nyers and Rygiel, 2014; Squire and Darling, 2013). While such research

displaces state sovereignty as being the foremost *a priori* institution, there remains the explanatory task of linking local spatial performances to any given scalar structure. State and city zones enjoy their performativity having been reified into hegemonic institutions, norms, and corporate bodies. Critical border and migration studies must continue typologizing the diversity of zones resulting from local citizenship powers and micro-sovereign spatial production. Whose power is being overlooked when urban migration and citizenship research adopts methodological cityism? Where are private sovereigns enacting invisible borders that police marginalized peoples? With the advent of digital redlining and algorithmic racial profiling that draws on immigration data (Koopman, 2021; Vukov, 2016), how are the social sciences adapting methods to trace these new borders? What are the risks of discretionary citizenship criteria being enmeshed into data? Citizenship zones rely on and generate the same information that circulates transnationally among police agencies who code migration as an existential threat (Bigo, 2019; Moffette and Vadasaria, 2016). In this critical vein, I apply zoning theory to conceptualize *private deputized sovereignty* that describes how activists, frontline workers, and employers appropriate ‘zones of indistinction’ to create irregular identities to administer exceptions to, or with, immigration enforcement.

Seeing like a zone disaggregates political entities like cities and states whose citizenship categories are too often conflated with empirical data. Enforcing, performing, and projecting social, economic, and political citizenships onto self and others is the technology of zoning. Exceptions can be made to citizenship requirements insofar to ensure the inclusion of others whose political exclusion fosters an orderly household. Agamben’s insights reveals the story states and cities tell for what it is. From cities devaluing social reproductive labour or states quelling urban revolt, sovereignty sequesters political economy as internal affairs—rule of the

oikonimicus. ‘Zones of indistinction’ are where supposed objective political/economic realms meet and necessitate an administrative translator, i.e., the sovereign. Citizenship requirements depoliticize the economic and social violence private actors use to control non-citizens. Asking whether the city can assume citizenship politics mystifies the sovereign claims to administer to economic providence, whether on behalf of the nation, community, or the good of undocumented people. To say private sovereigns dissipated with stateness is to *see like a state*. To acknowledge that cities possess autonomy vis-à-vis states is to *see like a city*. *Seeing like a zone* can be viewed as both critiquing performative assemblage techniques (of cities and states) and describing how citizenship creates spatial configurations through projected identities.

Conclusion: Mapping citizenship zones of global apartheid

When Lucia Dominga Vega Jiménez was traveling on Vancouver Sky Train on December 1, 2013, she encountered a border checkpoint in the form of a transit fare officer (Janzen, 2014). Upon being asked for identification, the private fare inspector reported her to the CBSA who transferred her to a privately run detention centre where she was denied access to call counsel, medical care, and her community. On December 20th, she committed suicide; a fact the CBSA delayed publicly disclosing (ibid; Gros and van Groll, 2015). But crucially, the fare inspectors had no obligation to conduct a ‘status-check’ where they input Ms. Jiménez’s information into the CBSA’s warrant database that marked her for deportation. As seen in the map of the centralized Warrant Call Centre (Figure 6), any of Ontario police agencies can enact a border checkpoint, evidence by the ‘status-check’ calls made from the police of GO Regional Transit, Ottawa, Peel, York, and Ontario’s Provincial Force (OPP). Figure 6 shows a CBSA ‘oligoptic borderzone’ wherein police and private security firms self-appoint themselves as border agents. Like with Skytrain fare inspectors, they are given access to a CBSA informational node (an oligoptica) that enables border surveillance and enforcement by allowing collaborating actors to look into (as opposed to a panoptica that looks outward) coordinating border violence (de Vries in Dijstelbloem and Pelizza, 2019, p. 96). Chapter two visually shows local and regional police enacting temporary, and discretionary checkpoints that are all potential entry points into the myriad of overlapping borderzones depicted in Figures 3 through 8. Does Toronto’s Sanctuary City policies, or any for that matter, as the general literature suggests, confront the border violence that Lucia Jiménez encountered like any undocumented migrant would riding GO Transit in Ontario?

Critical IR and this dissertation take inspiration from Aiwaha Ong's (2006, pp. 89-90) reading of Giorgio Agamben to show how individual policy, administrative, and jurisdictional strategies produce unique "conductive regulative environments", or *zones*, which link a delimited spatial area into global production, capital, and/or exchange circuits/chains. Looking at the case of Lucia Vega Jiménez, we can see the limitations of Sanctuary policies as a form of resistance establishing parallel zones to those of border enforcement and security. In a sense, Sanctuary Cities contribute and operate to reproduce a global apartheid citizenship regime that determines where migrants can move freely. Sanctuary tactics, like when NOII-Vancouver and Sanctuary Health activists pushed the SkyTrain to cut ties with the CBSA following Lucia Jiménez's death (Diewert and Chu, 2015), offers at most *utopic purgatory* outlined in Chapter one.

In this concluding chapter, I return to consider the question of Sanctuary Cities' abolitionary potential that introduces the dissertation. Thus far, I situate Sanctuary Cities and policies, from Toronto to Vancouver, in a context of borderzones networked together by global information sharing centres (i.e., the Warrant Centre and IRCC Hearing Centres). As shown in Chapters two and three, much of border violence remains invisible due to the epistemic biases associated with Westphalian sovereignty that privilege mapping nation-state compartments (for e.g., the territorial trap and *seeing like a state*). There, I argue that Critical IR seeks remapping international politics in terms of zones by drawing on globalization studies to transcend thinking in terms of Westphalian sovereignty.

A broader abolitionary problematique becomes more apparent when comparing *seeing like a city* approaches to how Political Theorists and International Relations scholars depict the EU as reminiscent of medieval European citizenship regimes that equally capable of rescuing the sacred figure of refugees (Curtis, 2016; Czajka, 2009; Pabst, 2016; Rennger, 2000; Zielonka,

2007). The medieval city's citizenship and Sanctuary practices are cited for royal authorities respecting Cathedrals providing asylum to fugitives and cities to serfs fleeing lords or ejected from a commune (Nail, 2015, pp. 64-5; Whisker and Spiker, 2021, p. 51). Medieval Europe is often associated with the political economic system known as feudalism wherein kingdoms, city-states, regions, fiefs, and vassals enjoyed autonomy from a king who, among these smaller units, were intertwined in the hierarchy of the Catholic Church (Claessen, 1996; Jacob, 2015). The appeal of medieval Sanctuary is in its perception of granting freedoms within whole cities and marked "the limits of royal authorities" (Rabben, 2016).

We see this image when Sanctuary City scholars cite Jacques Derrida (2001) conceptualization of *cities of refuge* by Sanctuary City scholars like Bagelman (2016), Boudou (2019; 2021a), Roy (2019), Vraști and Dayal (2016), Squire (2011) Squire and Darling (2013), Moffette and Ridgley (2018), Kuge (2019), Roy (2019), Vraști (2016). Indeed, Derrida (2001, p. 18) elevates the medieval city by suggesting that,

In the medieval tradition [...] one can identify a certain sovereignty of the city: the city itself could determine the laws of hospitality, the articles of predetermined law, both plural and restrictive, with which they meant to condition the Great Law of Hospitality – an unconditional Law, both singular and universal, which ordered that the borders be open to each and every one [...] a place of refuge for the exiled, the refugee, and those banished from another city.

Alongside this sacral view of the medieval city comes Saskia Sassen's (2006) influential *Territory, Authority, and Rights* and *The Global City* (1991), which are foundational texts for Sanctuary City and IR scholars. Sassen appeals to the notion of the medieval city to argue that citizenship is the means to assemble relationships to territory, authority, and rights. These seminal interventions represent a zeitgeist and, moreover, a turn to include non-state actors like global cities in the study of IR (Schouten, 2011; Robinson, 2009, pp. 11, 19-20). Among Sanctuary City scholars, her notion of a *global city* is cited in McDonald (2009; 2014), Abji

(2013), Bauder (2017), Bhuyan and Smith-Carrier (2012), Castanada (2012), Chauvin & Garces-Mascarenas (2012), Darling (2017), Foerster (2019), Ireland (2017), Kuge (2020), Lejeune (2021), and Varsanyi (2006). For Sassen, Westphalia fundamentally reassembled citizenship as demarcating a primarily territorial character tied to national authority. She directly links the notion of *global cities* to the example of medieval merchants and rich town dwellers as representation a historical continuum on how citizenship takes shapes in urban settings. Sassen (2006, p. 321) writes,

cities can accommodate and enable the unbundling of the tight articulation of the citizen and formal state politics. These various trends resonate with the case of the burghers in medieval cities: they were informal actors who found in the space of the city the conditions for their source of “power.”

Similarly, the author argues that,

medieval towns, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as sites of commerce and production that promoted a distinct politico-economic culture. The medieval city accommodated practices that allowed burghers to set up systems for owning and protecting property and to implement various immunities against despots of all sorts. Through these practices, incipient forms of citizenship were being constituted; the city can be seen as a key site for political innovation and work [...] that exceeded those that had been granted by higher authorities (Sassen, 2006: 67).

The manner that IR analogizes Sanctuary Cities and the EU to medievalism, reaffirms a foundational myth of Westphalia sovereignty discussed in the dissertation’s introduction and chapter one. In the Westphalian conception of sovereignty, any alternative to state borders is represented as returning to a chaotic ‘state of nature’ marked by war and prone to irrational religious strife; a narrative and theory crafted, in part, to delegitimize claims to supranational jurisdiction (like that of the Catholic Church preceding the Thirty Years War). This notion of a warful past became embedded with cosmopolitan visions during the European Enlightenment. At that time, European political thinkers dichotomized contemporary international politics with “wars of dynastic and territorial ambition” counterposed to a “peace-oriented cosmopolitanism,

stressing links between individuals and moral obligations to all humanity;” as Carter, (2001, p. 32) explains, notions of *global citizenship* evolved “from a predominantly European and Christian perspective to a view of the world which is more genuinely universal, and also more secular.” Yet, Enlightenment thinking extends social contract theory that thoroughly secularizes Christian morality, which was leveraged to justify the transatlantic slave trade and colonization of the Americas (Henderson, 2014). In limiting their conception of citizenship to white European property holders, these thinkers can be said to denote a Racial Contract that ordered the world along supposed racial lines (Besteman, 2020: 9; Hobson, 2013). In this conclusion, I problematize a more fundamental lack of imagination regarding Sanctuary that underlies how *utopic purgatory* and *seeing like city* approaches inherit a political theology of racist cartographic assumptions tied to medieval historiography and developed in conjunction with the Myth of Westphalia during the European Enlightenment.

The myth of Westphalia was an intellectual movement, which in part, invented the period known as medievalism. In this period, there was also a concerted effort to label alternative forms of knowledge and political formation as backwards, illegitimate, and irrational, counterposed to the modern secular reign of nation-state sovereignty (Teschke, 2003). During this epochal shift, contemporary cartographic mapping conventions developed in tandem with state institutions who associated surveying national territorial borders as a scientific endeavour (Akerman, 2017). In theorizing how to abolish border violence, it is imperative to identify and reject the notion of visual maps as a secular and objective social scientific methodology. As Moreton-Robinson (2020, p. 266) aptly surmises, “sovereignty as supreme patriarchal white authority is the secular form of divinity” that equated imposing property relations worldwide as promulgating Christianity. As was the case of classroom globes in 19th Century colonial France, the

metropole's border would be depicted as solid lines enclosing a "sacred heritage of civilization: the Rights of Man, the French language, universal secularism," which was being spread to colonies abroad contoured with light pink borders (Balibar, 1998, p. 228n15). This latter border enclosing colonies, that supposed benefited from secular colonial rule, depends on imagining racialized others and non-Westphalian forms of political authority as inhabiting zones in a 'state of nature' wherein its people are subject to second-class citizenship worldwide (Sharma, 2021; Walia, 2013; Mignolo and Tlostanova, 2006; Inayatullah and Blaney, 2004).

Thus, I reread critical methods of visual and metaphorical mapping of borders in this dual use of what I will call the 'medieval analogy.' Medievalism is a border demarcating non-Westphalian (i.e., an undesirable past) from modern Westphalian knowledge and politics that underpins our racially segregated citizenship regimes perpetuating a contemporary form of global apartheid. For Sanctuary City scholarship, the medieval analogy hampers theorizing abolitionary futures by conceptualizing alternatives to Westphalian sovereign borders as a return to the past. Moreover, the analogy, also present in Critical IR, overlooks the colonial aspect of viewing visual cartography in strictly empiricist terms. Critically remapping borders requires engaging sovereignty and cartography in an artistic and aesthetic terms, as I describe in chapter two. Remapping away from the medieval analogy shows how *seeing like a city* and methodological cityism buttress anti-abolitionary tendencies of Sanctuary City politics, which form this dissertation's key three key findings and themes that I enumerate below.

First, I find social science uses a medieval analogy to imagine Sanctuary's incompatibility with Westphalian borders in a way that elides how theories of national sovereign conjure an image of enclose a nation-state territorial compartment. The view of Sanctuary Cities as inclusive medieval cities that defy such national compartmentalization gives undue credence

to the Westphalian myth that downplays how variegated jurisdiction remains within nation-states.

Second, the medieval analogy comes to describe how Sanctuary's successes build on the liberatory aspect of devolving citizenship powers to the urban, local, or city scale. An abolitionary perspective and critique of medievalism shows how such devolution is a state counter-insurgency tactic. Sanctuary resembles what Gilmore (2022, p. 486) calls the 'anti-state state' wherein empowered local authorities give the appearance of democratic control and a humanitarian veneer to the same capacity to exert police power.

Third, my dissertation makes the case for Critical IR to *visually* critique how viewing mapping and cartographic methods as an objective social scientific enterprise rationalizes colonial conceptions of Westphalian territorial and global racial segregation. I argue that figuratively and visually mapping global spaces as zones enables thinking in absolute and totalizing terms, while avoiding a reductionist view of international politics. The view of mapping as an objective enterprise and the notion of a sacral and humanitarian city, serve to reify the concept of a spatial compartment (i.e., enclosed shapes on a map). As I discuss in the Introduction and Chapters one and two, spatial concepts like territorial jurisdiction rely on creating a border between history and eternal time. Indeed, the latter is commonly associated with the idea of 'state of nature', while the former is enclosed in the realm of states. It is here where political theology explains how Westphalian sovereignty depends on a narrative that depicts the medieval era as a 'state of nature', which nation-states came to replace. But this ill-conceived view obscures how early modern nation-state notions of territoriality came to appropriate the borders of European Christendom that informed colonial cartographic practices. Westphalian state borders came to represent the division between so-called civilization and racist

notions of barbarism. Thus, conducting state border enforcement represents spaces being zones as territorial compartments with civilizational political theology. Therefore, this third finding builds on the first two that discusses the limits of associating devolving citizenship powers towards local/urban/city scale and their associated spatial compartments. Why is the city wall better than that of the state? Mapping as a mode of critique, requires problematizing how cartography represents abstract borders as an objective social scientific measurement and ontological fact. I argue that Critical IR needs to visualize the absolute totality of border violence without Westphalian sovereign assumptions that equate territorial control with racial superiority.

A note on historical critique

To be clear, my criticism is not meant to correct the historical record, but rather, to show how historical narratives construct and interlink with political theories in the administration of citizenship. Chapter three draws from Giorgio Agamben's theories to show how specific migrant figures, be it in the form of legal or discursive categories like the refugee or an undocumented person, reveals zones of exception and the presence of *homo sacer*. When Sanctuary City literature conceptualizes migrants as 'objects of care' who are deserving of the humanitarian protection imagined medieval or Christian asylum mythology, this scholarship implicitly uses history to construct a migrant figure. Thomas Nail (2015) outlines such *migrant figures* as: the nomad, the barbarian, the vagabond, and the proletariat. Each identity corresponds to historically contingent movements related to past types of mass economic expulsions. The advent of agriculture and sedentary life gave rise to nomads, expelled by farmers who appropriated and depleted grazing lands (p. 45). The advent of cities gave rise to barbarians, whose excise from foreign lands (by conquest or poverty), and subsequent exclusion from civil life, enabled their bondage (p. 52). First waves of enclosure and its legally dispossessed serfs/farmers borne

vagabonds seeking work (pp. 64-5). Finally, permanent economic exclusion from landholding thus assigning a labouring life, produced proletarians; a confluence of earlier expulsions forming a stable identity (p. 85). Thus, terms for citizenship, whether tied to land, birth, culture, express the expectations of a sovereign polity, be it sedentary agricultural, proto-, or modern capitalist. In terms of *zoning technology*, the agrarian, feudal, expansionist, and (capitalist) privatization, each corresponded to binary citizen/migrant identities such as farmer/nomad, commoner/vagabond, citizen/barbarian, and bourgeois/proletariat.

In whatever manner Sanctuary City actors and scholars imagine both migrants and Sanctuary's history comes to reveal broader understandings of citizenship, and potential for abolitionary action. Both political science and Sanctuary scholarship mythologize and romanticize pre-Westphalian medieval Europe, which overlooks the roots of racial colonialism emerging from that historical period. For example, Ford III (2018, p. 192), criticizes Agamben's for omitting the figure of the slave in his analysis of medieval political theologians in *Homo Sacer II*, "The colonized and the chattel slave entered modernity without ever inhabiting the zone of normality that provides the theoretical and historical preconditions for the modern citizen's rights and social privileges." One can see these zones encompassing countries' whose nationals the EU requires visas or whose governments are paid to discourage emigration. In that manner, "Schengen Agreement or the formation of the Frontex agency (which co-ordinates the border control efforts of EU states) [...] articulate with civilizational views [...] [that] culturally reinforce efforts of migration control" (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013, p. 53). This dissertation reveals how to deconstruct *migrant figures* via *seeing like a zone* that questions 'structures of feeling' associated with *global citizenship* that overlook global apartheid. In applying Agamben's theory as a zoning critique shows how Sanctuary scholarship romanticized view of

city citizenship still depends on conjuring an imagined *migrant figure*. By deconstructing that imagined *migrant figure*, I show how a plethora of zones that uphold global apartheid operate alongside those of Sanctuary spaces.

Sanctuary City scholars construct a vision of citizenship based on an idealized European medieval era. Recalling Edward Said's (1994) *Culture and Imperialism*, he writes how geographic and cartographic space are figurative and imaginative terrain on which histories, identity, and authority are projected. He insists on the practicality of critiquing how artists, academics, and researchers imagine history and geography. Noting how imperial metropolitan centres with large immigrant populations from former colonies, like London or Paris, are home to “ruling elites [that] felt the clear need to project their power backward in time” (p. 16). Said, citing Bernal, Hobsbawm, and Ranger, notes how academia and literature helped rewrite Ancient Greek history and national histories by erasing contributions from non-European cultures to construct a “privileged, genealogically useful past, a past in which we exclude unwanted elements, vestiges, narratives” (p. 15). Colonial histories imagined foreign territories along with the inhabitants as uncivilized and threatening the colonial status quo. Moreover, as Hobson (2013, pp. 269-70) notes how the “medieval analogy” is “based on a sense of siege vis-à-vis the various Eastern races” and “leveraged to designate immigrants and descendants from the colonies as being backward.” When scholars imagine Sanctuary through historical precedents, their chosen narrative reveals deeper political imaginaries. Thus, the imagery of medieval spaces contributes to how the social sciences imagine migrants should be governed.

Medieval and Sanctuary City incompatibility with Westphalia

In applying a postcolonial reading of the Sanctuary City literatures scholarly allusions to medieval society and conflation with notions of *global citizenship*, overlooks how global cities

depend on local zones and racially categorizing non-Western migrant labourers. In part, Westphalian mythologization is accomplished through constructing, citing, and circulating a historical narrative with distinct period, with the EU now marking an apex of societal development. A traditional account of globalization is found in Sweeney (2014, p. 305) who lists six periods of “human development” being, “ancient (200BC–AD400), medieval (1400–1700), colonial (1750–1945), industrial (1800 –1950), modern (1945–90), postmodern (1990 – present).” This history enables a teleological narrative that traces globalization back to Enlightenment Europe, which overcame the feudal and backwards Middle Ages (a.k.a. the medieval era) with absolute sovereign national authorities consolidating overlapping jurisdictions into single territorial compartments now known as countries. Much of mainstream IR tone down claims that economic globalization is doing away with states, instead placing those hopes that global cities, the urban scale, and translocal will supersede Westphalia’s sovereign order (Chauvin and Garces-Mascarenas, 2012; Bulley, 2017, Varsanyi, 2006). This shift occludes how global cities depend on migrant labourers lacking citizenship. Moreover, it conveniently overlooks how the emergence of global cities spurred the development of variegating citizenship identities on racial grounds (e.g., temporary foreign workers) to control, filter, and channel colonized people and other marginalized populations from the Global South (Balibar, 1999, 2001).

Sanctuary City literature befalls the same issue in how mainstream IR views the EU as inaugurating *global citizenship*. In political science, the EU is commonly lauded for creating a form of inclusive citizenship that transcends European nationalism. Indeed, the Schengen zone is often viewed as a borderless space where businesses enjoy free trade and where citizens from EU member states can travel and work freely (Woods, 2006; Yesilada and Wood, 2015) As

Alexander Wendt (1999, p. 308) argues, the coming together of previously warring European nation-states to form a political union that transcends parochial interests indicates the emergence of Immanuel Kant's theory for perpetual peace and a certain degree of "statelessness."

Importantly, Wendt draws from Hedley Bull's (1977, p. 265) notion of "neo-medievalism" that were always present with empires possessing private sovereign corporations abroad, like the Dutch and British East India Companies. Yet, this latter point echoes Balibar, (2009, p. 9) observation that conceptualizing the EU as inaugurating cosmopolitan citizenship obscures how Member States depends on importing temporary cheap labour and extractive resources while restricting citizenship along planetary wide racial lines.

The European Union typically requires visas for nationals entering the Schengen area from non-Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries in order to visit, study, work, and/or settle (Huysmans, 2006, p. 74). Notably, the OECD is mostly comprised of countries that colonized the world from the 16th to 20th Centuries. This correlation shows what Mezzadra and Neilson (2013, p. 155) see as "the colonial distinction between citizen and subject under fully new postcolonial conditions [that] can be traced in recent developments of citizenship and migratory regimes for the European Union as a whole." The EU as a medieval city, is akin like the oft-cited metaphor of "Fortress Europe" with tall walls made perilous to broach. Alone, this puts in questions a narrative of globalization where "Europe is the peaceful way of the global future. With good luck and good governance we can imagine Europe is what globalization will mean for all of us: eroding borders and diminished sovereignty, all to mutual benefit" (Dauvergne, 2009, p. 142). But as Mezzadra and Neilson (2013, p. 9) warn, the Fortress metaphor overlooks how EU citizenship and border regimes are operationalized for "filtering, selecting, and channeling migratory movements—rather than simply excluding migrants and

asylum seekers” by establishing migrant “inclusion through illegalization [and] the multiplication of detention camps.”

This phenomenon can be observed in the EU migration policy set out in EU Presidency Conclusions at the Seville European Council of 2002. The policy framework is notable in that it defines (1) illegal immigration, visa regulations and, deportations; (2) establishes a common external borders to the EU with a police force networked via immigration administration using a common risk analysis model; (3) an EU foreign policy that enlists non-EU countries to reduce emigration to the EU and co-operation when accepting deportees; and (4) a standardization of regulations regarding asylum applications (Huysmans, 2006, p. 67). Throughout these policies, non-Europeans, particularly from the Maghreb, are defined in terms of either illegality, risk, or helplessness. In turn, this seemingly contradictory narrative of the ‘other’ necessitates extending European border enforcement through cooperation with non-European states to limit emigration. Materially, this is evidenced through tied-aid or ‘development funding’ being earmarked for rapid and expansive investment into border security infrastructure and detention, as well as being encouraged to accept deportees from the Global North (Andersson, 2014; Mountz, 2020). In contrast to this plethora of restrictions that label migrants either dangerous criminals or an object of pity, it is the EU’s common passport for European citizens is cited as an example of postnational citizenship that transcends Westphalian sovereignty because “the nation-state is not the exclusive site” of citizenship regulations (Sassen, 2006, p. 304).

By looking at how migrant citizenship identities create ‘zones of indistinction,’ chapter three highlights how state borders *and* Sanctuary can exist side by side, much like in the EU’s supposed inclusive, cosmopolitan borderless space for citizens that simultaneously depends on the existence of an exclusionary system of global apartheid for migrants. Globalization in the

early 1990s spurred hubristic theses, stating that humanity is witnessing the “The End of History.” At the core of the argument, scholars like Fukuyama (2006) emphatically declared that the days of state sovereignty were numbered, while liberal economic markets and its multilateral institutions rendered state political pursuits, like socialism or theocracy, obsolete. In effect, the state is dead, long live states. Constrained within nascent federative bodies like the EU or multilateral organizations like the WTO, IMF, and UN bodies, global governance became the word of the day (Held, 1995). As Ruggie (1998, p. 195) suggests, delinking the relationship between constraining citizenship to rights within one national territory represents “a negation of the exclusive territorial form has been the locale in which international society throughout the modern era has been anchored [...] the European Union, in which the process of unbundling territoriality has gone further than anywhere else.” But a funny thing happened. As Brown (2010) and Sassen (2006) note, globalized multinational trade and migration seems to undermine nation-state power with corporate demands for free-trade, and yet states enact ever more stringent citizenship controls and build taller border walls.

IR’s allusions to globalization’s poster-child, the EU, suggests a return to the decentralized and de-territorialized nature of medieval Europe. This trajectory rests on a historiographic image that Westphalian nation-states standardized jurisdictional lines within a country that ultimately, never went away. As Reynolds (2017, p. 23) notes, the medieval era in Europe lacks anything historically distinct by having a myriad of political units and communities with different types of jurisdictional autonomy that came into conflict. Iglesias (2014) argues that the European Union in creating a common economic market and supranational institutions were built in response to supposed feudal conditions in states with nationalist hierarchies that privileged national rights and cultural protections. Thus, IR’s allusion to the European medieval

era, with its overlapping jurisdictions of the Catholic Church, feudal cities, and princes, ignores how Westphalian sovereignty never eliminated such variety, but relabelled it as historically distinct which nation-states overcame. But feudal and medieval periodization, as charted by Fasolt, (2004) and Davis, (2012) was borne from repeated allusions by historians that were constructing ideas of national sovereignty during 16th Century. For instance, the notion that modern states eliminated medieval European form of fiefs and vassals “is essentially[a] post-medieval” idea that relabels some form of property control as fiefs but never appear in medieval historical records” (Reynolds in Davis, 2012, p. 153n62).

So, while Canada is considered a non-feudal country, one often celebrated for its liberal immigration policies (Abu-Laban, 2016), there are workplaces resembling in the Westphalian narrative, fiefdom-like characteristics. For instance, in Canada, the Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) recruits migrant labourers for agricultural work, domestic help, childcare, manufacturing, and construction industries. Despite the integral role of migrant labour in sustaining these industries, employers have been known to confiscate migrants’ passports, forcibly confine them to workplaces, and threaten deportation if they report abuse or injury (Strauss and McGrath, 2017). Migrant laborers who leave their TFWP-tied employment become subjected to vagaries of non-citizenship that commonly results in migrants living in constant fear of being reported, apprehended, and detained for deportation (Ellis, 2015). Sharma (2018, p. 148) further illuminates this idea by pointing to the history of Canadian nation-building as an exercise of global apartheid wherein Canadian citizenship depended on racially categorizing migrants to create variegated levels and statuses in immigration regulations that deny or grant protections. Given this often-overlooked history, it is unsurprising that Canadian immigration and citizenship was denied to Black, Indigenous, and Asian migrants until the 1960s, only to be

replaced by a points-based system determining which nationalities were worthy for permanent or temporary entry (Abu-Laban and Gabriel, 2020: 37–55). As I discussed in chapter three, throughout Ontario’s history, the development of immigration agencies corresponds to policy fiefdoms empowered to rule over different groups of migrants. Canada, Ontario, and Toronto, in the valence of Cedric Robinson (2005, p. 26), shows the hallmarks of “medieval citizenship.” Robinson argues that the rising European medieval city bourgeois classes came to conceptualize national citizenship as exclusively European and existing solely within city bounds. They came to apply the same racial categorization techniques to the New World which were developed, quoting Verlinden, from “medieval colonial slavery” of the Slavs, Tartars, Arabs, and underclasses used as domestic and agricultural during feudalism (p. 10).

Rather than being at odds with Westphalian sovereignty, Canada and the EU stand as shining examples of how states are capable of rearranging of nation-state feudal citizenship to produce a global apartheid where wealthy industrialized states police and depend on racialized migrant labour. When Sanctuary City scholars imagine that urban and local politics (such as with metropolitan centers like Toronto) create *global citizenship*, they ignore how global cities and the EU can possess both inclusive and exclusionary forms of citizenship. Within cities there are multiple zones that correspond to different borders required by interlocking totalities that racially segregates migrants and their movement. Access to public services and spaces is known as *social citizenship* and when tied to immigration status, authorities come to control who is admissible into broader society (Balibar, 2001). In a sense, *private deputized sovereignty* describes *petty sovereigns* enacting border violence by wielding power over *social citizenship*. In defining *petty sovereigns*, Butler (2004, p. 62) states they are not true sovereigns in the traditional sense, but rather,

their power is delegated, and they do not fully control the aims that animate their actions. Power precedes them, and constitutes them as "sovereigns," [...] and do decide on who will be detained [...] this constitutes an enormously consequential delegation and seizure of power. They are acted on, but they also act, and their actions are not subject to review by any higher judicial authority.

This is precisely where *global apartheid* enters the picture. When migrant labourers, undocumented migrants, and those with precarious or irregular immigration status experience social exclusion due to citizenship regulations, *seeing like a zone* reveals a plethora of potential borders at play. While economically, industries and cities recruit migrant laborers in service of the national economy, those same migrants that are viewed as integral to economic growth are subsequently denied of *social citizenship*, thus creating *de facto* urban segregation dependant on immigration status.

Sanctuary's medievalist devolutionary promise

The medieval analogy in Sanctuary City scholarly analysis serves to historically rationalize the notion that more local and private jurisdictions are not necessarily a positive development. Social Scientific scholarship overlooks how Sanctuary Cities harbor the potential of being a counter-insurgent tactic. I am thinking about the sentiment of (Bauder, 2016c, p. 1) citing medieval "city air [that] makes you free." The idea that cities somehow free individuals persist. For example, within Darling's (2017) critique of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees and its role in controlling migrant mobility, the fact that refugees prefer the freedom and safety that urban spaces offer is elevated as a liberatory facet of cities. As Sanctuary City activists and policies show, more radical movements become channeled into municipal and reformist politics that leave the assumption that migration should be managed, unquestioned. Instead, many of the supposedly positive reforms merely entail shifting the border enforcement prerogative to be determined by more humane city or urban forms of citizenship.

As seen in Toronto's case, Johnston (2015, pp. 170-171) observes how Indigenous struggles are eclipsed when Sanctuary City organizers focus on targeting the legal marginalization enacted upon migrants. Indigenous struggles become extralegal when migrant justice solely focuses on granting or reforming citizenship to guarantee local access to public services (p. 171). Assuming that Toronto's Sanctuary organizing constitutes an anti-state border politics belies the fact that the movement began and continues to centre efforts around regularizing citizenship status. For instance, Atak (2019) and Humphris (2020) trace NOII-Toronto's Sanctuary City campaign back to the struggle to grant regularization (a path to citizenship) to Algerian refugees facing deportation in the 1990s. As recent as 2018, NOII-Toronto organized a national convergence of Sanctuary City organizers to promote a concerted effort for more regularization campaigns.¹⁵

Scholars analogizing Sanctuary Cities as recreating medieval cities or jurisdictions misunderstand that border violence is not an issue of scale (local over national), but of *privately deputized sovereignty* enabled by citizenship regulations, which must be abolished entirely. The *seeing like a zone* critique developed in chapter three shows how global Sanctuary Cities do not overcome the Westphalian state, but further expands private uses of sovereignty. Thus, parallels to medievalism ignores first how medieval law and politics never vanished with the advent of Westphalian sovereignty (Supiot, 2013, 2017). Instead, modern nation-states have reframed and rationalized overlapping feudal jurisdictions of churches, merchants, and cities into an illusory single entity via devolutionary tactics (Shearing, 2001; Young, 2021). Using a zonal analysis identifies the continued role of private sector actors, like churches, businesses, and autonomous

¹⁵ Personal observation during attendance in my capacity as an activist that was separate from my research.

boards in creating sovereignty, which go unnoticed due to what Mitchell calls, the ‘state effect’, as discussed in Chapter two.

Judith Butler’s (2004) theory of *petty sovereignty* helps to explain how Westphalian mystification of national sovereignty entails devolutionary tactics that regards private sector actors as non-sovereign entities but nevertheless enforce exclusionary forms of citizenship. What is notable regarding the reviews of Sanctuary City literature that appear in the Introduction, Chapters two and three, scarcely problematize the urban and local scale as a source of counterinsurgency. Urban theory documents how colonial and militaristic technologies exported abroad become applied to home countries, with immigration integration and control becoming infused with categories of the dangerous ‘other’ (terrorist, criminality, fraudulent claimants) (Saberri, 2017). Gilmore (2022, p. 487) describes how humanizing police, prisons, and state use of force is counterinsurgency by relocating who administers sovereign force to private actors. She explains,

part of devolution, and more aggrandizing of police organizations coupled with not-for-profit and parastatal partners [come] to identify and attend to the (relatively) innocent victims of too much policing and prison—sometimes formerly incarcerated people, sometimes their families, sometimes their neighborhoods.

Brucato (2014) extends this, and Judith Butler’s theory of *petty sovereigns*, to describe how those with police power include administrators and frontline workers. He discusses the rise of Jim Crow laws in the United States as an instance of white citizenship being enacted by banks, school boards, and social workers as a counter-insurgency tactic to segregate Black Americans and rising revolutionary Black activism.

Conceptualizing *private deputized sovereignty* builds on Judith Butler’s observations further to show how the state can arrogate power to private sector actors and humanize border violence. Consider how in Canada, the CBSA (2019) subcontracts Christian charities like the

Salvation Army (SA) and The John Hopkins Society (JHS) in a program called, *Alternatives to Detention* (ATD), that diverts migrants from detention in correctional facilities. Instead, migrants are put in care of the JHS and SA who are tasked with monitoring and supervising migrants awaiting an admissibility hearing or deportation. ATD empowers the SA and JHS with *petty sovereignty* in a similar manner to the way the TFWP enables employers to *privately deputize sovereignty* over migrant labourers.

When scholars speak of Sanctuary's urban or city quality in delivering humanitarian assistance to the helpless *migrant figure*, they are legitimizing a devolution of authority. Jurisdiction is often understood as the legal representation of a sovereign's domain, whether over practices (like telecommunications), territory (areas ranging from counties to regions), or people (like diplomats or protected groups) (Dorsett and McVeigh, 2012). In Europe during the Middle Ages, churches, trade guilds, landlords, nobles, and merchants possessed various degrees of private sovereignty (Ford, 1999). Modernity, in part, arose when feudal jurisdictions were subsumed under a unified legal system under one overarching sovereign authority; the state (Sassen, 2006). But does this rescaling and return to the local scale not produce more petty sovereigns with the capacity to *privately deputize sovereignty* using any newly devolved *social citizenship power*?

Sanctuary's *petty sovereigns* appear throughout this dissertation, even when in the service of doing good. In Chapter three, as the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) now allows undocumented residents to enroll, the decision to admit students lays with the principal of the school to choose whether they ask for proof of worthiness, or not. Furthermore, consider the oft-cited case of American churches providing Sanctuary to refugees fleeing the Central American proxy wars and other forms of violence. Many of those churches were still administering and

determining eligibility between legitimate and fraudulent refugee claims, choosing to only protect those who, they determine, qualify as recipients of their sanctified act of benevolence (*99% Invisible*, 2017). Even still, as undocumented migrants living in British Cities of Sanctuary describe, their freedom of movement depends on where they can trust a business owner, transit operator, or public service worker to not report them to the immigration authorities (Bagelman, 2016).

From an abolitionary point of view, simply rearranging how to configure territorial authority and rights skirts the paradoxes of citizenship and border violence. While the notion of Sanctuary provides space to theorize beyond an international politics dominated by Westphalian sovereignty, an abolitionary critique must resist succumbing to how a civil rights approach diverts attention away from emancipatory struggles. As Karl Marx (1994) argues in the *On the Jewish Question*, the function of national governments granting Jewish minorities full citizenship rights devolves religion into a private matter of the individual. This devolution occurs in part when state governments forego adopting a national religion, and during the 19th Century, came to allow Jewish minorities to practice their faith and be equal citizens. Marx argues that the devolution fails to call into question the state-relation that transcends personal and inter-personal matters. For Marx and abolitionists alike, freedom necessitates emancipating all of humankind from the state-relation where governments possess the sovereign capacity to rule with absolute violence to enforce property relations and imperial expansion. State-relations depend on individuals mediating inter-group and inter-personal relationships *through* centralized institutions, like the law and courts, to resolve societal conflicts. In this manner, spaces with theological freedom (to freely practice and identify with a faith) can still manifest within oppressive structures.

These are laudable *acts of citizenship* that include and broaden *social citizenship* by taking into account school, church or, city spaces (Isin, 2012, p. 187; Nyers, 2018, pp. 148–9). Nevertheless, they remain a form of *privately deputized sovereignty* that is operationalized to control a jurisdiction yet are continually dependant on devolved state power. This is evident when considering how medieval European Churches offering Sanctuary would offer asylum to someone until they could negotiate a settlement with whomever they were fleeing, as failure to do would result in exile from the city (Whisker and Spiker, 2021, p. 56). Such is how Nyers (2018, p. 145) describes the liberatory aspect of regularization and Sanctuary City politics for “delaying the removal can allow other dimensions of the [anti-deportation] campaign to take root.” This delay, waiting, and deferred abolition of border violence is how *private deputized sovereignty* leads to a *utopic purgatory* for migrants and activists alike.

Visualizing *seeing like a zone*

During the early stages of my dissertation research, I sought a mapping method that could be used to locate and situate sovereign borders in non-state centric terms [See Chapter 2]. Yet, I encountered a chimera of state-centric drawn compartments polygons like counties, wards, provinces, national territory, and cities enclosing areas. These shapes seldom align with one another, and are drawn for the purposes of state bureaucracy, whether they represent electoral, census, administrative, and jurisdictional areas often tied to a colonial history. Maps produce a “located subject” who are situated within and among abstract spaces projected onto the world, often designed to help manage and control migration (Conley in Steinberg, 2009, p. 480). The map tells a story of which boundaries matter (like wards or counties), which names for places are important (of cities, streets, and terrain), and ultimately, whose version of history that determines which toponyms and boundaries are depicted. While it is uncontroversial to say that naming and

drawing borders are political acts, problematizing mapping methods and metaphors is less straightforward.

Commonly, visual maps are understood as being concerned with visually accurately depicting information. More problematically, however, maps are produced to efficiently communicate concepts that benefit the map's author and whichever political forces they represent (Neocleous 2003: 420). Throughout this dissertation I have been mapping border violence in absolute terms like sovereignty, globalization, and the state. I chose to do so because these concepts are so embedded in how the social sciences cognates alternatives, like Sanctuary, to Westphalian based citizenship. Toscano (2012: 69), citing Frederic Jameson, explains how charting a 'cartography of the absolute' requires a cognitive mapping that allows "individual subjects and collectives to understand their local situation in a globalized world." Considering how Critical IR seeks to remap space without state-centric notions of stable, rigid, and linear borders [see Chapter 2], how should abolitionists approach maps as a means to refuse the absolute totality that is Westphalian sovereignty? Here, I wish to target how the medieval comparison reveals an inability of Sanctuary City scholarship to think in terms of absolute wrong of citizenship practices even when devolved to urban or city spatial compartments.

The problem cartographic methods pose for the critique of border violence is the naturalized, reified, and common-sense understanding of spatial containers, compartments, and polygons depicting nation-states and nationally based jurisdictions. Neocleous (2003, p. 418) describes maps as serving a policing function, determining where violence can occur, be administered, and to whom. Throughout this dissertation, I show how this has occurred with the history of Canada and Ontario zones perpetuating colonialism [See Chapter 3]. Cases like red-lining during Jim Crow, plotting Native Reservations, and North America as a whole, consisted

of people drawing maps to reify colonial borders to subjugate racialized populations to state violence (Brucato, 2014; Sharma, 2018, 2021).

As Scholz (2019, p. 213) documents in the history of the Holy Roman Empire, the polygon as a cartographic convention enabled sovereign claims to absolute power over land use, including individual and group mobility. Whether maps chart physical terrain, boundaries, or concepts, there will be a ‘fixed point’ from which other coordinates will derive their position, such as the North Pole, the Greenwich Meridian, the Equator, or for religions, Jerusalem or Mecca (de Sousa Santos, 1987, p. 285). These ‘fixed points’ (to ensure the map’s navigation, time zones, or spiritual function) provide a constant, and reveal the absolutes on which other features (points, lines, polygons, and labels) are assumed for the map to work efficiently. The Myth of Westphalia is the fixed point from which national sovereignty emerges. It is this reality that necessitates the cognitive mapping at hand in order to illuminate the spatial characteristics of border violence while providing direction on how social sciences pursue alternatives to it, like with Sanctuary Cities.

Charting a path towards abolishing border violence requires drawing maps that reject the common-sense, fixed point of spatial compartments. What is the city? Does the local have borders? Where are the limits to urban-based citizenship? For Sanctuary City scholarship, the endurance of the medieval metaphor reveals a ‘fixed point’ common-sense notion tied to the social contract theories of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau who secularize a notion of “exclusive identity based upon membership in a common territorial space” and bounded by absolute authority (be it respectively sovereignty, property, or General Will) (Critchley, 2014, p. 71; Neocleous, 2003, p. 410; Pabst, 2016, p. 111). The spatial compartment necessarily posits a dichotomy between a state of nature against which an interior political (*polis*) defines itself.

Inside the Sanctuary space is the *utopic purgatory*. Yet, in the imagination of scholars, this purgatorial space is a nascent form of *global citizenship* within a world of brutish, nasty border violence inextricably tied to state-based citizenship. Between Sanctuary's salvation and Westphalia's state of nature, is a border with the "seductive charm" of Western metaphysics that legitimises border violence for distinguishing and dichotomizing the opposition between the unknown against the ground of "certainty, comfort, and security" (Parker and Vaughan-Williams, 2009, p. 584).

Ascribing the city or sacralised urbanism with medieval qualities, overlooks how visual cartographic representations depend on a theory of history, which an analysis of *mappaemundi* reveals to trace back to medieval conceptualization of territory on racial lines. These medieval-era maps called *mappaemundi*¹⁶ depicted a unified European continent (dubbed Christendom) that racially othered foreign territories and peoples. In particular, these maps often depicted the demonization of Muslims and dehumanization of Africans, reaffirming the centrality and superiority of Christendom emanating from the medieval era (Heng, 2018). With IR and Sanctuary literatures remapping sovereignty via medieval analogies, this scholarship ignores how racializing non-Europeans began from the medieval city. Moreover, it also requires adopting an understanding of European regional citizenship as being associated with Ancient Greek heritage, disregarding the latter's Islamic roots at its foundation (Carter 2001, pp. 14-15). Expanding this idea further, it easily transfers into Political clear Economic and Sociological theories. From Marx & Engels' (1968) welcoming of capital shedding feudal bonds (in Europe and beyond), to Max Weber's (1958) description of feudal despotic Oriental Cities, the term medieval imports a naturalized dichotomy between city citizens and the foreign racialized slave.

¹⁶ Latin phrase for 'map of the world' and were displayed in royal courts, churches, and public display throughout Medieval Europe (Birkholz 2004)

The emergence of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and colonization during the “Age of Discovery,” built and intellectualized the division between Christendom and its others (Islam and Africa) (Hickman, 2010). Indeed, Popes Nicholas V and Alexander VI in 1455 to 1537 applied medieval legal doctrines to legitimize the colonialization of Americas as civilizing ‘lesser’ Indigenous races, which served as the basis for dividing the world’s territory into Western and Eastern hemispheres for Spanish and Portuguese Empires to colonize (Anghie, 2007, pp. 17–18; Michaels, 1998, pp. 1573–4). In cosmopolitan IR, Hobson (2013, p. 297) identifies familiar historical tropes that reify Westphalia and secularizes a radical Christian political theology enmeshed with European conception of civilizational superiority. As he writes,

The European train began its familiar journey in Ancient Greece, steamed through the Roman Empire on its way to European feudalism and medieval Christendom, before it passed through the Reformation into absolutism whereupon the outlines of the modern state were forged while the inter-state system was born at the Westphalian way-station. [...] the familiar logic of Western immanence found in the Eurocentric Western relay race metaphor, whereupon the baton of global power was passed from the Spanish and Portuguese after 1492 to the Dutch in the seventeenth century, then to the British and French in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, before culminating in the final leg that was run in record time by the Pax American anchor man who delivered globalization. (2013: 297)

Viewing the city along with the EU as spatial compartments enclosing *global citizenship* overlooks/downplays how global modernity shaped a cartographic imaginary associating territoriality with Westphalian sovereignty.

A visual remapping of territorial borders should be difficult to interpret and challenge the reader’s consciousness by abandoning cartographic conventions of legible symbolization. In doing so, a critical remapping can resist the temptation to redraw new borders enclosing an area, be it a city or sufficiently locally devolved, deemed threatening to Westphalia sovereign order of nation-states. The mappable spatial compartment is a form of constructed ‘interiority’ with accompanying technologies (like numbering homes and assigning coordinates to landmarks, and

urban planning) and labelling practices (font, capitalization, colouring, and placement of placenames) (Rose-Redwood, 2012). Creating and plotting map symbols (i.e. symbolization), connects the mapped object to an intended use. For example, points are assigned numerical values like coordinates. Colours are ascribed to signify areas with different population demographics or resources to exploit. City labels are symbols for the purpose of mapping, ones determined by occupiers. For our purposes, the symbolization in question are different types of lines demarcating corresponding limit and extent jurisdictions (e.g., dashed or thin lines are sometimes used for subnational entities' borders like that of provinces while a thick solid one for national border, dotted for smaller units) (Krywicka-Blum 2017; Wood and Fels 2008).

Symbolization reveals what Jacob (2006, pp. 99-100) problematizes of how maps

[dissociate] from the consciousness of the subject. Therein undoubtedly resides one of the major intellectual and metaphysical effects of the map, what radically distinguishes it from other forms of the image: the territory, the world, and the universe, by becoming visible through the mediation of an artifact, define the problematic position of the person who looks at them. The viewer is at the same time outside the representation and enveloped by it. This is the place I occupy, whence I see, but also the space in which I see myself and where I am not. [...] In submitting to the constraints of a format, an array of figures, a geometry, a set of proportions and of relations of symmetry or dissymmetry, the materialized map recreates the world for which it warns to substitute, The map confers a new, analogous, yet symbolic reality upon the world in accord with a relationship that pertains either to the argument of authority.

Expanding this point to include what feminist geographer Doreen Massey (2005, p. 30) notes about spatial imagination, scholars amplify the problem by imagining through spatial categories (like containers and borders), which “obliterates (temporal) dislocation,” while erasing the movement, uncertainty, and rhythms of life when privileging “spatial immobility” and place permanence. Visual maps being two-dimensional images are inherently limited in depicting movement, flows, and time, but certain cartographic symbolization can amplify spatial immobility by privileging linear borders and polygon shapes which appear as static and stable

compartments like the nation-state.

Examining the maps in chapter two [See Figures 3-8], I consciously deemphasize Ontario's borders and depicting borderzones as spatial containers. In his *Theory of the Border*, Thomas Nail (2016) synthesizes many insights from critical border studies regarding how borders are mobile and denote more so to channel circulatory flows of goods and people. Thus, if I had drawn definitive borderzone places and areas, this would betray the fact that border checkpoints, walls, and detention centres are constantly shifting. As with the case of Lucia Verga Jimenez, Vancouver city Skytrain subcontracted fare enforcement to private transit officers. These contractors were border guards until they were not following the 'Transportation not Deportation' campaign led by NOII-Vancouver. Mitchell's theory of the 'state effect' [See Chapter 2], depends on the illusion of a permanent institution or authority and law; assuming such a permanent power veils how police employ 'performative exceptionality' [See Chapter 3], which can be assumed by a myriad of actors, both public and private. In interviews with police officers, Hershkowitz et al., (2020) found that Toronto police imagine such a (nonexistent) legal obligation to enforce borders. How should Critical IR and border studies map the potentiality of border violence when any public or private space requiring citizenship or immigration identification could be the basis to deny Lucia Maria Jimenez's access to social goods (e.g., healthcare), civil rights (e.g., access to counsel), and political presence (e.g., her death being hidden).

In thinking without neat spatial containers, compartments, or placenames, the maps and *seeing like a zone*, this argument captures the ephemeral nature of border enforcement police resembling *petty sovereigns* that can appear any place or anywhere citizenship regulations determine access to space. Criminology and political science have long grappled with

conceptually defining the ‘police’ due to its formlessness, meaning that it can represent social order, coercive violence, and civilian surveillance on ‘others’ (or the self), all the while lacking such definitions in formal law (Neocleous, 2006b). As Benjamin (1978, p. 287) observed in 1921, “[police] power is formless, like its nowhere tangible, all-pervasive, ghostly presence in the life of civilized states.” This formlessness is evident when the prevalent assumption in migration studies assumes that detention is a normal state tool for immigration enforcement, yet, this view fails to recognize the involvement of community actors and business (Sampson, 2013). Critical border studies in the Canadian context mirror this oversight with research primarily focusing on CBSA conduct at points of entry, or with ‘law and order’ and ‘rights-based’ approaches using state measures (e.g., processing migrants and visitors, addressing complaints, legal compliance, etc.) (Atak et al., 2019; Côté-Boucher, 2017; Lalonde, 2019). Thus, any map requires the ability to find what Judith Butler (2004, p. 65) identifies as *petty sovereignty* when “the state arrogates to its functionaries the right to suspend rights,” meaning, bureaucrats and policymakers are delegated the ability to enact sovereign exceptionality [See Chapter 3].

Concluding remarks on seeing without medievalism

As RBJ Walker (2000) notes, there is an irony present in how the past transition from medievalism to modern international parallels IR theory re-conceptualizing Europe within globalization as supranational forms of jurisdiction. Like with medievalism, Walker observes how each of these positions conceptualizes a temporal ‘other’ opposing the European (Union) project. These intellectual debates, conceptualizing categories of Europe’s past periods and future being serve to bolster elites’ claims to power be it on constituting a unitary (transnational) European economic space or retaining existing temporalities (parochial national histories) (Walker, 2000, pp. 15-8). Rereading citizenship as a heuristic of how history is imagined by

defining spaces and ultimately borders. The rise of the nation-states' borders are associated with the rise of modern Europe from medievalism, as Levy (2014, p. 27) summarizes, “the idea of citizenship outgrew the walls of the medieval city, so did the territorial boundaries of the nation-state become its terrain, and so did politics come to be identified with society.” Conversely, failures in citizenship adopt this definition. Take for example, Bauder's (2021) explanation of why Sanctuary cities in the Global South are so few, unless one imagines the practice as the lack of a state. He writes, “African cities may already *be* sanctuary cities where national status papers are irrelevant” (p. 197, original emphasis) because African states are weak, poor, and offer little way to resist such as requiring identification in one's daily life.

The medieval carries this connotation in mainstream IR where the conjured ‘state of nature’ preceding Westphalia is continuously reinscribed. Citizenship is the accomplishment of reaching the pinnacle of European ideals for community. As an canonical IR thinker, Richard Falk (2002, p. 20) writes, “Citizenship in [Sub-Saharan African] states provides none of the Westphalian benefits aside from symbolic matters of status” indicating how “this part of the world order will resemble a ‘neomedievalism’” (p. 32). The medieval, and by extension, ancient forms of Sanctuary reoccur in Social Scientific literature, which comes to conjure a historical continuity that borders are always in relation to Westphalian sovereignty. The spatial compartment (polygons on maps depicting cities, wards, countries, regions) representing territorial control, stems from cartographic standards tracing back to medieval and Enlightenment Europe. During colonialism, Indigenous and non-European territorial claims (deemed traditional or religious, thus, irrational) were denied not conforming to secular Westphalian cartographic standards that privileged property and exclusive sovereign boundaries. In this way, ‘religion’ becomes something the barbarians have, as opposed to the secular

‘Reason’ or just plain sacred ‘Truth’ Europeans wield” according to Hickman (2010, pp. 161-162) who, citing Peterson and Walhof and Hannaford, explains how

‘the invention of religion’ formed a crucial part of a political-theological strategy whereby darkness of skin was made to correspond to a darkness of mind manifested in the possession of too much or too little, or just the wrong kind of ‘religion.’ [...] From ancient Greece onward [...] the enlighten ‘polis’ has been conceived as antithetical to the obscurantist religion transmitted by *ethnos*. (original emphasis)

To this day, this view of city, urban, or local citizenship carries this political theology of race that goes unquestioned in mapping the world in search of ideal territorial containers to administer citizenship.

As Akerman (2017) states in *Decolonizing the Map*, the practice of critique requires a new map. This entails rejecting similar romanticism towards the *mappamundi* (medieval maps of the world) that are replete with mythological depictions, religious allusions to spiritual supremacy, and racist caricatures of the inhabitants of the near East and Africa (Heng 2018, p. 33). Lacking country borders, thinkers like Jordan Branch (2014, p. 90) locate the *mappamundi* in medieval imaginary that “depicted nonterritorial relations” by “visualizing non-linear depictions such as networks of relations” that preceded the Westphalian mode of viewing the state in strictly territorial terms. Conversely, take Rajkovic (2018, p. 285) speaking about International Law, who holds the *mappamundi* as depicting “non-geometric relations that were integral to pre-modern and even modern patterns of spatial authority, and irreducible to a two-dimensional planimetric image.” Similarly, Ryngaert (2017, pp. 59–60) writes of *mappamundi* as being able to show “non-state authority may not easily map onto a geometric grid-based map, but such authority still inhabits a space and has certain boundaries.” However, as Birkholz (2004, pp. xix–xx), a cartographic historian points out, *mappamundi* show an “emergent and increasingly official discourse, to key developments in both “medieval political theology” that “centralized

legal and financial (or “fiscal”) administration that would accrue important momentum in the late thirteenth century; and second, in practices of ideological and military domination, by a nascent territorial state.” Bain (2016, p. 9) identifies the political theology of contradistinguishing Westphalia to the medieval, exemplified by influential IR scholars like John Ruggie’s idea of *neomedievalism* or Falk’s *medieval analogy*. Famously Hedley Bull’s (1977) describes international society resembling medieval geopolitics. To locate paths towards abolishing border violence is to reject the historical narrative that links medieval and Ancient forms of Sanctuary and/or Cities to contemporary struggles today.

What betrays this medieval temporal ‘other’ in RBJ Walker’s terms, and further exemplified by Westphalian political theology that others the *mappamundi* as an alternate cartography, is how European racial superiority and citizenship ideals are embedded in the notion of the spatial container/compartiment. As Adams (2019, p. 110) explains,

in direct response to the religious civil wars unleashed, modern spatiality would rest on the categorical distinction it makes between ‘interior’ and ‘exterior’ as the primary characterization of a space of guaranteed peace. Interior space is that which has been neutralized, depoliticized, that from which civil, creedal war is banished once and for all. Once it is possible to define an ‘interior’, modern spatial logic will then unwittingly rediscover the very same ‘emptiness’ that had been discovered in the spaces of the Americas

In other words, the shift we see from the *mappamundi* that depicted one external border surrounding European Christendom became devolved into individual compartments of European nation-states, who then assumed command to continue Europe’s Crusades once commanded by the medieval supranational Catholic Church.

My critique of how social sciences theorize Sanctuary is because such literature informs a pedagogy on how to resist border violence. So, when the medieval city, or the EU, infused with sacred humanitarianism is so prevalent within scholarship, it is fair to ask if such an image of

Sanctuary Cities confront state-relations as a form of epistemic self-consciousness. As Rodríguez (2010, p. 167) notes,

critical intellectuals, scholar activists, and progressive organizers are underestimating the skill and reach of the state as a pedagogical (teaching) apparatus, that they have generally undertheorized how the state so skillfully generates (and often politically accommodates) sanctioned spaces of political contradiction.

Furthermore, as de Sousa Santos (1987, p. 286) remarks, “laws are maps only in the metaphorical sense. But as rhetoric also teaches us, the repeated use of a metaphor over a long period of time may gradually transform the metaphorical description into a literal description.” Thus, International Relations and Sanctuary City theories, in mapping the EU and city-based citizenship to medieval Europe sanitize *global citizenship* as an alternative to Westphalian sovereignty that depends on territorial logics that racially divides the world. Sanctuary’s medieval metaphor constrains imagining a map that charts the way towards abolishing border violence altogether.

In criticizing how scholars map similarities with Sanctuary City policies to medieval cities’ asylum, I am targeting a now common-sense view in the Gramscian sense. From an abolitionist perspective, and echoing Gramscian IR theory of hegemonic ideas, revolutionary or alternate political movements can coexist within oppressive structures, as long as assumptions held as common-sense prevail (Cox, 1983, 2019). Some of these oppressive structures have been mentioned in the context of prison abolition, like the necessity of punishment (thus justifying a criminalizing laws, police, and prisons) or until relatively recently, that slavery was seen as the natural order of things, and ultimately, ordained by god. The manner that state-drawn polygons (shapes depicting countries and their sub-units) dominate mapping, to the point where states and their plethora of boundaries are considered a “geographic fact of life” (Neocleous 2003, p. 422).

This dissertation conceptualizes a visual method and critique of cartographic representations of Westphalian territoriality to reveals a plethora of non-territorial zones, as opposed to a new spatial container of cities or regions, wherein local areas and networks exploiting racist citizenship regulations coexist with more humanitarian locales. As Bowman (in Nail 2016, p. 42) observes, border checkpoints and zones are “the meeting point between savagery and civilization,” thus an abolitionary approach requires visualizing their operation without reifying the spatial compartment as the common-sense base unit of maps or view them as corresponding to geographic truths.

References

- 99% Invisible (2017) Church (Sanctuary, Part 1). 249. Oakland CA. Available at: <https://99percentinvisible.org/episode/church-sanctuary-part-1/> (accessed 13 August 2022).
- Abji S (2013) Post-Nationalism /Re-Considered: A Case Study of the ‘No One Is Illegal’ Movement in Canada. *Citizenship Studies* 17(3–4): 322–338. doi:10.1080/13621025.2012.707001.
- Abji S (2018) Postnational Acts of Citizenship: How an Anti-Border Politics is Shaping Feminist Spaces of Service Provision in Toronto, Canada. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 20(4): 501–523. doi:10.1080/14616742.2018.1480901.
- Abu-Laban Y (2016) Modernity, the Canadian State, and the Shifting Politics of Ethnocultural Claims Making. In: Berman BJ, Laliberté A, and Larin SJ (eds) *The Moral Economies of Ethnic and Nationalist Claims: The Moral Economies of Ethnic and Nationalist Claims*. Vancouver BC: UBC Press, pp. 198–218.
- Abu-Laban Y (2017) Building a New Citizenship Regime? Immigration and Multiculturalism in Canada. In: Mann J (ed.) *Citizenship in Transnational Perspective Australia, Canada, and New Zealand*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 263–283. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-53529-6_14.
- Abu-Laban Y and Gabriel C (2020) *Selling Diversity: Immigration Multiculturalism, Employment Equity, and Globalization*. Toronto ON: University of Toronto Press. Available at: <http://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.3138/9781442602274/html> (accessed 13 August 2022).
- Adams, R. (2019). *Circulation and Urbanization*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Aery A and Cheff R (2018) *Sanctuary City: Opportunities for Health Equity*. February. Toronto ON: Wellesley Institute.
- Agamben G (1998) *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (tran. D Heller-Roazen). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Agamben G (2011) *The Kingdom and the Glory: For a Theological Genealogy of Economy and Government* (trans. L Chiesa and M Mandarin). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Agnew J (1994) The Territorial Trap: The Geographical Assumptions of International Relations Theory. *Review of International Political Economy* 1(1): 53–80.
- Aiken S and Silverman SJ (2021) Decarceral Futures: Bridging Immigration and Prison Justice towards an Abolitionist Future. *Citizenship Studies* 25(2): 141–161.
- Akerman JR (2017) *Decolonizing the Map: Cartography From Colony to Nation*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- Albrecht J (2015) Map Projections and Distortion. Available at:
<http://www.geography.hunter.cuny.edu/~jochen/gtech361/lectures/lecture04/concepts/Map%20coordinate%20systems/Map%20projections%20and%20distortion.htm> (accessed 9 August 2022).
- Allan BB (2018) From Subjects to Objects: Knowledge in International Relations theory. *European Journal of International Relations* 24(4). 841–864.
- Alonso AD (2021) Sanctuary in Countries of Origin: A Transnational Perspective. *Migration and Society* 4(1): 84–98.
- Alsancak ND (2021) International Political Sociology and International Relations. In: Özekin MK and Sune E (eds) *Critical Approaches to International Relations: Philosophical Foundations and Current Debates*. Leiden, NL: Brill, pp. 175–193. Available at:
<http://brill.com/view/title/60889> (accessed 11 October 2022).
- Amin A and Thrift N (2002) *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Andersson R (2014) *Illegality, Inc.: Clandestine Migration and the Business of Bordering Europe*. Oakland CA: University of California Press.
- Anghie A (2007) *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*. Cambridge University Press.
- Aoki k, Shufird J, Young K, et al. (2008) (In)Visible Cities: Three Local Government Models and Immigration Regulation. *Oregon Review of International Law* 10: 453.
- Aradau C and Huysmans J (2016) Performing Methods: Practice and Politics. In: Basaran T, Bigo D, Guittet E-P, et al. (eds) *International Political Sociology: Transversal Lines*. London, UK: Routledge, pp. 126–144. doi:10.4324/9781315693293.
- Arbel, E., & Joeck, M. (2021). Immigration detention in the age of COVID-19. In C. Dauvergne (Ed.), *Research Handbook on the Law and Politics of Migration* (pp. 260–276). Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Archer JR (1990) Iconography Past and Present. *Liturgy* 8(3): 60–65.
- Arendt H (1973) *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. 1st ed. New York: Mariner Books.
- Asad T (2015) Reflections on Violence, Law, and Humanitarianism. *Critical Inquiry* 41(2): 390–427.
- Atak I (2019) Toronto’s Sanctuary City Policy: Rationale and Barriers. In: Darling J and Bauder H (eds) *Sanctuary Cities and Urban Struggles: Rescaling Migration, Citizenship, and Rights*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 105–130.
- Atak I and Hudson G (2022) Montreal’s Sanctuary Policy for Non-Status Migrants: Opportunity and Obstacles. *Refuge: Canada’s Journal on Refugees* 38(2): 1–15.

- Atak I, Hudson G and Nakache D (2019) Policing Canada's Refugee System: A Critical Analysis of the Canada Border Services Agency. *International Journal of Refugee Law* 31(4). Oxford Academic: 464–491. doi:10.1093/ijrl/eez040.
- Bac-Bronowicz J and Wojciechowska G (2018) A Review of Methods of Cartographic Presentation of Urban Space. *E3S Web of Conferences* 55: 1–8.
- Bachelard G (1994) *The Poetics of Space*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Bagelman J (2013) Sanctuary: A Politics of Ease? *Alternatives* 38(1): 49–62. doi:10.1177/0304375412469314.
- Bagelman J (2019) *Sanctuary Artivism: Expanding Geopolitical Imaginations*. Manchester University Press. Available at: <https://www.manchesterhive.com/view/9781526134929/9781526134929.00012.xml> (accessed 12 May 2020).
- Bagelman J and Kovalchuk S (2019) Subterranean Detention and Sanctuary from below: Canada's Carceral Geographies. *Social Sciences* 8(11): 310. doi:10.3390/socsci8110310.
- Bagelman JJ (2016) *Sanctuary City: A Suspended State*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. doi:10.1057/9781137480385.
- Bain W (2016) The Medieval Contribution to Modern International Relations. In: Bain W (ed.) *Medieval Foundations of International Relations*. 1 edition. London ; New York: Routledge, pp. 1–26.
- Bain W (2020) *Political Theology of International Order*. Oxford University Press.
- Bain W (2021) Political Theology and Historical International Relations. In: Carvalho B de, Lopez JC, and Leira H (eds) *Routledge Handbook of Historical International Relations*. New York, N.Y: Routledge, pp. 201–209.
- Bakonyi J (2022) Modular Sovereignty and Infrastructural Power: The Elusive Materiality of International Statebuilding. *Security Dialogue* 53(3): 256–278.
- Balibar E (1998) The Borders of Europe. In: Cheah P and Robbins B (eds) *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*. Cultural politics 14. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 216–229.
- Balibar E (1999) Le Droit de Cite ou L'apartheid? In: Balibar E, Chemillier-Gendreau M, Costa-Lasoux J, et al. (eds) *Sans-papiers : l'archaïsme fatal*. SUR LE VIF edition. Paris: La Découverte, pp. 89–116.
- Balibar E (2001) Outlines of a Topography of Cruelty: Citizenship and Civility in the Era of Global Violence. *Constellations* 8(1): 15–29.

- Balibar É (2009) *We, the People of Europe?: Reflections on Transnational Citizenship*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Barnes N (2011) North American Integration? Civil Society and Immigrant Health Policy Convergence. *Politics & Policy* 39(1): 69–89. doi:10.1111/j.1747-1346.2010.00283.x.
- Bartelson J (2021) War and the Turn to History in International Relations. In: Carvalho B de, Lopez JC, and Leira H (eds) *Routledge Handbook of Historical International Relations*. New York, N.Y: Routledge, pp. 127–137.
- Basaran T, Bigo D, Guittet E-P, et al. (eds) (2016) *International Political Sociology: Transversal Lines*. London: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9781315693293.
- Basaran, T., & Guild, E. (2016). Mobilities, ruptures, transitions. In T. Basaran, D. Bigo, E.-P. Guittet, & R. B. J. Walker (Eds.), *International Political Sociology: Transversal lines* (pp. 272–285). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315693293>
- Basok T (2009) Counter-Hegemonic Human Rights Discourses and Migrant Rights Activism in the US and Canada. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 50(2): 183–205. doi:10.1177/0020715208100970.
- Bauder H (2013) *Why We Should Use the Term Illegalized Immigrant*. RCIS Research Brief, August. Ryerson Centre for Immigration & Settlement: Ryerson University. Available at: http://ffm-online.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/RCIS_RB_Bauder_No_2013_1.pdf (accessed 3 February 2018).
- Bauder H (2016a) Domicile Citizenship, Migration and the City. In: Matheis C, Bauder H, and Crook N (eds) *Migration Policy and Practice: Interventions and Solutions*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 79–99.
- Bauder H (2016b) *Migration Borders Freedom*. New York: Routledge.
- Bauder H (2016c) Possibilities of Urban Belonging. *Antipode* 48(2): 252–271. doi:10.1111/anti.12174.
- Bauder H (2017) Sanctuary Cities: Policies and Practices in International Perspective. *International Migration* 55(2): 174–187. doi:10.1111/imig.12308.
- Bauder H (2019) Urban Sanctuary in Context. In: Darling J and Bauder H (eds) *Sanctuary Cities and Urban Struggles: Rescaling Migration, Citizenship, and Rights*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 25–49. Available at: <https://www.manchesterhive.com/view/9781526134929/9781526134929.00006.xml> (accessed 9 May 2020).
- Bauder H (2021) Urban Sanctuary and Solidarity: A Global Challenge to Sovereignty and Migrant Repression? In: Hudson G and Atak I (eds) *Migration, Security, and Resistance: Global and Local Perspectives*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 183–204.

- Bauder H and Darling J (2019) *Sanctuary Cities and Urban Struggles: Rescaling Migration, Citizenship, and Rights*. Manchester University Press. Available at: <http://muse.jhu.edu/book/78475> (accessed 6 August 2022).
- Bauder H and Gonzalez DA (2018) Municipal Responses to ‘Illegality’: Urban Sanctuary across National Contexts. *Social Inclusion* 6(1): 124–134.
- Benhabib S (2004) *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents, and Citizens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Benjamin W (1978) Critique of Violence. In: Demetz P (ed.) *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*. 1st ed. New York: Schocken Books.
- Berenskötter F (2018) Deep theorizing in International Relations. *European Journal of International Relations* 24(4): 814–840.
- Besteman C (2020) *Militarized Global Apartheid*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Bhandar D, Kellogg C and Ma MCK (2021) Introduction. *TOPIA: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies* 43: 1–8.
- Bhuyan R and Smith-Carrier T (2012) Constructions of Migrant Rights in Canada: is Subnational Citizenship Possible? *Citizenship Studies* 16(2): 203–221. doi:10.1080/13621025.2012.667613.
- Bigham S (1985) Death and Orthodox Iconography. *Death and Orthodox Iconography* 29(4): 325–341.
- Bigo D (2002) Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 27(1): S63.
- Bigo D (2016a) International Political Sociology: Rethinking the International Through Dynamics of Power. In: Basaran T, Bigo D, Guittet E-P, et al. (eds) *International Political Sociology: Transversal Lines*. London: Routledge, pp. 24–48. doi:10.4324/9781315693293.
- Bigo D (2016b) Sociology of Transnational Guilds. *International Political Sociology* 10(4). Oxford Academic: 398–416. doi:10.1093/ips/olw022.
- Bigo D (2019) Beyond National Security, the Emergence of a Digital Reason of State(s) led by Transnational Guilds of Sensitive Information: The Case of the Five Eyes Plus network. In: *Research Handbook on Human Rights and Digital Technology*. Northhampton: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 33–52.
- Bilke C (2009) Divided We Stand, United We Fall: A Public Policy Analysis of Sanctuary Cities’ Role in the Illegal Immigration Debate Note. *Indiana Law Review* 42: 165–194.

- Birkholz D (2004) *The King's Two Maps: Cartography & Culture in Thirteenth-Century England*. Routledge.
- Biswas S and Nair S (eds) (2009) Introduction. In: *International Relations and States of Exception: Margins, Peripheries, and Excluded Bodies*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 1–30.
- Blake M (2021) Two Models of the Sanctuary City. *Migration and Society* 4(1): 19–30.
- Inayatullah, N., & Blaney, D. L. (2004). *International Relations and the Problem of Difference*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Bleiker R (2009) *Aesthetics and World Politics*. 2009 edition. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bleiker R (ed.) (2018) *Visual Global Politics*. 1 edition. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Both M (2021) *Understanding Resistance to Immigration Control in the Case of Immigration Detention in Laval, Quebec, Canada*. Masters. McGill University, Montréal, QC. Available at: <https://escholarship.mcgill.ca/concern/theses/cf95jh07p> (accessed 7 August 2022).
- Boudou B (2019) Hospitality in Sanctuary Cities. In: Meagher SM, Noll S, and Biehl JS (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Philosophy of the City*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 279–290.
- Boudou, B., Leaman, H., & Scholz, M. M. (2021a). Sacred Welcomes: How Religious Reasons, Structures, and Interactions Shape Refugee Advocacy and Settlement. *Migration and Society*, 4(1), 99–109. Doi:10.3167/arms.2021.040110
- Boudou B, Leaman H and Scholz MM (eds) (2021b) Religion and Refugees [Special section]. *Migration and Society* 4(1): 99–171.
- Bourdieu P (1990) *The Logic of Practice* (tran. R Nice). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu P (2003) Participant objectivation. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 9: 281–294.
- Branch J (2011) Mapping the Sovereign State: Technology, Authority, and Systemic Change. *International Organization* 65(1): 1–36.
- Branch J (2014) *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory, and the Origins of Sovereignty*. New York NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Bredenkamp H (2020) *Leviathan: Body Politic as Visual Strategy in the Work of Thomas Hobbes*. De Gruyter.

- Brenner N (2014) Introduction: Urban Theory Without An Outside. In: Brenner N (ed.) *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*. Berlin: Jovis, pp. 14–30.
- Brown W (2010) *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*. New York : Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books.
- Brucato, B. (2014). Fabricating the Color Line in a White Democracy: From Slave Catchers to Petty Sovereigns. *Theoria*, 61(141), 30–54.
- Buck-Morss, S. (2007). Visual Empire. *Diacritics*, 37(2/3), 171–198.
- Buff RI (2019) Sanctuary Everywhere: Some Key Words, 1945–Present. *Radical History Review* 2019(135). Duke University Press: 14–42. doi:10.1215/01636545-7607809.
- Bull H (1977) *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bulley DD (2017) *Migration, Ethics and Power: Spaces Of Hospitality In International Politics*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.
- Burckhardt, J. (1960). *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. Vienna: Phaidon Press.
- Butcher CR and Griffiths RD (2017) Between Eurocentrism and Babel: A Framework for the Analysis of States, State Systems, and International Orders. *International Studies Quarterly* 61(2): 328–336.
- Butler J (2004) *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. New York, NY: Verso.
- Callahan WA (2015) The Visual Turn in IR: Documentary Filmmaking as a Critical Method. *Millennium* 43(3): 891–910. doi:10.1177/0305829815578767.
- Carter A (2001) *The Political Theory of Global Citizenship*. 1st ed. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Castanada E (2012) Urban Citizenship in New York, Paris, and Barcelona: Immigrant Organizations and the Right to Inhabit the City. In: Smith MP and McQuarrie M (eds) *Remaking Urban Citizenship: Organizations, Institutions, and the Right to the City*. 1 edition. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, pp. 39–56.
- CBSA (Canada Border Services Agency) (2013) Airport of Entry (AOE). Available at: <https://www.cbsa-asfc.gc.ca/do-rb/services/aoe-eng.html> (accessed 10 August 2022).
- CBSA (Canada Border Services Agency) (2022) Inland Office (INLAND). Available at: <https://www.cbsa-asfc.gc.ca/do-rb/services/aoe-eng.html> (accessed 10 August 2022).
- (2019) Alternatives to Detention Program – Executive Summary. Available at: <https://www.cbsa-asfc.gc.ca/agency-agence/reports-rapports/pia-efvp/atip-airpr/atd-srd-eng.html> (accessed 4 September 2021).

- Cebula RJ (2016) Give me Sanctuary! The Impact of Personal Freedom Afforded by Sanctuary Cities on the 2010 Undocumented Immigrant Settlement Pattern Within the U.S., 2SLS Estimates. *Journal of Economics and Finance* 40(4): 792–802. doi:10.1007/s12197-015-9333-7.
- Cebula RJ, Duquette CM and Mixon FG (2013) Factors Influencing the State-Level Settlement Pattern of the Undocumented Immigrant Population in the United States. *Atlantic Economic Journal* 41(3): 203–213.
- Cerella A (2016) Space and Sovereignty: A Reverse Perspective. In: Howland D, Lillehoj E, and Mayer M (eds) *Art and Sovereignty in Global Politics*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 31–58.
- Chak T (2014) *Undocumented - the Architecture of Migrant Detention*. Montreal Amsterdam: The Architecture Observer.
- Chauvin, S., & Garcés-Mascareñas, B. (2012). Beyond Informal Citizenship: The New Moral Economy of Migrant Illegality. *International Political Sociology*, 6(3), 241–259.
- Chignola S (2022) Homo Homini Tigris: Thomas Hobbes and the Global Images of Sovereignty. *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 48(5): 726–754.
- City of Toronto (2018) Access to City Services for Undocumented Torontonians. City of Toronto. Available at: <https://www.toronto.ca/city-government/accountability-operations-customer-service/long-term-vision-plans-and-strategies/access-to-city-services-for-undocumented-torontonians/> (accessed 30 August 2021).
- Claessen HJM (1996) Feudalism. *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology* Barnard A and Spencer J (eds). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Colbern A (2017) *Today's Runaway Slaves: Unauthorized Immigrants in a Federalist Framework*. Doctorate. UC Riverside, Riverside, CA. Available at: <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4pb0w0sq> (accessed 8 August 2022).
- Conlon D, Hiemstra N and Mountz A (2017) Geographical Perspectives on Detention: Spatial Control and its Contestation. In: Flynn MJ and Flynn MB (eds) *Challenging Immigration Detention: Academics, Activists and Policy-Makers*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Pub, pp. 141–159.
- Connolly WE (2002) *The Augustinian Imperative: A Reflection on the Politics of Morality*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Conroy L (2018) *Asylum and the Politics of Irregularization: Refugee Claimants and Toronto's Everyday Places*. Doctorate. Available at: <https://uwspace.uwaterloo.ca/handle/10012/13436> (accessed 14 May 2019).
- Cordes F (2017) City Sovereignty: Urban Resistance and Rebel Cities Reconsidered. *Urban Science* 1(3): 22. doi:10.3390/urbansci1030022.

- Côté-Boucher K (2017) Bordering Citizenship in ‘an Open and Generous Society’ : The Criminalization of Migration in Canada. In: Pickering S and Ham J (eds) *The Routledge Handbook on Crime and International Migration*. London: Routledge, pp. 75–90. doi:10.4324/9780203385562-6.
- Cox RW (1983) Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations : An Essay in Method. *Millennium* 12(2): 162–175.
- Cox RW (2019) Social Forces, States, and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory. In: Walker RBJ (ed.) *Culture, Ideology, And World Order*. Routledge, pp. 258–299.
- Critchley S (2014) *The Faith of the Faithless: Experiments In Political Theology*. New York NY: Verso.
- Curtis S (2016) *Global Cities and Global Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cutler AC (2001) Critical Reflections on the Westphalian Assumptions of International Law and Organization: A Crisis of Legitimacy. *Review of International Studies* 27(2): 133–150.
- Cutler AC, Haufler V and Porter T (eds) (1999) *Private Authority and International Affairs*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Czajka A (2009) Europe’s Other: Europe, Europeanization and the Refugee. In: Arslan S, Aytar V, Karaosmanoğlu D, et al. (eds) *Media, Culture and Identity in Europe*. İstanbulBahçeşehir University Press, pp. 62–71. Available at: <https://dare.uva.nl/search?identifier=3a0bd8b3-b052-47b2-adaa-746c89ffdef0> (accessed 3 November 2019).
- Dadusc D and Mudu P (2022) Care without Control: The Humanitarian Industrial Complex and the Criminalisation of Solidarity. *Geopolitics* 27(4): 1205–1230.
- Darling J (2013) Moral Urbanism, Asylum, and the Politics of Critique. *Environment and Planning A* 45(8): 1785–1801. doi:10.1068/a45441.
- Darling J (2017) Forced Migration and the City: Irregularity, Informality, and the Politics of Presence. *Progress in Human Geography* 41(2): 178–198. doi:10.1177/0309132516629004.
- Darling J and Bauder H (eds) (2019) *Sanctuary Cities and Urban Struggles: Rescaling Migration, Citizenship, and Rights*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Dauvergne C (2009) *Making People Illegal: What Globalization Means for Migration and Law*. Reprint edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davidson MJ (2014) Sanctuary: A Modern Legal Anachronism. *Capital University Law Review* 42(3): 583–618.

- Davis AY (2003) *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York, NY: Seven Stories Press.
- Davis K (2012) *Periodization and Sovereignty: How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- De Genova N (2013) Spectacles of Migrant ‘Illegality’: The Scene of Exclusion, the Obscene of Inclusion. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36(7): 1180–1198.
doi:10.1080/01419870.2013.783710.
- De Genova N (2017) The Economy of Deportability: Theorizing Migrant Detention. In: Flynn MJ and Flynn MB (eds) *Challenging Immigration Detention: Academics, Activists and Policy-Makers*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Pub, pp. 160–170.
- De Genova N and Tazzioli M (2022) Introduction - Minor Keywords of Political Theory: Migration as a Critical Standpoint. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* 40(4) 781–875.
- de Sousa Santos B (1987) Law: A Map of Misreading. Toward a Postmodern Conception of Law. *Journal of Law and Society* 14(3): 279–302.
- Derrida J (2001) *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Devetak R (2013) Critical Theory. In: Burchill S and Linklater A (eds) *Theories of International Relations*. 5th ed. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 162–186.
- Devetak R (2021) Reason of State: An Intellectual History. In: Carvalho B de, Lopez JC, and Leira H (eds) *Routledge Handbook of Historical International Relations*. New York, N.Y: Routledge, pp. 277–288.
- Diewert D and Chu O (2015) Public Transit not a Border Checkpoint: Interview with Omar Chu of the Transportation Not Deportation Campaign. In: *The Volcano*. Available at: <https://www.thevolcano.org/2015/03/22/public-transit-not-a-border-checkpoint-interview-with-omar-chu-of-the-transportation-not-deportation-campaign/> (accessed 11 August 2022).
- Dijstelbloem H and Pelizza A (2019) The State is the Secret: For a Relational Approach to the Study of Border and Mobility Control in Europe. In: Goede MD, Bosma E, and Pallister-Wilkins P (eds) *Secrecy and Methods in Security Research: A Guide to Qualitative Fieldwork*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 48–62.
- DMTI Spatial Inc. (2019a) Major Roads Line File. DMTI Spatial Inc. Available at: http://geo.scholarsportal.info/#r/details/_uri@=974741523 (accessed 29 September 2020).
- DMTI Spatial Inc. (2019b) Enhanced Points of Interest. DMTI Spatial Inc. Available at: http://geo.scholarsportal.info/#r/details/_uri@=974741523 (accessed 29 September 2020).

- Dodge M (2014) Mappings. In: Adey P, Bissell D, Hannam K, et al. (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 517–533.
- Dorsett S and McVeigh S (2012) *Jurisdiction*. London, UNITED KINGDOM: Taylor & Francis Group. Available at: <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mcmu/detail.action?docID=1016126> (accessed 27 July 2021).
- Douzinas C (2007) *Human Rights and Empire: The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Du Bois WEB (2018) *W.E.B. Du Bois's Data Portraits* (eds W Battle-Baptiste and B Rusert). Hudson, NY: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Dubler J and Lloyd V (2020) *Break Every Yoke: Religion, Justice, and the Abolition of Prisons*. New York, NY. doi:10.1093/oso/9780190949150.001.0001.
- Dumont C (2020) 'Objectivity' and Repatriation : Pulling on the Colonisers' Tale. In: Hokowhitu B, Moreton-Robinson A, Tuhiwai-Smith L, et al. (eds) *Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies*. 1st edition. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 240–254.
- Edkins J, Shapiro MJ and Pin-Fat V (eds) (2004) *Sovereign Lives: Power in Global Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Ehrkamp P (2019) Geographies of Migration II: The Racial-Spatial Politics of Immigration. *Progress in Human Geography* 43(2): 363–375.
- Ellis BD (2015a) *Deportability and Kombiowanie in Canada: A Critical Ethnographic Study of 'Irregular' Migrant Subjectivities*. Doctorate. University of Calgary, Alberta. Available at: <https://prism.ucalgary.ca/handle/11023/2399> (accessed 8 May 2019).
- Ellis BD (2015b) The Production of Irregular Migration in Canada. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 47(2): 93–112. doi:10.1353/ces.2015.0011.
- Ellison T (2019) From Sanctuary to Safe Space: Gay and Lesbian Police-Reform Activism in Los Angeles. *Radical History Review* 2019(135): 95–118.
- Falk R (2002) An Emergent Matrix of Citizenship: Complex, Uneven, and Fluid. In: Dower N and Williams J (eds) *Global Citizenship: A Critical Introduction*. 1st edition. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 15–29.
- Fasolt C (2004) *The Limits of History*. University of Chicago Press.
- Ferguson YH and Mansbach RW (2004) *Remapping Global Politics: History's Revenge and Future Shock*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

- Flynn MB (2017) Capitalism and Immigration Control: What Political Economy Reveals About the Global Spread of Detention. In: Flynn MJ and Flynn MB (eds) *Challenging Immigration Detention: Academics, Activists and Policy-Makers*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Pub, pp. 171–194.
- Flynn MJ and Flynn MB (2017) Introduction: The Immigration Detention Puzzle in Interdisciplinary Perspective. In: Flynn MJ and Flynn MB (eds) *Challenging Immigration Detention: Academics, Activists and Policy-Makers*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Pub, pp. 1–10.
- Foerster A (2019) Solidarity or Sanctuary? A Global Strategy for Migrant Rights. *Humanity & Society* 43(1). 19–42. doi:10.1177/0160597618817456.
- Ford III JE (2018) On Black Study and Political Theology. *Cultural Critique* 101: 187–219.
- Ford RT (1999) Law's Territory (A History of Jurisdiction). *Michigan Law Review* 97(4). The Michigan Law Review Association: 843–930. doi:10.2307/1290376.
- Foucault M (1977) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Fudge J and MacPhail F (2009) The Temporary Foreign Worker Program in Canada: Low-Skilled Workers as an Extreme Form of Flexible Labor. *Immigration and Nationality Law Review* 30: 843.
- Fukuyama, F. (2006). *The End of History and the Last Man*. Toronto, ON: Simon and Schuster.
- Gammeltoft-Hansen T (2012) The Rise of the Private Border Guard: Accountability and Responsibility in the Migration Control Industry. In: Gammeltoft-Hansen T and Nyberg Sorensen N (eds) *The Migration Industry and the Commercialization of International Migration*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 128–151.
- Gardner TG (2014) *The Safest Place: Immigrant Sanctuary in the Homeland Security Era*. UC Berkeley, Berkeley, CA. Available at: <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6nk3b2w7> (accessed 6 August 2022).
- Garrod JZ (2017) A (Reluctant) Defence of the Theory of the Transnational State. *Studies in Political Economy* 98(3): 279–297. doi:10.1080/07078552.2017.1393909.
- Gill N, Conlon D, Moran D, et al. (2018) Carceral Circuitry: New Directions in Carceral Geography. *Progress in Human Geography* 42(2): 183–204.
- Gill N, Allsopp J, Burridge A, et al. (2020) What's Missing From Legal Geography and Materialist Studies of law? Absence and the Assembling of Asylum Appeal Hearings in Europe. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 45(4): 937–951. doi:10.1111/tran.12399.

- Gillespie L (2019) Pierre Bourdieu: Habitus. In: *Critical Legal Thinking*. Available at: <https://criticallegalthinking.com/2019/08/06/pierre-bourdieu-habitus/> (accessed 18 October 2022).
- Gilmore RW (2022) *Abolition Geography: Essays Towards Liberation* (eds B Bhandar and A Toscano). New York, NY: Verso.
- Global Detention Project (2020) Mapping the World of Immigration Detention. Available at: <https://www.globaldetentionproject.org/> (accessed 31 July 2020).
- Goettlich K (2019) The Rise of Linear Borders in World Politics. *European Journal of International Relations* 25(1). 203–228. doi:10.1177/1354066118760991.
- Goettlich K and Branch J (2021) Borders and Boundaries: Making Visible What Divides. In: Carvalho B de, Lopez JC, and Leira H (eds) *Routledge Handbook of Historical International Relations*. New York, N.Y: Routledge, pp. 267–276.
- Gordon PE (2020) *Migrants in the Profane: Critical Theory and the Question of Secularization*. Yale University Press. doi:10.2307/j.ctv18sqz23.
- Grace S (2018) Designing War-Care: “Diagram of The Causes Of Mortality In The Army Of The East”. Available at: <https://edspace.american.edu/visualwar/nightingale/> (accessed 21 June 2022).
- Green AG and Green D (2004) The Goals of Canada’s Immigration Policy: A Historical Perspective. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 13(1): 102–139.
- Grimwood S (2003) Iconography and Postmodernity. *Literature and Theology* 17(1): 76–97.
- Gros H and van Groll P (2015) ‘We Have No Rights’ Arbitrary Imprisonment and Cruel Treatment of Migrants With Mental Health Issues in Canada. Toronto ON: International Human Rights Program (IHRP), University of Toronto. Available at: <https://ihrp.law.utoronto.ca/sites/default/files/PUBLICATIONS/IHRP%20We%20Have%20No%20Rights%20Report%20web%20170615.pdf> (accessed 11 August 2022).
- Grovogui S (2011) A Revolution Nonetheless: The Global South in International Relations. *The Global South* 5(1). Indiana University Press: 175–190.
- Guarnizo L (2012) The Fluid, Multi-scalar, and Contradictory Construction of Citizenship: Organizations, Institutions, and the Right to the City. In: Smith MP and McQuarrie M (eds) *Remaking Urban Citizenship*, pp. 11–35. doi:10.4324/9781315128436-2.
- Guillaume X and Bilgin P (2017) Introduction. In: Guillaume X and Bilgin P (eds) *Routledge Handbook of International Political Sociology*. London, UK: Routledge, pp. 1–14. doi:10.4324/9781315446486.
- Guillaume X and Huysmans J (eds) (2013) *Citizenship and Security: The Constitution of Political Being*. Milton Park Abingdon Oxon: Routledge.

- Gulasekaram P, Su R and Villazor RC (2019) Anti-Sanctuary and Immigration Localism. *Columbia Law Review* 119(3): 837–894.
- Hannan C-A and Bauder H (2015) *Towards a Sancturay Province: Policies, Programs, and Services for Illegalized Immigrants' Equitable Employment, Social Participation, and Economic Development*. RCIS Working Paper 2015/3. Ryerson Centre for Immigration & Settlement: Ryerson University. Available at: http://www.ryerson.ca/content/dam/rcis/documents/RCIS_WP_Hannan_Bauder_No_2015_3.pdf (accessed 15 October 2017).
- Harley JB (2002) *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.
- Hayman PA and Williams J (2006) Westphalian Sovereignty: Rights, Intervention, Meaning and Context. *Global Society* 20(4): 521–541.
- Heikanen J (2021) Nations and Nationalism in International Relations. In: Carvalho B de, Lopez JC, and Leira H (eds) *Routledge Handbook of Historical International Relations*. New York, N.Y: Routledge, pp. 244–252.
- Held D (1995) *Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Henderson EA (2014) Hidden in Plain Sight: Racism in International Relations Theory. In: Anievas A, Manchanda N, and Shilliam R (eds) *Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the Global Colour Line*. New York: Routledge, pp. 19–43.
- Heng G (2018) *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781108381710.
- Hershkowitz M, Hudson G and Bauder H (2020) Rescaling the Sanctuary City: Police and Non-Status Migrants in Ontario, Canada. *International Migration* 59(1). doi:10.1111/imig.12714.
- Hickman J (2010) Globalization and the Gods, or the Political Theology of 'Race'. *Early American Literature* 45(1): 145–182.
- Hiller C, Ngo A-L, Gatti M, et al. (eds) (2018) *An Atlas Of Commoning: Places of Collective Production*. Berlin: ARCH+, Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen.
- Hintjens H and Pouri A (2014) Toward Cities of Safety and Sanctuary. *Peace Review* 26(2): 218–224. doi:10.1080/10402659.2014.906889.
- Hobbes T (1982) *Leviathan*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics.
- Hobson JM (2013) The Other Side of the Westphalian Frontier. In: Seth S (ed.) *Postcolonial Theory and International Relations: A Critical Introduction*. London, UK: Routledge, pp. 32–48.

- Hoffman B (2021) Immigrant Sanctuary or Danger: Health Care and Hospitals in the United States. *Migration and Society* 4(1): 62–75.
- Holder C (2020) Human Rights Without Hierarchy: Why Theories of Global Justice Should Embrace the Indivisibility Principle. In: Antonio Davilà J (ed.) *Cuestiones de Justicia Global*. Valencia, ES: Tirant lo Blanch, pp. 125–150.
- Holder C and Reidy D (2013) *Human Rights: The Hard Questions*. Cambridge University Press.
- Houston S (2019) Conceptualizing Sanctuary as a Process in the United States. *Geographical Review* 109(4): 562–579. doi:10.1111/gere.12338.
- Houston S and Lawrence-Weilmann O (2016) The Model Migrant and Multiculturalism: Analyzing Neoliberal Logics in US Sanctuary Legislation. In: Matheis C, Bauder H, and Crook N (eds) *Migration Policy and Practice: Interventions and Solutions*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 101–126.
- Hudson G (2019) City of Hope, City of Fear: Sanctuary and Security in Toronto, Canada. In: Darling J and Bauder H (eds) *Sanctuary Cities and Urban Struggles: Rescaling Migration, Citizenship, and Rights, Sanctuary Cities and Urban Struggles*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 77–104.
- Hudson G and Atak I (eds) (2021) *Migration, Security, and Resistance: Global and Local Perspectives*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hudson G, Atak I, Manocchi M, et al. (2017) *(No) Access T.O.: A Pilot Study on Sanctuary City Policy in Toronto, Canada*. RCIS Working Papers 2017/1. Ryerson Centre for Immigration & Settlement: Ryerson University.
- Humphris R (2020) *A Histor of the Memories of the ‘Sanctuar City’ in Toronto, Canada*. 2020/5, Working Paper, September. Toronto ON: Ryerson Centre for Immigration & Settlement (RCIS).
- Hung C (2019) Sanctuary Squats: The Political Contestations of Piazza Indipendenza Refugee Occupiers. *Radical History Review* 2019(135): 119–137.
- Hunter JM (1967) The Extent of the Legal Confines, The State-Idea, and the Zone of Function of France and Germany in the Saarland. *International Studies Quarterly* 11(3): 237–243.
- Huysmans J, Aradau C, Scheel S, and M Tazzioli (2022) Mobility/Movement In: De Genova N and Tazzioli M (eds) *Minor Keywords of Political Theory: Migration as a Critical Standpoint*. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* 40(4): 781–875 (pp.813-823).
- Huysmans J (2006) *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU*. New York: Routledge.

- Iglesias F (2014) *Against EUrocentrism: A New Stage in the Building of the European Republic*. In: Fiorentini R and Montani G (eds) *The European Union and Supranational Political Economy*. New York NY: Routledge, pp. 264–286.
- IRCC (Immigration Refugees, and Citizenship) and CBSA (Canada Border Services Agency) (2020) *Operational Manuals - Detention (ENF 20)*. Government of Canada. Available at: [https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/resources/manuals/enf/enf-3-admissibility-\(en\)-final.pdf](https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/resources/manuals/enf/enf-3-admissibility-(en)-final.pdf) (accessed 10 August 2022).
- IRCC (Immigration Refugees, and Citizenship) and CBSA (Canada Border Services Agency) (2022) *Operational Manuals - Admissibility Hearings and Detention Reviews (ENF 3)*. Government of Canada. Available at: [https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/resources/manuals/enf/enf-3-admissibility-\(en\)-final.pdf](https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/resources/manuals/enf/enf-3-admissibility-(en)-final.pdf) (accessed 10 August 2022).
- IRCC (Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada) and CBSA (Canada Border Services Agency) (2017) *Operational Manuals - Removals (ENF 10)*. Government of Canada. Available at: <https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/resources/manuals/enf/enf-10-eng.pdf> (accessed 10 August 2022).
- Ireland PR (2017) *Migrant Integration in Times of Economic Crisis: Policy Responses From European and North American Global Cities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Isin EF (2002) *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Isin EF (2012) *Citizens Without Frontiers*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Isin EF and Rygiel K (2007) *Abject Spaces: Frontiers, Zones, Camps*. In: Dauphinee E and Masters C (eds) *The Logics of Biopower and the War on Terror: Living, Dying, Surviving*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, pp. 181–203. doi:10.1007/978-1-137-04379-5_9.
- Jacob, C. (2006). *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History* (E. H. D. by T. Conley, Trans.). University of Chicago Press.
- Jacob F (2015) *Feudalism*. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of World Poverty* Odekon M (ed.). 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Janzen M (2014) *Verdict at Coroner's Inquest: Findings and Recommendations as a Result of the Coroner's Inquest Pursuant to Section 38 of the Coroner's Act, [SBC 2007] C 15, Into the Death of Vega Jimenez Lucia Dominga Jimenez*. 2013:0380:00041, Coroner Verdict, 7 October. Burnaby, BC: Province of British Columbia Ministry of Justice Coroners Service. Available at: <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/birth-adoption-death-marriage-and-divorce/deaths/coroners-service/inquest/2014/vega-jimenez-lucia-dominga-2013-0380-0004-verdict.pdf> (accessed 11 August 2022).

- Jenkins R (2005) Bourdieu, Pierre. *Encyclopedia of Social Theory* Ritzer G (ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi:10.4135/9781412952552.
- Jessop, B. (2001). Bringing the State Back In (Yet Again): Reviews, Revisions, Rejections, and Redirections. *International Review of Sociology*, 11(2), 149–173. doi: 10.1080/713674035
- Johnson HL (2014) *Borders, Asylum and Global Non-Citizenship: The Other Side of the Fence*. Cambridge University Press.
- Johnston KR (2015) *Unsettling Citizenship: Movements for Indigenous Sovereignty and Migrant Justice in a Settler City*. Doctorate. York University, Toronto.
- Kellogg C (2017) Legal Punishment and Its Limits: The Future of Abolitionism. *Law and Critique* 28(2): 195–213. doi:10.1007/s10978-016-9196-x.
- Kessler F and Battersby S (2019) *Working with Map Projections: A Guide to Their Selection*. 1 edition. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.
- Keung N (2015) Toronto Police Urged to Stop Immigration ‘Status Checks’. *The Toronto Star*, 24 November. Available at: <https://www.thestar.com/news/investigations/2015/11/24/toronto-police-urged-to-stop-immigration-status-checks.html>.
- Klein BS (1998) Politics by Design: Remapping Security Landscapes. *European Journal of International Relations* 4(3): 327–345.
- kollektiv orangotango+ (ed.) (2018) *This Is Not an Atlas: A Global Collection of Counter-Cartographies*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.
- Koopman C (2021) The Political Theory of Data: Institutions, Algorithms, & Formats in Racial Redlining. *Political Theory* 00(0): 1–25. doi:10.1177/00905917211027835.
- Krishna S (2017) Postcolonialism and International Political Sociology. In: Guillaume X and Bilgin P (eds) *Routledge Handbook of International Political Sociology*. London, UK: Routledge, pp. 71–80. doi:10.4324/9781315446486.
- Krzywicka-Blum E (2016) *Map Functions*. Springer Geography.
- Kudźmaitė G and Pauwels L (2020) Researching Visual Manifestations of Border Spaces and Experiences: Conceptual and Methodological Perspectives. *Geopolitics* 0(0). Routledge: 1–32. doi:10.1080/14650045.2020.1749838.
- Kuge J (2019a) Countering Illiberal Geographies Through Local Policy? The Political Effects of Sanctuary Cities. *Territory, Politics, Governance* 0(0): 1–17. doi:10.1080/21622671.2019.1604255.

- Kuge J (2019b) *Uncovering Sanctuary Cities: Between Policy, Practice, and Politics*. Manchester University Press. Available at: <https://www.manchesterhive.com/view/9781526134929/9781526134929.00009.xml> (accessed 11 May 2020).
- Kuge J (2020) Countering Illiberal Geographies Through Local Policy? The Political Effects of Sanctuary Cities. *Territory, Politics, Governance* 8(1). Routledge: 43–59. doi:10.1080/21622671.2019.1604255.
- Kunzle D (1973) *The Early Comic Strip: Narrative Strips and Picture Stories in the European Broadsheet from C.1450 to 1825*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Lai D and Roccu R (2019) Case Study Research and Critical IR: The Case for the Extended Case Methodology. *International Relations* 33(1): 67–87. doi:10.1177/0047117818818243.
- Lake D (2013) Theory is Dead, Long Live Theory: The end of the Great Debates and the Rise of Eclecticism in International Relations. *European Journal of International Relations* 19(3): 567–587.
- Lalonde PC (2019) *Canadian Border Security: Examining Border Services Officer and Traveller Knowledge Concerning Interaction Narratives and Technologization Within the Windsor Borderland*. Doctorate. University of Waterloo, Waterloo. Available at: <https://uwspace.uwaterloo.ca/handle/10012/14791> (accessed 3 September 2020).
- Laman J (2015) *Revisiting The Sanctuary City: Citizenship Or Abjection? Spotighting The Case Of Toronto*. Major Research Paper. York University, Toronto.
- Lambelet KBT (2019) Sanctuary in a Small Southern City: An Interview with Anton Flores-Maisonet. *Radical History Review* 2019(135): 160–169. doi:10.1215/01636545-7607896.
- Lambert H (2008) International Refugee Law: Dominant and Emerging Approaches. In: Armstrong D (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of International Law*. Routledge, pp. 344–354.
- Landolt P (2019) *Assembling the Politics of Noncitizenship: Local Struggles to Enforce and Extend Access to Health Care*. UT Sociology Working Papers, January. Toronto: University of Toronto.
- Landolt P and Goldring L (2019) Assembling Noncitizen Access to Education in a Sanctuary City: The Place of Public School Administrator Bordering Practices". In: Bada X and Gleeson S (eds) *Accountability Across Borders: Migrant Rights in North America*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 212–36.
- Lapaine M (2017) Short History on Map Projections. In: Lapaine M and Usery EL (eds) *Choosing a Map Projection*. Lecture Notes in Geoinformation and Cartography. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, pp. 247–257. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-51835-0_11.

- Larkins J (2010) *From Hierarchy to Anarchy: Territory and Politics before Westphalia*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Laustsen CB (2013) Studying Politics and Religion: How to Distinguish Religious Politics, Civil Religion, Political Religion, and Political Theology. *Journal of Religion in Europe* 6(4). Brill: 428–463. doi:10.1163/18748929-00604002.
- Lefebvre H (2014) From the City to Urban Society (1970). In: Brenner N (ed.) *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*. Berlin: Jovis.
- Lejeune C (2021) Cosmopolitanism in US Sanctuary Cities: Dreamers Claiming Urban Citizenship. In: Lejeune C, Pagès-El Karoui D, Schmoll C, et al. (eds) *Migration, Urbanity and Cosmopolitanism in a Globalized World*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-67365-9.
- Lemert C (2005) Foucault, Michel. *Encyclopedia of Social Theory* Ritzer G (ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi:10.4135/9781412952552.
- Lenard PT and Madokoro L (2021a) The Stakes of Sanctuary. *Migration and Society* 4(1): 1–15.
- Lenard PT and Madokoro L (eds) (2021b) The Stakes of Sanctuary [Special section]. *Migration and Society* 4(1): 1–98.
- Levy G (2014) Contested Citizenship of the Arab Spring and Beyond. In: Isin EF and Nyers P (eds) *Routledge Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 23–37.
- Linebaugh P and Rediker M (2012) *The Many-Headed Hydra: The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. New York NY: Verso Books.
- Lippert R (2006) *Sanctuary, Sovereignty, Sacrifice: Canadian Sanctuary Incidents, Power, and Law*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Lippert R and O'Connor D (2006) Security Intelligence Networks and the Transformation of Contract Private Security. *Policing and Society* 16(1). Routledge: 50–66. doi:10.1080/10439460500399445.
- Locke J (1988) *Locke: Two Treatises of Government* (ed. P Laslett). Student ed. edition. Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons SR (2010) *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mackenzie K, Pirker J and Reitsma F (2020) Towards a SpatioTemporal Data Model for Traditional Ecological Knowledge/Indigenous Knowledge. *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualization* 55(1). University of Toronto Press: 29–41. doi:10.3138/cart-2017-0027.

- Madokoro L (2021) On public sanctuary: exploring the nature of refuge in precarious times. In: Dauvergne C (ed.) *Research Handbook on the Law and Politics of Migration*. Northampton, MA, pp. 96–109.
- Magalhaes L, Carrasco C and Gastaldo D (2010) Undocumented Migrants in Canada: A Scope Literature Review on Health, Access to Services, and Working Conditions. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health* 12(1): 132. doi:10.1007/s10903-009-9280-5.
- Magnusson W (2006) The City of God and the Global City. *CTheory*: 10/5/2006-10/5/2006.
- Magnusson W (2011) *Politics of Urbanism: Seeing Like a City*. New York: Routledge.
- Magnusson W (2015) *Local Self-Government and the Right to the City*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Maira S (2019) Freedom to Move, Freedom to Stay, Freedom to Return A Transnational Roundtable on Sanctuary Activism. *Radical History Review* 2019(135). Duke University Press: 138–159. doi:10.1215/01636545-7607884.
- Mak C (2021) Mapping 'wild zones' of globalisation: on private actors and the rule of law. *International Journal of Law in Context* 17(1). Cambridge University Press: 107–113. doi:10.1017/S1744552321000045.
- Mancina P (2016) *In the Spirit of Sanctuary: Sanctuary-City Policy Advocacy and the Production of Sanctuary-Power in San Francisco, California*. Ph.D. Vanderbilt University, Ann Arbor, United States.
- Marrow HB (2012) Deserving to a Point: Unauthorized Immigrants in San Francisco's Universal Access Healthcare Model. *Social Science & Medicine* 74(6): 846–854. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.08.001.
- Marx K (1994) On the Jewish Question. In: Simon LH (ed.) *Marx: Selected Writings*. UK ed. edition. Indianapolis, Ind: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., pp. 1–26.
- Marx K and Engels F (1968) Manifesto of the Communist Party. In: *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Selected Works*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, pp. 35–63.
- Mascareñas BG and Eitel K (2019) *Sanctuary Cities: a Global Perspective*. Anuario internacional CIDOB, June. Barcelona Centre for International Affairs. Available at: http://www.cidob.org/en/articulos/anuario_internacional_cidob/2019/sanctuary_cities_a_global_perspective (accessed 18 July 2020).
- Massey D (1992) Politics and Space/Time. *New Left Review* 1(196).
- Massey D (2005) *For Space*. London: Sage Publications.
- McBride K (2009) Sanctuary San Francisco: Recent Developments in Local Sovereignty and Spatial Politics. *Theory & Event* 12(4). doi:10.1353/tae.0.0092.

- McDonald J (2009) Migrant Illegality, Nation Building, and the Politics of Regularization in Canada. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 26(2). Available at: <https://refuge-journals.yorku.ca/index.php/refuge/article/view/32079> (accessed 4 February 2018).
- McDonald J (2014) Building a Sanctuary City: Municipal Rights in the City of Toronto. In: Nyers P and Rygiel K (eds) *Citizenship, Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement*. New York: Routledge, pp. 129–145.
- Mcluhan M (1994) *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Boston, MA: MIT Press.
- McNevin A (2012) Borders. *Encyclopedia of Global Studies* Anheier HK and Juergensmeyer M (eds). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Meier H (2006) *Leo Strauss and the Theologico-Political Problem*. 1 edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Merrifield A (2014) The Urban Question Under Planetary Urbanization (2013). In: Brenner N (ed.) *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*. Berlin: Jovis, pp. 164–181.
- Mezzadra S and Neilson B (2013) *Border as Method, or, the Multiplication of Labor*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Michaels MA (1998) Indigenous Ethics and Alien Laws: Native Traditions and the United States Legal System. *Fordham Law Review* 66(4): 1565.
- Mignolo, W. D., & Tlostanova, M. V. (2006). Theorizing from the Borders: Shifting to Geo- and Body-Politics of Knowledge. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 9(2), 205–221.
- Migration as a Social Determinant of Health (2014) Health Care for People Without Insurance in Toronto. Wellesley Institute. Available at: <http://www.wellesleyinstitute.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/UD-resources-Apr27.pdf> (accessed 12 July 2019).
- Mihr A (2014) Governance and Human Rights. In: Mihr A and Gibney M (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Human Rights: Two Volume Set*. London, UK: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 56–70.
- Mihr A and Gibney M (eds) (2014) *The SAGE Handbook of Human Rights: Two Volume Set*. 1st edition. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Million D (2020) Resurgent Kinships: Indigenous Relations of Well-Being vs. Humanitarian Health Economis. In: Hokowhitu B, Moreton-Robinson A, Tuhiwai-Smith L, et al. (eds) *Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 392–404.
- Minca C and Rijke A (2022) Introduction - Rethinking the Biopolitical: Borders, Refugees, Mobilities.... *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* Minca C (ed.) 40(1): 3–30.

- Mitchell T (1999) Society, Economy, and the State Effect. In: Steinmetz G (ed.) *State/Culture: State-Formation After the Cultural Turn*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 76–97.
- Moffette D (2021) Immigration Status and Policing in Canada: Current Problems, Activist Strategies and Abolitionist Visions. *Citizenship Studies* 25(2). Routledge: 273–291. doi:10.1080/13621025.2020.1859194.
- Moffette D and Ridgley J (2018) Sanctuary City Organizing in Canada: From Hospitality to Solidarity. *Migration and Society* 1(1): 147–155. doi:10.3167/arms.2018.010113.
- Moffette D and Walters W (2018) Flickering Presence: Theorizing Race and Racism in the Governmentality of Borders and Migration. *Studies in Social Justice* 12(1). 1: 92–110.
- Moffette D and Vadasaria S (2016) Uninhibited Violence: Race and the Securitization of Immigration. *Critical Studies on Security* 4(3): 291–305. doi:10.1080/21624887.2016.1256365.
- Moffette D, Gardner K and NOII-TO (No One Is Illegal - Toronto) (2015) *Often Asking, Always Telling: The Toronto Police Service and the Sanctuary City Policy*. November. Toronto, ON: No One Is Illegal. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/19153653/2015_Often_Asking_Always_Telling_The_Toronto_Police_Service_and_the_Sanctuary_City_Policy_NOII_Toronto_and_the_Law_Union_of_Ontario_Moffette_and_Gardner_writing_authors_ (accessed 11 August 2022).
- Molnar P (2022) Territorial and Digital Borders and Migrant Vulnerability Under a Pandemic Crisis. In: Triandafyllidou A (ed.) *Migration and Pandemics: Spaces of Solidarity and Spaces of Exception*. IMISCOE Research Series. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, pp. 45–64. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-81210-2_3.
- Molnar P and Silverman SJ (2017) Reforming Immigration Detention Now: Responding to the Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) Calls for Public Consultations,. Available at: <https://carfms.org/reforming-immigration-detention-now-responding-to-the-canadian-border-services-agency-cbsa-calls-for-public-consultations-by-petra-molnar-and-stephanie-j-silverman/> (accessed 18 July 2020).
- Monforte P and Dufour P (2011) Mobilizing in Borderline Citizenship Regimes: A Comparative Analysis of Undocumented Migrants' Collective Actions. *Politics & Society* 39(2): 203–232. doi:10.1177/0032329211405436.
- Moreton-Robinson A (2020) Incommensurable Sovereignties: Indigenous Ontology Matters. In: Hokowhitu B, Moreton-Robinson A, Tuhiwai-Smith L, et al. (eds) *Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies*. 1st edition. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 257–268.
- Morris J (2016) In the Market of Morality: International Human Rights Standards and the Immigration Detention 'Improvement' Complex. In: Conlon D and Hiemstra N (eds) *Intimate Economies of Immigration Detention*. Routledge, pp. 51–69.

- Mountz A (2011) Specters at the Port of Entry: Understanding State Mobilities through an Ontology of Exclusion. *Mobilities* 6(3): 317–334.
- Mountz A (2020) *The Death of Asylum: Hidden Geographies of the Enforcement Archipelago*. Minneapolis, MN: University Of Minnesota Press.
- Mulich J (2018) Transformation at the Margins: Imperial Expansion and Systemic Change in World Politics. *Review of International Studies* 44(4): 694–716.
- Muñoz LA (2016) *State-led Forced Migration in the Canadian Context: A Look into Canada's Deportation Flights*. Masters. Carleton University, Ottawa, ON. Available at: <https://curve.carleton.ca/14f9a5f9-5314-4a48-960a-fad7b2f6ec7c> (accessed 10 August 2022).
- Murray MJ (2017) *The Urbanism of Exception: The Dynamics of Global City Building in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nail T (2015) *The Figure of the Migrant*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Nail T (2016) *Theory of the Border*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nail T (2019) Moving Borders 1. In: Cooper A and Tinning S (eds) *Debating and Defining Borders: Philosophical and Theoretical Perspectives*. London, UK: Routledge, pp. 195–205. doi:10.4324/9781351124881.
- Nail T, Kamal F and Hussan S (2010) Building Sanctuary City: NOII-Toronto on Non-Status Migrant Justice Organizing - Upping the Anti. *Upping the Anti: A journal of theory and action* (11).
- Neocleous M (2003) Off the Map: On Violence and Cartography. *European Journal of Social Theory* 6(4): 409–425.
- Neocleous M (2006a) The Problem with Normality: Taking Exception to “Permanent Emergency”. *Alternatives* 31(2): 191–213. doi:10.1177/030437540603100204.
- Neocleous M (2006b) Theoretical Foundations of the “New Police Science”. In: Dubber MD and Valverde M (eds) *The New Police Science: The Police Power in Domestic and International Governance*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 17–41.
- Nicholls W and Vermeulen F (2012) Rights through the City: The Urban Basis Amsterdam and Paris. In: Smith MP and McQuarrie M (eds) *Remaking Urban Citizenship: Organizations, Institutions, and the Right to the City*. 1 edition. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, pp. 79–98.
- NOII-TO (No One Is Illegal - Toronto) (2018) *Report-Back From Sanctuary to Solidarity Convergence*. April. Toronto, ON: No One Is Illegal.

- Noll G (2010) Why Human Rights Fail to Protect Undocumented Migrants. *European Journal of Migration and Law* 12(2): 241–272. doi:10.1163/157181610X496894.
- Norheim RA (2012) Cartographic Standards and Practice in Academic Journals. In: *ESRI international user conference, San Diego, San Diego, 2012*, pp. 21–5.
- Nyers P (2013) *Rethinking Refugees: Beyond State of Emergency*. Routledge.
- Nyers P (2018) *Irregular Citizenship, Immigration, and Deportation*. 1 edition. London ; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Nyers P and Rygiel K (eds) (2014) *Citizenship, Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement*. Reprint edition. New York, NY: Routledge.
- O'Brien BG, Collingwood L and El-Khatib SO (2019) The Politics of Refuge: Sanctuary Cities, Crime, and Undocumented Immigration. *Urban Affairs Review* 55(1): 3–40.
- O'Byrne DJ (2003) *The Dimensions of Global Citizenship: Political Identity Beyond the Nation-State*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Ong A (2006) *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Ortiz R, Farrell-Bryan D, Gutierrez G, et al. (2021) A Content Analysis Of US Sanctuary Immigration Policies: Implications For Research In Social Determinants Of Health. *Health Affairs* 40(7): 1145–1153. doi:10.1377/hlthaff.2021.00097.
- Osiander A (2001) Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth. *International Organization* 55(2): 251–287.
- Owens P (2015) *Economy of Force: Counterinsurgency and the Historical Rise of the Social*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Paasi A (2009) Bounded spaces in a 'borderless world': border studies, power and the anatomy of territory. *Journal of Power* 2(2): 213–234.
- Pabst A (2016) International Relations and the 'modern' Middle Ages. In: Bain W (ed.) *Medieval Foundations of International Relations*. 1 edition. London ; New York: Routledge, pp. 166–185.
- Paik AN, Ruiz J and Schreiber RM (2019) Sanctuary's Radical Networks. *Radical History Review* 2019(135): 1–13.
- Pallister-Wilkins P (2022) Hot Spots, Debilitating Life - Rethinking the Biopolitical: Borders, Refugees, Mobilities.... *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* Minca C and Rijke A (eds) 40(1): 3–30.

- Paquet M (2019) *Province Building and the Federalization of Immigration in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Paquet M and Joy M (2022) Canadian Sanctuary Policies in Context. *Canadian Public Administration*: 1–18.
- Paquet M and Xhardez C (2020) Immigrant Integration Policies When Regions Decide ‘who comes in’: the Case of Canadian Provinces. *Regional Studies* 54(11): 1519–1534. doi:10.1080/00343404.2020.1808881.
- Paquet M, Benoit N, Atak I, et al. (2021) Sanctuary Cities and Covid-19: The Case of Canada. In: Triandafyllidou A (ed.) *Migration and Pandemics: Spaces of Solidarity and Spaces of Exception*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer, pp. 85–104.
- Parker N and Vaughan-Williams N (2009) Lines in the Sand? Towards an Agenda for Critical Border Studies. *Geopolitics* 14(3): 582–587. doi:10.1080/14650040903081297.
- Pekic A (2016) *Toronto the Good? The Access T.O. Policy: Making Toronto a Sanctuary City*. Major Research Paper. Ryerson University, Toronto.
- Pickering S (2004) The Production of Sovereignty and the Rise of Transversal Policing: People-smuggling and Federal Policing. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 37(3). 362–379. doi:10.1375/acri.37.3.362.
- Pickles J (2004) *A History of Spaces: Cartographic Reason, Mapping, and the Geo-Coded World*. Psychology Press.
- Piirimäe P (2010) The Westphalian Myth and the Idea of External Sovereignty. In: Kalmo H and Skinner Q (eds) *Sovereignty in Fragments: The Past, Present and Future of a Contested Concept*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 64–80. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511675928.004.
- Pirie S (2013) The Origins of a Political Trial: The Sanctuary Movement and Political Justice. *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities* 2(2). Available at: <http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/yjlh/vol2/iss2/7>.
- Pitts AJ (2018) Embodied Thresholds of Sanctuary: Abolitionism and Trans Worldmaking. *APA Newsletter on LGBTQ Issues in Philosophy* 18(1): 3–10.
- Povinelli EA (2016) *Geontologies: A Requiem to Late Liberalism*. Durham: Duke Univ Pr.
- Pozo-Martin G (2006) A Tougher Gordian Knot: Globalisation, Imperialism and the Problem of the State. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 19(2). Routledge: 223–242.
- Rabben L (2016) *Sanctuary and Asylum: A Social and Political History*. Illustrated edition. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

- Rajkovic NM (2018) The Visual Conquest of International Law: Brute Boundaries, the Map, and the Legacy of Cartogenesis. *Leiden Journal of International Law* 31(2): 267–288.
- Rankin SK (2016) The Influence of Exile. *Maryland Law Review* 76(4): 4–54.
- Rennger NJ (2000) European Communities in a neo-Medieval Global Polity: The Dilemmas of Fairyland? In: Kelstrup M and Williams MC (eds) *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, Security, and Community*. London ; New York: Routledge, pp. 57–71.
- Reynolds S (2017) *The Middle Ages without Feudalism: Essays in Criticism and Comparison on the Medieval West*. London, UK: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9781351219068.
- Ridgley J (2008) Cities of Refuge: Immigration Enforcement, Police, and the Insurgent Genealogies of Citizenship in U.S. Sanctuary Cities. *Urban Geography* 29(1): 53–77. doi:10.2747/0272-3638.29.1.53.
- Ridgley J (2011) Refuge, Refusal, and Acts of Holy Contagion: The City as a Sanctuary for Soldiers Resisting the Vietnam War. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 10(2): 189–214.
- Rifkind C (2017) Refugee Comics and Migrant Topographies. *a/b: Auto/Biography Studies* 32(3): 648–654. doi:10.1080/08989575.2017.1339468.
- Robinson CJ (2005) *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*. Chapel Hill, N.C: University of North Carolina Press.
- Robinson WI (2002) Remapping Development in Light of Globalisation: From a Territorial to a Social Cartography. *Third World Quarterly* 23(6): 1047–1071.
- Robinson WI (2009) Saskia Sassen and the Sociology of Globalization: A Critical Appraisal. *Sociological Analysis* 3(1): 5–29.
- Rocheleau J (2011) Proceduralism. In: Chatterjee DK (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Global Justice*. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, pp. 906–906. doi:10.1007/978-1-4020-9160-5_367.
- Rodríguez D (2010) The Terms of Engagement: Warfare, White Locality, and Abolition. *Critical Sociology* 36(1): 151–173.
- Rose-Redwood R (2012) With Numbers in Place: Security, Territory, and the Production of Calculable Space. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 102(2). Routledge: 295–319. doi:10.1080/00045608.2011.620503.
- Rousseau J-J (1987) *The Basic Political Writings: Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts, Discourse on the Origin of Inequality, Discourse on Political Economy, on the Social Contract*. 1st ed. Indianapolis, IN ; Cambridge: Hackett Pub Co Inc.

- Roy A (2019) The City in the age of Trumpism: From sanctuary to abolition. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 0(0): 1–18.
- Ruggie JG (1998) *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalisation*. 1 edition. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Ryngaert C (2017) Territory in the Law of Jurisdiction: Imagining Alternatives. In: Kuijer M and Werner W (eds) *Netherlands Yearbook of International Law 2016: The Changing Nature of Territoriality in International Law*. Netherlands Yearbook of International Law. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press, pp. 49–82. doi:10.1007/978-94-6265-207-1_3.
- Saberi P (2017) Toronto and the ‘Paris Problem’: Community Policing in ‘Immigrant Neighbourhoods’. *Race & Class* 59(2): 49–69. doi:10.1177/0306396817717892.
- Said EW (1979) *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage.
- Said EW (1994) *Culture and Imperialism*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Salter MB (2004) Passports, Mobility, and Security: How Smart can the Border be? *International Studies Perspectives* 5(1): 71–91.
- Sampson R (2013) *Embodied Borders: Biopolitics, Knowledge Mobilisation and Alternatives to Immigration Detention*. PhD Thesis. La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria, AU.
- Sampson R (2019) The Biopolitics of Alternatives to Immigration Detention. In: Mitchell K, Jones R, and Fluri JL (eds) *Handbook on Critical Geographies of Migration*. Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 255–265.
- Sancton A (2016) *The False Panacea of City Charters? A Political Perspective on the Case of Toronto*. SPP Research Papers Volume 9, Issue 3, 1 January. Calgary: University of Calgary School of Public Policy.
- Santos, M. (2017). *Toward an Other Globalization: From the Single Thought to Universal Conscience*. Cham: Springer.
- Sassen S (2006) *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Sassen S (2011) *Cities in a World Economy*. SAGE Publications.
- Sassen S (2015) Bordering Capabilities versus Borders: Implications for National Borders. In: Szary A-LA and Giraut F (eds) *Borderities and the Politics of Contemporary Mobile Borders*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 23–52. doi:10.1057/9781137468857_2.
- Schertzer R (2015) Intergovernmental Relations in Canada’s Immigration System: From Bilateralism towards Multilateral Collaboration. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique* 48(2): 383–412. doi:10.1017/S000842391500027X.

- Schmid C and Brenner N (2014) Planetary Urbanization (2011). In: Brenner N (ed.) *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization*. Berlin: Jovis, pp. 160–163.
- Schmidt-Wellenburg C and Bernhard S (2020) How to Chart Transnational Fields: Introduction to a Methodology for a Political Sociology of Knowledge. In: Schmidt-Wellenburg C and Bernhard S (eds) *Charting Transnational Fields: Methodology for a Political Sociology of Knowledge*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 1–34.
- Scholz L (2019) Deceptive Contiguity: The Polygon in Spatial History. *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualization* 54(3). University of Toronto Press: 206–16. doi:10.3138/cart.54.3.2018-0018.
- Schouten P (2011) ‘Theory Talk #43 Sassen on Sociology, Globalization, And The Re-Shaping Of The National. *Theory Talks*. Available at: <http://www.theory-talks.org/2011/09/theory-talk-43.html>.
- Schulz-Forberg H (2012) Sovereignty. *Encyclopedia of Global Studies* Anheier HK and Juergensmeyer M (eds). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Schweppe C and Sharma N (2015) Borders – Transborders – no Borders: Problematizing the “Figure of the Migrant”. *Transnational Social Review* 5(1): 2–6.
- Scott JC (1998) *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Scott P and Cavanaugh WT (2008) *The Blackwell Companion to Political Theology*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Scully D (2016) Medieval Maps and Diagrams. In: Hourihane C (ed.) *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 399–411.
- Shah N (2012) The Territorial Trap of the Territorial Trap: Global Transformation and the Problem of the State’s Two Territories¹. *International Political Sociology* 6(1): 57–76. doi:10.1111/j.1749-5687.2011.00144.x.
- Sharma, N. (2021). States and human immobilization: Bridging the conceptual separation of slavery, immigration controls, and mass incarceration. *Citizenship Studies*, 25(2), 166–187.
- Sharma N (2018) Rejecting Global Apartheid: An Essay on the Refusal of ‘Difference’. In: *Home Economics: Nationalism and the Making of ‘Migrant Workers’ in Canada*. Toronto ON: University of Toronto Press, pp. 139–168. doi:10.3138/9781442675810-009.

- Shearing C (2001) Punishment and the Changing Face of the Governance. *Punishment & Society* 3(2). 203–220. doi:10.1177/1462474501003002001.
- Siemiatycki M (2015) Non-Citizen Voting Rights and Urban Citizenship in Toronto. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 16(1): 81–97. doi:10.1007/s12134-014-0333-9.
- Simpson L (2008) Looking after Gdoo-Naaganinaa: Precolonial Nishnaabeg Diplomatic and Treaty Relationships. *Wicazo Sa Review* 23(2): 29–42. doi:10.1353/wic.0.0001.
- skaidra sasha (2022) Seeing like a Zone: Privately Deputized Sovereignty Within Toronto’s Sanctuary City. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* 40(6): 23996544221078496.
- Sleiman-Long Z (2018) *Sanctuary Regions and The Struggle For Belonging and Recognition Among Undocumented Immigrants In The United States*. Doctorate. McMaster University, Hamilton, ON. Available at: <https://macsphere.mcmaster.ca/handle/11375/23037> (accessed 17 December 2018).
- Sleiman-Long Z (2020) *Sanctuary Regions and the Struggle for Belonging: Undocumented Immigrants in the United States*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Pivot.
- Smith MK (2020) Pierre Bourdieu on education: Habitus, capital, and Field. Reproduction in the Practice of Education. *the Encyclopedia of Pedagogy and Informal Education*. Available at: <https://infed.org/mobi/pierre-bourdieu-habitus-capital-and-field-exploring-reproduction-in-the-practice-of-education/> (accessed 18 October 2022).
- Smith MP and McQuarrie M (eds) (2012) *Remaking Urban Citizenship: Organizations, Institutions, and the Right to the City*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Squire V (2011) From Community Cohesion to Mobile Solidarities: The City of Sanctuary Network and the Strangers into Citizens Campaign. *Political Studies* 59(2): 290–307. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9248.2010.00865.x.
- Squire V and Bagelman J (2014) Taking not Waiting Space, Temporality and Politics in the City of Sanctuary Movement. In: Nyers P and Rygiel K (eds) *Citizenship, Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement*. Reprint edition. New York NY: Routledge, pp. 146–164.
- Squire V and Darling J (2013) The “Minor” Politics of Rightful Presence: Justice and Relationality in City of Sanctuary. *International Political Sociology* 7(1): 59–74.
- Steinberg PE (2009) Sovereignty, Territory, and the Mapping of Mobility: A View from the Outside. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 99(3). Routledge: 467–495. doi:10.1080/00045600902931702.
- Stevenson G (1979) The Political Economy of Decentralization. In: *Unfulfilled Union: Canadian Federalism and National Unity*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, pp. 79–103.

- Stierl M, De Genova N, Bojadzije M, et al. (2022) Struggle - Minor keywords of political theory: Migration as a critical standpoint. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* 40(4): 781–875.
- Strandsbjerg J (2010) *Territory, Globalization and International Relations: The Cartographic Reality of Space*. New York NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Strauss K and McGrath S (2017) Temporary Migration, Precarious Employment and Unfree Labour Relations: Exploring the ‘Continuum of Exploitation’ in Canada’s Temporary Foreign Worker Program. *Geoforum* 78: 199–208. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2016.01.008.
- Strauss MJ (2015) Nations Outside Their Borders: How Extraterritorial Concessions Reinforce Sovereignty. In: Szary A-LA and Giraut F (eds) *Borderities and the Politics of Contemporary Mobile Borders*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 53–67. doi:10.1057/9781137468857_3.
- Sullivan L (2009) Enforcing Nonenforcement: Countering the Threat Posed to Sanctuary Laws by the Inclusion of Immigration Records in the National Crime Information Center Database. *California Law Review* 97(2): 567–600.
- Supiot A (2013) The Public–Private Relation in the Context of Today’s Refeudalization. *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 11(1): 129–145.
- Supiot A (2017) *Governance by Numbers: The Making of a Legal Model of Allegiance*. Oxford ; Portland, Oregon: Hart Publishing.
- Sweeney S (2014) *Europe, the State and Globalisation*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Tazzioli M (2020) What is Left of Migrants’ Spaces?: Transversal Alliances and the Temporality of Solidarity. *Political Anthropological Research on International Social Sciences (PARISS)* 1(1): 137–161.
- Tazzioli M (2022) ‘Keeping on the Move Without Letting Pass’: Rethinking Biopolitics Through Mobility - Rethinking the Biopolitical: Borders, Refugees, Mobilities.... *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* Minca C and Rijke A (eds) 40(1): 3–30.
- Teschke B (2003) *The Myth of 1648: Class, Geopolitics, and the Making of Modern International Relations*. New York, NY: Verso.
- Toscano A (2012) Seeing it Whole: Staging Totality in Social Theory and Art. *The Sociological Review* 60(1) 64–83.
- Track L, Paterson J, Twagirayezu P, et al. (2017) *Oversight at the Border: A Model for Independent Accountability at the Canada Border Services Agency*. June. Vancouver: BC Civil Liberties Association. Available at: <https://bccla.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/FINAL-for-web-BCCLA-CBSA-Oversight.pdf> (accessed 18 July 2020).

- Tsing AL (2004) *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Tunney C (2020) From Soliciting Bribes to Abuse of Authority, CBSA Officers hit With Hundreds of Misconduct Complaints. Available at: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/cbsa-misconduct-tunney-1.5560993> (accessed 18 July 2020).
- Turner J (2016) (En)gendering the Political: Citizenship From Marginal Spaces. *Citizenship Studies* 20(2): 141–155.
- Ty M (2019) Benjamin on the Border. *Critical Times* 2(2). Duke University Press: 306–319. doi:10.1215/26410478-7708371.
- Valverde M (2011) Seeing Like a City: The Dialectic of Modern and Premodern Ways of Seeing in Urban Governance. *Law & Society Review* 45(2): 277–312. doi:10.1111/j.1540-5893.2011.00441.x.
- van Houtum H and van Uden A (2022) The Birth of the Paper Prison. The Global Inequality Trap of Visa Borders - Rethinking the Biopolitical: Borders, Refugees, Mobilities.... *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* Minca C and Rijke A (eds) 40(1): 3–30.
- Varsanyi, M. W. (2006). Interrogating “Urban Citizenship” vis-à-vis Undocumented Migration. *Citizenship Studies*, 10(2), 229–249.
- Varsanyi MW (2008) Immigration Policing Through the Backdoor: City Ordinances, the ‘right to the City,’ and the Exclusion of Undocumented Day Laborers. *Urban Geography* 29(1): 29–52. doi:10.2747/0272-3638.29.1.29.
- Vaughan-Williams N (2009) The Generalised bio-Political Border? Re-Conceptualising the Limits of Sovereign Power. *Review of International Studies* 35(4). Cambridge University Press: 729–749.
- Viales E (2022) Three Reasons why it is Important to Collect Data on Deceased and Missing Migrants | OIM Oficina Regional para Centroamérica, Norteamérica y el Caribe. In: *Regional Office for Central, North America and the Caribbean*. Available at: <https://rosanjose.iom.int/en/blogs/three-reasons-why-it-important-collect-data-deceased-and-missing-migrants> (accessed 19 June 2022).
- Villarreal A (2019) Sanctuariescapes in the North American Southwest. *Radical History Review* 2019(135). Duke University Press: 43–70. doi:10.1215/01636545-7607821.
- Villarreal Garza A (2014) *Places of Sanctuary: Religious Revivalism and the Politics of Immigration in New Mexico*. Doctorate. University of California, Santa Cruz, United States -- California. Available at: <http://www.proquest.com/docview/1526488015/abstract/42F98EC65C5F4590PQ/1> (accessed 7 August 2022).

- Villazor RC (2010) Sanctuary Cities and Local Citizenship. *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 37: 573–598.
- Villazor RC and Gulasekaram P (2018a) Sanctuary Networks. *Minnesota Law Review* 103: 1209–83.
- Villazor RC and Gulasekaram P (2018b) The New Sanctuary and Anti-Sanctuary Movements. *UC Davis Law Review* (52). Available at: <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3263547> (accessed 6 August 2022).
- Villegas FJ (2010) Getting to DADT at the TDSB: Mapping the Competing Discourses of Rights and Membership of Institutional Stakeholders. In: *The Research Alliance on Precarious Status*, International Conference Center, 5th Floor, York Research Tower York University, Toronto, 16 September 2010. The Research Alliance on Precarious Status. Available at: http://www.yorku.ca/raps1/events/pdf/Francisco_Villegas.pdf (accessed 30 June 2021).
- Villegas FJ (2018) ‘Don’t ask, Don’t Tell’: Examining the Illegalization of Undocumented Students in Toronto, Canada. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 39(8): 1111–1125. doi:10.1080/01425692.2018.1467265.
- Villegas FJ (2019) Active Communities and Practices of Resistance: Brief History of the Use of Schools as Border Zones in Toronto. In: Villegas FJ and Brady J (eds) *Critical Schooling: Transformative Theory and Practice*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, pp. 175–199. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-00716-4_8.
- Villegas FJ and Brady J (eds) (2018) *Critical Schooling: Transformative Theory and Practice*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Villegas PE (2015) Fishing for Precarious Status Migrants: Surveillant Assemblages of Migrant Illegalization in Toronto, Canada. *Journal of Law and Society* 42(2): 230–252. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6478.2015.00706.x.
- Vrasti W and Dayal S (2016) Citizenship: Rightful Presence and the Urban Commons. *Citizenship Studies* 20(8). Routledge: 994–1011. doi:10.1080/13621025.2016.1229196.
- vraski, sofija, sasha kovalchuk, Stephanie Hardman, Sharmarke Dubow, Jennifer Bagelman, Lisa Dumoulin, Janele Lajoir, Shane Calder, Kim Toombs, and Sasha Kvakic (2016) *Refugees Welcome - Year End Report: September 2015 - September 2016*. Victoria BC: Refugees Welcome. Available at: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B2CNeN2p0eafRmxJQVBMZ2VmaGs/view?usp=embed_facebook (accessed 18 October 2022).
- Vukov T (2016) Target Practice: The Algorithmics and Biopolitics of Race in Emerging Smart Border Practices and Technologies. *Transfers* 6(1): 80–97. doi:10.3167/TRANS.2016.060107.

- Walia, H. (2013). *Undoing border imperialism*. Oakland, CA: AK Press ; Institute for Anarchist Studies.
- Walker RBJ (2000) Europe is not where it is supposed to be. In: Kelstrup M and Williams MC (eds) *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, Security, and Community*. London ; New York: Routledge, pp. 14–32.
- Walker RBJ (2006) Lines of Insecurity: International, Imperial, Exceptional. *Security Dialogue* 37(1): 65–82.
- Walker RBJ (2015) *Out of Line: Essays on the Politics of Boundaries and the Limits of Modern Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Walls JL (2011) *Purgatory: The Logic of Total Transformation*. Oxford University Press.
Available at: <https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199732296.001.0001/acprof-9780199732296> (accessed 14 November 2020).
- Walters W (2006) Rethinking Borders Beyond the State. *Comparative European Politics* 4(2): 141–159.
- Walters W (2011) Rezoning the Global: Technological Zones, Technological Work and the (un-)Making Biometric Borders. In: Squire V (ed.) *The Contested Politics of Mobility: Borderzones and Irregularity*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 51–73.
- Walters W (2015) Migration, Vehicles, and Politics: Three Theses on Viapolitics. *European Journal of Social Theory* 18(4). 469–488. doi:10.1177/1368431014554859.
- Walters W (2018) Aviation as Deportation Infrastructure: Airports, Planes, and Expulsion. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44(16): 2796–2817.
- Weber L and Pickering S (2011) *Globalization and Borders: Death at the Global Frontier*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Weber M (1958) *The City*. Free Press.
- Weinfurter J (2022) The Spandrels of Urban Security: Extending the Formalist Turn in Security Studies. *Journal of International Relations and Development* 25(2): 450–475.
- Weiss JE (1996) Iconography: What Makes It Good Liturgical Art? *Liturgical ministry* 5(3): 134–8.
- Wendt A (1999) *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Whisker JB and Spiker KR (2021) *Asylum and Sanctuary in History and Law: A Social and Political Approach to Temporary Protections Around the World*. Irvine, California: Brown Walker Press.
- Williams JM (2016) The safety/security nexus and the humanitarianisation of border enforcement. *The Geographical Journal* 182(1): 27–37.
- Wilson-Forsberg S (2017) 'Serving Migrants with Precarious Legal Status in the Sanctuary City of Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. In: Daenzer PM (ed.) *Civil Society Engagement: Achieving Better in Canada*. New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 86–104.
- Wimmer A and Schiller NG (2002) Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation–State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences. *Global Networks* 2(4): 301–334. doi:10.1111/1471-0374.00043.
- Wood D and Fels J (2008) *The Natures of Maps: Cartographic Constructions of the Natural World*. University of Chicago Press.
- Woods N (2006) *The Globalizers: The IMF, the World Bank, and Their Borrowers*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Yesilada B and Wood D (2015) *The Emerging European Union*. 5th ed. New York, NY: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9781315662534.
- Young AT (2021) The political economy of feudalism in medieval Europe. *Constitutional Political Economy* 32(1): 127–143. doi:10.1007/s10602-020-09324-4.
- Zielonka J (2007) *Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Zorn J (2014) 'No Border, No Nation, Stop Deportation': protest against immigration control as empowerment. *Critical and Radical Social Work* 2(2): 175–192. doi:10.1332/204986014X13987001103481.