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32. The sanctuary network: transnational church activism and refugee protection in Europe
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INTRODUCTION

In 2015, as unparalleled numbers of migrants arrived in Europe, Pope Francis called upon Catholic parishes, convents, and monasteries to provide sanctuary (Withnall, 2015). It wasn't enough to say, 'Have courage, hang in there,' he added. What was needed were tangible bundles of services, practice, and support: what the Pope called 'concrete hope.' This chapter is concerned with how concrete hope is organized across space. In Europe today many activist church actors work across national borders to consider how they can best protect refugees through various forms of sanctuary practices.[1] They learn from each other and share ideas across institutions and spatial boundaries; they also learn from church actions and sanctuary conferences of previous eras. Many of these learning practices include the sharing of data, stories, and contacts, strategizing about the most effective practices of persuasion and partnership with policy makers and the public, and discussion of efficacious forms of civil disobedience when deemed necessary.

These learning practices and transnational collaborations for and with refugees form what we call a sanctuary network. By this we mean a loose affiliation of activist churches and related institutions working with refugees, who share concrete information and strategies that are believed to be useful in protecting at-risk migrants. These practices often begin with local events, such as a conference or the provision of sanctuary in a specific church, but are then scaled up through forms of representation and activism on a considerably larger plain. This form of upscaling is made possible through long-standing transnational church connections – often made on the basis of specific denominational or personal ties, the institutionalized relationships of church actors with other transnational activist networks, the connections between church-based migrant rights organizations and policy makers in government and the media.

In this chapter we investigate the formation and management of the sanctuary network in Europe by focusing on several key institutions and players and some critical events. The constitution of these types of relationships and practices over decades as well as across national borders is important to study because it can show us how counter-hegemonic ideas move over time and space, as well as how they become institutionalized, embedded in the landscape, and activated at different moments in time. Much of the literature on how contemporary ideas and rationalities move across space examines the development and movement of elite or punitive ideas such as broken windows policing (Mitchell, 2010) or laissez-faire economics (Peck, 2010) rather than those that are disruptive to dominant

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[1]   Our definition of refugees includes those who consider themselves refugees, and not just those who are categorized this way by state actors.
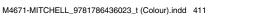
factions and/or developed from below. And while there is now a growing geographical literature on transnational activist social movements, these tend to focus on the formation of specific social relationships (Pratt, 2002; Perreault, 2003; Nagar, 2006, 2014) or on a transnational struggle in a particular time period, such as the struggle against climate change (Chatterton et al., 2013), war (Gillian and Pickerill, 2008), or nuclear armament (Routledge, 2003; Castree et al., 2008). Examining the development, management, and upscaling of activist, church-based sanctuary networks over time as well as across space gives us a different view of how these types of counter-hegemonic relationships and practices can be institutionalized and (re)activated on a larger scale and over a longer timeline. It also gives us a sense of the difference it makes for refugee protection to have a long-standing set of institutionalized spaces, facilities, and actors involved that are connected to yet also autonomous from dominant, 'orthodox' systems of refugee management.

In the next section of the chapter we introduce some of the literature on how neoliberal rationalities travel and become implemented. We then turn briefly to geographical work on transnational activist movements, showing how resistant practices and relationships can also be formed across national borders. We conclude this section by noting how these two literatures are important for theorizing transnational relationships and flows, but are inadequate on their own for conceptualizing the operations of the sanctuary network. Following this we provide a short historical and contemporary study of sanctuary practices, showing how earlier institutions and actors from the sanctuary movement of the 1980s in the US became important influences on the contemporary movement in Europe, particularly Germany. We then discuss some of the key institutionalized transnational relationships between church networks involved in migrant and refugee protection and between church organizations and policy makers in the European Union (EU).[2] We conclude by emphasizing the ongoing importance of collective memory and alternative understandings of justice and resistance (heterodoxy) that are bound up in church spaces and meanings and which faith actors and secular allies draw on in their struggles (hetero-praxis) on behalf of refugees. More than an archipelago of safety, sanctuary networks trace a radically different geography of circulation and citizenship – one grounded in concrete hopes, everyday needs, and solidarities across both space and time.

FAST POLICY TRANSFER AND TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Policy Mobilities

How do ideas travel and become articulated in larger networks and systems? And what are some of the material implications for society when hegemonic concepts flow and become institutionalized and activated across regional or national borders? Many geographers became interested in these questions in the context of the rapid dissemination of neoliberal rationalities and practices of governance from the late 1970s through the 1990s (e.g., Peck, 2010; McCann, 2008; Peck and Theodore, 2015). Jamie Peck (2006) traced
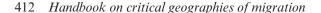
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[2]   This section of the chapter draws on four months of fieldwork conducted from September 2016 to December 2016 in the following cities: Berlin, Brussels, Geneva, Lesbos, Mytilene, and Vienna.
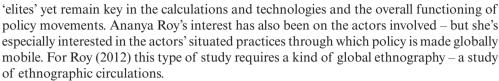
the movement of neoliberal urbanism from its emergence in New York City following the fiscal crisis of 1975 to post-Katrina New Orleans. He and others have also charted these flows on a larger scale, showing how neoliberal rationalities of governance migrated from the Chicago School to other parts of the globe, such as Pinochet's Chile (Perreault and Martin, 2005; Harvey, 2007; Peck, 2010). What's highlighted here is the role played by free-market think tanks, starting with the foundation of the Mont Pelerin Society in 1947 (Hayter and Barnes, 2012) as well as the fiscal discipline and regulation imposed by multilateral agencies such as the International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization, and World Bank (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002; Sparke, 2013).

Over the past decade, much of the geographic research on the cross-border circulation of ideas has focused on what Eugene McCann (2008) calls 'policy mobilities.' Part of the emerging interdisciplinary field of 'critical policy studies,' the mobilities approach challenges traditional understandings of policy found in political science. In thinking about how ideas move across distances political scientists tend to focus more on the idea of transfer (transfer of policy from point A to point B via a narrow set of rational actors, mainly operating at the scale of the nation-state). Geographers are interested in how policies move, how they are mobile – and what happens when they are mobile: how they are transformed and mutated in the process of motion. The importance of theorizing space and scale is apparent here. How do policies actually circulate across space and how do they both transcend scale and produce scale in the process? For example, Peck and Theodore wrote in 2010 (p. 170): 'mobile policies rarely travel as complete "packages", they move in bits and pieces – as selective discourses, inchoate ideas, and synthesized models – and they therefore "arrive" not as replicas but as policies already-in-transformation.' These transformations do not occur in a vacuum but are shaped by their local milieus. Such a theory has been helpful in accounting for how neoliberal policymaking takes place unevenly across multiple sites, 'absorbing domestic as well as transnational influences along the way' (Peck, 2011, p. 785).

In their recent work, Peck and Theodore (2015, p. 212) discuss mobility in terms of what they call 'fast policy.' While fast policies radiate across borders they 'are not free floating or self-propelling technologies that move through frictionless space before touching down. They are the objects of active advocacy and persuasion.' Peck and Theodore follow two such policies in particular: conditional cash transfers (CCTs) and participatory budgeting (PB). Originally developed in Latin America, CCTs and PB have since been touted by international agencies like the World Bank and United Nations, and propagated across a wide array of geographic contexts, yielding many different, sometimes unpredictable, results. What Peck and Theodore's case studies emphasize are the 'sticky' everyday realities of putting global policies to work. Never smooth, the movement of ideas across transnational space is shaped by its specific social and spatial contours.

This brings in the importance of actors: Who advocates and persuades? Who attempts to mold policies to their liking? Who is involved in this global policy chain and what are they doing to direct and push and alter and select and synthesize aspects of policies – so that they actually become something different in the process of movement? In Peck and Theodore's study, CCTs and PB were propagated and 'mutated' by a wide range of actors, from local and national government agencies to social movements and entrepreneurs. This process is not simply top-down. Larner and Laurie (2010) have written about the necessity to study the so-called 'middling technocrats' – those who are not necessarily

'elites' yet remain key in the calculations and technologies and the overall functioning of policy movements. Ananya Roy's interest has also been on the actors involved – but she's especially interested in the actors' situated practices through which policy is made globally mobile. For Roy (2012) this type of study requires a kind of global ethnography – a study of ethnographic circulations.

For most of these scholars, what is interesting and important to study are those who are making policy – and what happens in the various encounters between policy actors and policy-related movements and what policy does in the world. In some cases, normative policy models can, when taken up in different contexts, become repurposed to more radical ends. Peck and Theodore (2015, pp. xx–xxi) show how this occurred with CCTs. Once hailed by Washington Consensus agencies, CCT programs make welfare for the poor conditional on the monitored behavior of its recipients, addressing poverty through neoliberal means by encouraging individuals to build 'human capital.' In their dispersion, however, CCTs have become folded into 'neowelfarist' policies and experiments with basic income, and in some instances have 'even threatened to evolve into the kind of no-strings-attached, unconditional cash transfers to the poor that are anathema to neoliberal policymakers.'

It's important to study the mutations of normative policies as they are taken up by new actors. But equally important, we believe, are those who are producing counter-policies or what we might call alternative mobilities. These are actors who may use similar circuits and strategies to promote their own policies or to resist or alter hegemonic ideas (such as the ideas of the nation-state around appropriate migration and/or refugee management). In many cases these alternative policy circuits resist normative solutions or forms of consensus that do not address problems at their core.

Transnational Social Movements

Alternative mobilities are examined in the large body of scholarship on transnational social movements, which looks at how strategies, policies, and conceptions of resistance travel and transform across different sites. This literature is too vast to cover here so we will focus only on a few specific geographic contributions. What geographers bring to the discussion is an attention to what David Featherstone (2003) calls the 'spatialities of transnational resistance,' or the way in which the trajectories of oppositional movements are bound up with spatially constituted power relations.

We see two general tendencies in how geographers have addressed this issue. First, there are studies that map routes of resistance onto specific social linkages, which are often defined in terms of alliance (Pratt and Yeoh, 2003; Merrill, 2006) or relationality (see Nicholls, 2009). For example, in her work with the Philippine Women Centre in Vancouver, Geraldine Pratt (2002) outlines alliances or 'new bases for collaboration' between Filipina domestic laborers and white, 'middle-class' Canadian women. Engaging a similar feminist praxis in her books, Richa Nagar (2006, 2014) examines transnational alliances between non-governmental organization (NGO) activists in India and academics living elsewhere. Another example is Thomas Perreault's 2003 analysis of the multi-scalar networks that connect indigenous activists in the Ecuadorian Amazon with NGOs, ethnic rights organizations, development agencies, foreign researchers, and other actors. These studies remain primarily focused on the configuration of existing social groups, and emphasize alliances largely in terms of identity politics that are operative in a specific context.

The second tendency among geographers looking at transnational social movements has been to focus on a particular time period. Rather than highlighting a social relationship, this research emphasizes historical conjuncture. Chatterton et al. (2013), for instance, explore how the mobilizations that opposed the 2009 Copenhagen Climate Talks were the 'culmination of diverse forms of translocal organizing.' The emergence of climate change politics, they argue, 'generates solidarities between differently located struggles' (see also Anderson, 2004; Routledge, 2011). Gillian and Pickerill (2008) show how another event – the occupations in Afghanistan and Iraq – spurred international networks of anti-war activists across Australia, the US, and the UK. Others have looked at anti-nuclear mobilization during the Cold War, such as the European Nuclear Disarmament (END) movement which linked up activists in the Eastern bloc with those in Western and Northern Europe (Routledge, 2003; Castree et al., 2008).

The literatures on transnational social movements and on policy mobilities are useful in mapping out sanctuary practices today. Each provides different ways of thinking about the movement of ideas and the formation of transnational networks, whether those are neoliberal webs of governance or alternative forms of resistance. But they are ultimately insufficient for a holistic understanding of sanctuary networks because they do not fully account for what Allan Pred (1984, p. 284) referred to as the 'sedimentation' of cultural and social practices in the landscape, layered over time. Rather than imagining 'new' cross-border networks, we might look to the ones already at our feet, so to speak – buried under the dizzying flows of neoliberal globalization.

Church-based sanctuary networks contain an inherently embedded quality in terms of the ways that church buildings themselves are fixed in the context of an historical landscape of memory and ongoing social relationships. Even when policy mobilities are viewed as 'embedded' in the landscape, as they are for Peck (2011, p. 785), the analyses tend to gloss the historical nature of this embeddedness – the ways that policies are bound up with much older and often 'invisible' geographies of emotion and struggle. Similarly, the scholarship on social movements tends to downplay the historicity of resistance when it focuses on *present* alliances between social groups, often framing these groups ahistorically vis-à-vis identities that are fixed and/or taken for granted. On the other hand, when attention is directed to historical events like climate change or war, the temporal scope of activism can be limited. Sanctuary networks place resistance in a longer *durée*. They call upon a 'presence' that is not circumscribed by current mobilities, social relationships, or discrete events, but rather is layered in the landscape itself – in the very structure of the churches that provide refuge. Churches have both a solid physical base as well as a symbolic and spiritual set of meanings that grounds and gives concrete hope to the faith-based actors and their allies and networks that emerge from them (Snyder, 2012; Rabben, 2016).

THE SANCTUARY NETWORK

Churches in Europe were usually constructed on sites where it was believed that a miracle or other spiritually important event had occurred. As a result, the actual physical location where the church was built was considered to be on sanctified ground and thus holy. Additionally, because of the centrality of the altar in Christian religious traditions the area around the altar, called the *sanctuary*, is also considered especially sacred. These

cultural and religious traditions that combine spatial location with a sense of the sacred qualities of Christianity permeate churches and create a bundle of collective memories that faith-based actors draw on and which often sustains them in their activist work on behalf of refugees (Raiser, 2010; Just, 2013; Mitchell, 2017).

In Europe, assumptions about the spiritual and sacred nature of church space opened up the possibility of protection and refuge from outside or 'profane' forces, including the law. Beginning around 600 AD, the practice arose whereby people accused of certain kinds of crimes could be offered sanctuary in a church and thus protected from arrest (Shoemaker, 2011). This concept of church asylum gained in momentum throughout the medieval period and was recognized in English law up until the seventeenth century. Even after Enlightenment rationalities of the importance of the rule of law and systems of good governance began to override these types of practices, there remained factions that held onto sanctuary ideals. Indeed, some nineteenth-century reformers hailed this way of thinking as one in which escape from 'justice' through the provision of church sanctuary could be conceptualized as an alternate or heterodox form of justice, noting that innocent people were often caught up in blood feuds or falsely accused during the Middle Ages (Shoemaker, 2011).

Today, even though church sanctuary was illegalized over three centuries ago and remains illegal in every country in Europe, there is still a strong contingent of both faith actors *and* secular reformers for whom the practices of church sanctuary make sense in certain situations, and for whom the collective memory and traditions of alternative justice hold sway (Marfleet, 2011). In concert with the Christian tradition of welcoming the stranger (e.g., Matthew 25: 31–40), these practices are often conceptualized as particularly relevant and justifiable when used for refugee protection. Against state-based acts of citizenship and legal safeguarding, they form a kind of heteropraxis.

The Central American Sanctuary Movement in the US

The European sanctuary movement of the contemporary moment has roots in the medieval period but also harkens back to the 1980s sanctuary movement in the US. This period of church asylum began in the context of protection offered to asylum seekers from Central America who were denied refugee status owing to the Cold War politics of the era. Churches in many cities around the US began to network together to shield and protect people fleeing from the growing violence in Guatemala, El Salvador and other Central American countries. These kinds of activities took place between faith actors and other activists and non-profit organizations from cities in the southwest such as Tucson, spreading as far as the San Francisco Bay Area, Chicago, and Los Angeles (Crittenden, 1988; Coutin, 1993; Cunningham, 1995; Chinchilla et al., 2009; Carney et al., 2017).

These alliances were formed and sustained during the period that Central American refugees were seen to be in grave danger and, because of its geopolitical role in instigating the conflicts, the US was perceived as responsible for their plight. In this sense, the sanctuary practices of the time were strongly affiliated with a sense of alternative justice (alternative to hegemonic understandings of the rule of law and national sovereignty) drawing from the customs and cultural traditions of old English law. They were, or became, political acts as faith actors became more knowledgeable of the political circumstances surrounding the

refugees' situations and as the church networks grew to encompass a broader set of allies (Coutin, 1993; Chinchilla et al., 2009). Smith (1996, p. 69) writes of this period: 'Sanctuary began as a movement of hospitality that aimed to provide for the humanitarian needs of vulnerable refugees. But Sanctuary quickly became more than that. It grew into a political movement that sought to end the human oppression generated by the U.S.-sponsored war in Central America.'

Key early organizers of this hybrid religious *cum* political movement were John Fife, a Presbyterian minister, and Jim Corbett, a Quaker. The movement became nationally and then globally known when Fife and Corbett declared the Southside Presbyterian Church, in Tucson, a sanctuary for refugees in March 1982. Through a deliberate strategy of activating their church affiliations and networks across the country, and as a result of increasingly strong and highly publicized retaliatory measures by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), Corbett and Fife were able to expand the sanctuary movement rapidly, so that within a year, there were 45 sanctuary churches and synagogues involved, with an additional 600 groups providing added support. By mid-1984, the number of churches offering sanctuary had grown to 150 and there were endorsements from 18 national religious denominations and commissions. By 1987 this number had grown to 'over 420 Sanctuary groups, including 305 churches, 41 synagogues, 25 ecumenical religious groups, 24 cities, 15 universities, and 13 other secular groups' (Chinchilla et al., 2009, p. 107; see also Smith, 1996, p. 185). In addition to direct concrete aid to the refugees themselves, most movement coordinators were also deeply invested in raising awareness of the larger geopolitical context in which these events were occurring. Both the media-savvy relations and the sense of consciousness-raising responsibility of the US sanctuary movement became prominent features of European sanctuary networks in their work on behalf of refugees in following years.

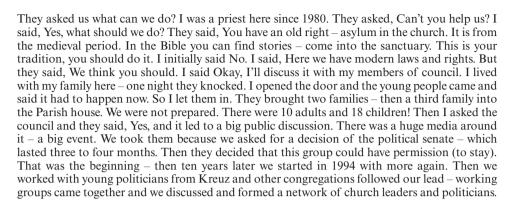### BAG Asyl in der Kirche and the New Sanctuary Movement in Berlin

Pastor Jurgen Quantz initiated the sanctuary movement in Berlin in the Heilig-Kreuz-Kirche (Holy Cross Church) in 1983. The church is located in Kreuzberg, a neighborhood that is home to many immigrants and which was one of the poorest boroughs of West Berlin in the late 1970s and 1980s. (It is now undergoing a rapid process of gentrification, but immigrants still make up a large percentage of the neighborhood's residents.) This was the beginning of the church network that later became known as the German Ecumenical Committee on Church Asylum (GECCA) (*BAG Asyl in der Kirche*).[3] Sanctuary practices in the church began as a result of Quantz's frequent contact with politically active young people in the district. He had heard about plans to deport Palestinians to Lebanon and then soon after that a group of young people came directly to him for help. The following description is from an author's interview with Quantz at the Heilig-Kreuz church on November 6, 2016.[4]

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[3]   GECCA maintains a detailed and up-to-date website, available at: http://www.kirchenasyl.de/herzlich-willkommen/welcome/ (last accessed October 5, 2018).
[4]   The interview followed a religious ceremony in the church, which itself occurred at the tail end of a 2016 church conference on migration and sanctuary practices. These quotes are paraphrased from detailed notes that were taken at the time of the interview.

They asked us what can we do? I was a priest here since 1980. They asked, Can't you help us? I said, Yes, what should we do? They said, You have an old right – asylum in the church. It is from the medieval period. In the Bible you can find stories – come into the sanctuary. This is your tradition, you should do it. I initially said No. I said, Here we have modern laws and rights. But they said, We think you should. I said Okay, I'll discuss it with my members of council. I lived with my family here – one night they knocked. I opened the door and the young people came and said it had to happen now. So I let them in. They brought two families – then a third family into the Parish house. We were not prepared. There were 10 adults and 18 children! Then I asked the council and they said, Yes, and it led to a big public discussion. There was a huge media around it – a big event. We took them because we asked for a decision of the political senate – which lasted three to four months. Then they decided that this group could have permission (to stay). That was the beginning – then ten years later we started in 1994 with more again. Then we worked with young politicians from Kreuz and other congregations followed our lead – working groups came together and we discussed and formed a network of church leaders and politicians.

Some of the key church leaders of the 1980s sanctuary movement, such as the Presbyterian pastor John Fife, were important early role models, and also became directly involved in the European sanctuary movement. When one of the authors asked Pastor Quantz about this influence he spoke about the importance of the relationship and also its ongoing nature:

We knew about the sanctuary movement in the US. We knew John Fife. We are still Skyping with him. We have made a paper there – and they gave it to their senate and we gave it to our senate. We are discussing with him how to bring this public . . . We have connections now – We still work together. We had him come stay in our house to work together.

This involvement was informal, through ongoing relationships between ministers and pastors, but it also became more formalized in the early 2000s, as Fife was invited to be the inaugural speaker at the New Sanctuary Movement conference in Berlin in 2010. At that conference he was asked to talk about his experiences and his church's practices in the US sanctuary movement. In his Berlin speech Fife drew on a sense of alternative justice or allegiance to a 'higher' law (that of God), but also attributed his willingness to operate outside the parameters of the US legal system to the precedent set by the nineteenth-century abolition movement. When he gave his speech he invoked the model of the underground railroad (the Quakers were key actors in the underground railroad network) as a particular source of inspiration and justification for his church's sanctuary practices on behalf of refugees (cf. Chinchilla et al., 2009; Rabben, 2016). Moreover, after the Border Patrol ordered his church to stop giving sanctuary to Central American refugees in 1981 (with the additional threat that everyone involved in these practices would be indicted), he told the people in Berlin that his group made the decision to defy the police and continue to protect the refugees. He indicated that they made this political decision to contravene a national law based on their (alternative) faith-based understandings of what constitutes a moral act. He put it thus,

We can take our stand with the oppressed or we can take our stand with organized oppression. We can serve the Kingdom, or we can serve the kingdoms of this world – but we cannot do both. Maybe, as the gospel suggests, this choice is perennial and basic, but the presence of undocumented refugees here among us makes the definitive nature of our choice particularly clear and concrete. When the government itself sponsors the crucifixion of entire peoples and then makes it a felony to shelter those seeking refuge, a law-abiding protest merely trains us to live with atrocity. (Fife, 2011, pp. 7–8)

This direct invocation to draw inspiration from a 'higher' law in order to challenge national laws was reflected in the Charta of the New Sanctuary Movement, a document that was created following the 2010 Berlin conference. The two key church networks that helped to organize and coordinate the conference – GECCA and the Churches' Commission for Migrants in Europe (CCME) – created and affirmed the activist language of the Charta in the Annex to the conference documentation. They wrote:
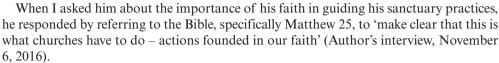
> Because we want to welcome strangers we have agreed this Charta of the NSM in Europe . . . As Christians, we are unwilling to put up with this way of dealing with people in need. We stand together with them. They are made in God's image, as we are . . . Therefore we pledge: to use every opportunity to help refugees in need, where deportation looms and human dignity and lives are threatened, to grant refugees sanctuary in our churches until an acceptable solution is found for them. Not to shrink back, should open confrontation with civil authorities become necessary . . . All of Europe must become a safe haven, a 'sanctuary' for migrant men and women. To this we commit ourselves – in the conviction that God loves the strangers and that in them we encounter God herself/himself. (Annex, 2011, pp. 53–4)

Other key figures in the German network included Wolf Dieter Just and Claus Dieter Schulze. In separate interviews, both talked about the importance of church networking practices over time and space in keeping the sanctuary movement going. Schulze said in relation to a recent sanctuary case (a church asylum request in 2014 from a Somalian man), 'It was personal connections and experience from the 70s and 80s – the friendship network – that made it work' (Author's interview, November 5, 2016). Just also spoke of organized networking that he engaged in on a transnational basis. He mentioned starting a church asylum network of congregations in Berlin when they were supported with a left-leaning bishop and church leadership, and then living all over the world in ensuing years (Nairobi, Pittsburgh, the Netherlands). The combination of organizational experience and transnational living enabled him to write a book on church asylum in 1993 and organize a 1994 meeting on church asylum in Germany, with initiatives in Switzerland and the Netherlands. After writing letters to the Landeskirchen (Protestant national churches) and the Catholic Diocese, the ecumenical association for church asylum (GECCA) was officially formed, and began to have real 'political significance.' As with the US sanctuary movement, the group worked closely with the media to publish cases and make the plight of refugees and the practices of church asylum known to a broader public (Author's interview, November 6, 2016).

Just also had a powerful and ongoing relationship with John Fife. He said in an interview, 'We were impressed with the sanctuary movement in America.' He and several students from GECCA went to Tucson in 2008, and then again in 2010, where they lived in tents in the desert. Similarly, John Fife came to Berlin in 2010 to the New Sanctuary Movement conference, and visited Hamburg and the Ruhr area. 'We agreed to study our own pages – what is going on and happening. No more deaths.' When he was asked what he had learned from Fife and the US Sanctuary Movement, Just said:

> How practical they were! They had such a practical approach. Dropping water in the desert. Giving medical help. Even helping people to get into the country. This we don't do! It is a kind of 'ecumenical trafficking.' (He laughs). The geography is different – but churches here are an important lobby for the refugees.

When I asked him about the importance of his faith in guiding his sanctuary practices, he responded by referring to the Bible, specifically Matthew 25, to 'make clear that this is what churches have to do – actions founded in our faith' (Author's interview, November 6, 2016).

In this section we have noted some of the ways that faith plays a role in the sustainability of sanctuary practices and how the strong and abiding connections between faith actors and faith-based networks gives them the willingness and the courage to openly contest laws and policies that they believe are not moral. Their rationale for doing so often rests on basic assumptions about human dignity as well as a belief in a 'higher' law (God's law) that underpins their resistance and also gives it some degree of political power and legitimacy vis-à-vis the normative laws and policies of the state. It also rests on their trust and faith in each other and in the place-based solidarities (*Bünde*) that have been formed through struggle and sacrifice over time. This has not been a linear trajectory. In citing the past, from medieval asylum law to twentieth-century refugee movements, sanctuary networks reactivate traditions of insurgent citizenship buried in the strata 'beneath' today's neoliberal grids and orthodox assumptions of state sovereignty (cf. Tomba, 2017). This is not a matter of returning to the past but of bringing it into the present in ways that create heterodox spaces of resistance – spaces that expand.
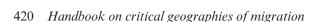
Contemporary Sanctuary Practices in Europe

The 2010 New Sanctuary Movement in Berlin was a tangible transnational convocation of church networks and secular allies, which has expanded even further over the past eight years. There are now active sanctuary alliances in several cities and countries in Europe, including Germany, Belgium, Norway, Switzerland, France, the UK, and the Netherlands (Lippert and Rehaag, 2013). During the years 2015–16, when there was a rapid increase in migration to Europe as a result of wars in Syria and Iraq and other factors, these networks amplified their work together on behalf of refugees. Contemporary sanctuary practices in Europe range from hospitality, advocacy, and material assistance for asylum seekers to the provision of physical refuge for those at risk of detention or deportation. This risk is often incurred in the EU on the basis of those whose claims for asylum status have been denied owing to recent Dublin Regulations, which require asylum claimants to register and be processed for asylum in the first EU country in which they set foot (most often Greece, Italy, and Hungary). Asylum claimants in Germany and other Northern European countries now are often threatened with deportation to Hungary or Greece as the first country of arrival, despite the desperately bad conditions of many refugee camps in those countries.

In terms of advocacy and assistance, data compiled by scholars working for CCME indicates that the provision of assistance for migrants remains a core component of the work of European churches. Nearly half of church respondents to a recent survey wrote that they have someone working in the church administration who is responsible for migrant advocacy, and 65.7 percent of churches 'engage in advocacy work in partnership with other churches or their related agencies.' Moreover, the provision of 'practical and material assistance to migrants, refugees and asylum seekers is engaged in by approximately two out of every five churches at (the) national level' (Jackson and Passarelli, 2016, p. 102).

In terms of sanctuary practices where physical refuge is provided, GECCA documented 323 ongoing cases of church asylum for 547 persons in January 2017 (of whom 145 were children).[5] According to Dietlind Jochims, the head of GECCA and also the Church Minister for Refugees in Germany at the time, who spoke at a recent Berlin conference in the Heilig-Kreuz church in November 2016, the number of church asylum requests has grown rapidly in the last couple of years, and in late 2016 was ten times higher than in 2014.[6] While these numbers are relatively small, the provision of physical sanctuary in a church remains symbolically important in Europe. In one example of the type of refugee story that became big news in recent years, a violent removal from church asylum in Münster, Germany, in August 2016, made international headlines. This involved a Ghanaian asylum claimant who was forcibly taken from a monastery to be deported to Hungary under the Dublin regulations (DW, 2016). These types of stories are picked up and amplified by church networks such as GECCA, which work directly with journalists to make sure these events are covered. Church leaders and administrative assistants also make sure that there is constant media attention and communication with churches in the country and across Europe so that all are aware of sanctuary-related occurrences in any given week (Author's interview with administrative leader of GECCA, November 2016; see also Neufert, 2014).

These types of events spur discussions about EU policy within and between churches and church networks, including the EU designation of certain countries or regions as 'safe' spaces to which asylum claimants can be legally returned under international law. In the Berlin conference of 2016, the congregants spoke passionately about what constitutes real safety for migrants after learning that parts of Afghanistan were designated as safe spaces by EU officials in that year. The networked spaces of church asylum thus both have the capacity to physically protect individuals and families and also to serve as catalysts for wider discussions around what constitutes migrant safety in the context of geopolitically expedient policy decisions (cf. Mitchell and Sparke, 2018).

Up until 2016 the churches in Germany had a special relationship with the Federal Ministry of Migration and Refugees (BAMF), such that they generally agreed on what cases or individuals could and should be taken into church asylum. The churches provided refuge and basic support for asylum claimants for up to six months, a time in which immediate deportation under Dublin could not take place, and the asylum claimants were guaranteed another hearing in Germany. Through early summer 2016, they had a high success rate at these hearings of over 70 percent. However, according to Jochims, because of changes in leadership, the increased numbers of church asylum requests and cases, and the increased international attention, the ministry started cracking down on sanctuary practices involving this church-state relationship and the success rate at these hearings for asylum claimants declined dramatically.[7] Currently, Jochims indicated, more and more people are requesting church asylum, the number of cases accepted has decreased, and the procedure is now much stricter.

The organizing theme of the 2016 Berlin conference was Beyond Europe: Schützen
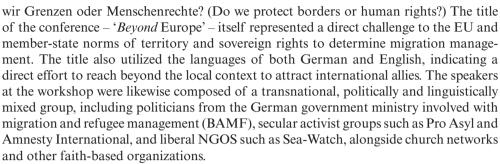
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5   See GECCA, available at: http://www.kirchenasyl.de/herzlich-willkommen/welcome/ (last accessed October 5, 2018).

6   This information is drawn from participant observation at the Berlin conference in November 2016.

7   Ibid.

wir Grenzen oder Menschenrechte? (Do we protect borders or human rights?) The title of the conference – '*Beyond* Europe' – itself represented a direct challenge to the EU and member-state norms of territory and sovereign rights to determine migration management. The title also utilized the languages of both German and English, indicating a direct effort to reach beyond the local context to attract international allies. The speakers at the workshop were likewise composed of a transnational, politically and linguistically mixed group, including politicians from the German government ministry involved with migration and refugee management (BAMF), secular activist groups such as Pro Asyl and Amnesty International, and liberal NGOS such as Sea-Watch, alongside church networks and other faith-based organizations.

Many of these faith-related networks working with and on behalf of refugees attempt to influence migration policy by writing policy briefs, press releases, reports, and papers and meeting with EU officials as often as possible. Doris Peschke, the head of CCME, said in an interview that her organization meets frequently with politicians and bureaucrats in the EU, and that lobbying for the rights of migrants was an important component of their organization's work. She also noted that the church network's influence had declined since the summer of 2015 as migration into Europe increased and politicians were becoming concerned about the rise of far-right political groups (Author's interview, November 23, 2016).

In addition to constant lobbying of EU bureaucrats, ministers, politicians, and policy makers at the local scale, both CCME and GECCA work closely with academics as well. The academic report, *Mapping Migration, Mapping Churches' Responses in Europe*, for example, provides contemporary demographic data on migration, along with specific information about church responses to migration. This report is just one of hundreds of academic papers, reports, policy briefs, and books that are churned out in both paper form and as resources available on the internet. Often these are produced by university-affiliated faculty and lecturers who are members of churches or other faith-based alliances themselves, and either do this work gratis or for a nominal amount. These types of documents and alliances manifest the importance of this polyglot network of actors, who are often held together by their faith, a strong belief in what they're doing, and in the possibilities of making a difference through their actions. Such networks recall the medieval German concept of *Bünde*, which was used half a millennium ago by the radical preacher Thomas Müntzer to describe a solidarity among the oppressed, replete with theological notions of sacredness and redemption (Koselleck, 2004).

CONCLUSION

> *Sanctuary is a fundamentally collaborative practice, one that has the capacity to produce connections between individuals and institutions committed to the same values . . . The key point here is that, when combined with the fierce and durable commitment to the support of refugees and the undocumented, these ad-hoc, cross-border, multiply-scaled sanctuary networks produce a flexible and highly successful strategy of resistance that expands and contracts as needed.* (Carney et al., 2017)

In this chapter we examined how ideas and policies travel across space and time. We addressed some of the previous literature in this area, looking at the movement of recent

neoliberal technologies of governance, as well as some of the contemporary studies of transnational social movements. Our particular interest was in the question of how resistance to normative systems and programs of governance in migration can be transnationally engaged and sustained in the memories of past events and in the layering of those events in particular spaces. To answer some of these questions we took an empirical look at church-based forms of resistance to normative systems of refugee management in Europe – with a specific focus on sanctuary practices that protect and give refuge to those at risk of deportation and detention. We investigated the role of sanctuary networks, including faith-based practices situated in specific churches and church-based alliances or *Bünde*.

In the empirical study we found that many of the relationships and connections that were formed through sanctuary conferences in specific churches and neighborhoods influenced the creation of broader forms of solidarity. They also affected policy decisions with government actors and the EU, and connections that live on in mission statements, websites, reports, chartas, and people. For example, the transnational connections between the US and Europe and between countries in Europe were galvanized by the specific relationships between faith-based actors such as John Fife, Wolf Dieter Just, Jurgen Quantz, Doris Peschke, and Dietrich Jochims, who have traveled widely and who work to actively promote sanctuary practices within church-based networks and beyond. Such solidarities take place not only across space – but also across time. Critical for these sanctuary networks are the temporal connections between the past and present – from the medieval understandings of alternative justice to the underground railroad to the sanctuary movements of the 1980s, early 2000s, and the contemporary period. Such histories of struggle are bundled together and made concrete within the spaces of the church itself, where they become the sparks that are brought to bear on the present moment, permeating networks with heteropraxis, the electricity of hope.

The sanctuary movement continues to grow and change; it is reactivated and takes new forms in different contexts, yet many of the earlier ideas and practices remain critical for its ongoing growth and sustainability. We have demonstrated how this elastic capacity for renewal draws on the memory of successful social movements on behalf of refugees in the past and in other places, reflecting something unique owing to collective memories of alternative justice and shared practices vis-à-vis efficacious methods of consultation, confrontation, and resistance. A key geographical point here is how this memory becomes layered in the landscape – in the churches themselves and in the ways that faith-based actors and the relationships and networks they create have an ongoing physical and spiritual presence that gives them the faith, hope, and support they need to continue their work.

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