



UCLA LUSKIN INSTITUTE ON

INEQUALITY AND DEMOCRACY

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*Sanctuary Short II: **Asylum: At the Borders of Humanitarianism**, a toolkit*

Questions guiding the short film

The West has constituted itself as a space of sanctuary and refuge for racial others, those inscribed as less-than-human. Asylum is one such framework of protection and inclusion. What does asylum tell us about liberal empire?

The spatio-temporalities of global racial capitalism are evident in formations of detention, deportability, and death. But also present are counter-cartographies of mobility and memory. Please tell us about these disruptions.

Our critical examination of liberal empire's ploy of asylum is meant to engender a reworlding of humanism. We could call this decolonization. What are the imagination and practices of decolonization that animate your work?

Conceptual Frameworks & Reading Lists

Asylum/Asylum Seeker: Asylum is the form of protection provided to one sovereign nation for citizens fleeing another due to persecution or war. An asylum seeker is an individual seeking such protection and to be recognized as a refugee.

readings

- Shemak, April Ann. 2010. *Asylum Speakers: Caribbean Refugees and Testimonial Discourse*. American Literatures Initiative.
- Kahn, Jeffrey S. 2019. *Islands of Sovereignty: Haitian Migration and the Borders of Empire*. University of Chicago Press.

(The spectacle of) Black Death: this is a trans-historical concept that brings into a single frame: the technologies, material conditions, and symbolic systems that produce racially differentiated vulnerabilities to premature death (drawing from Ruth Wilson Gilmore's definition of racism). It allows one to see the afterlife of Trans-Atlantic slavery in deep relation to settler colonialism and contemporary global neo-colonialism. Scholars of film, media, and Black studies have argued that blackness, death, and spectacle function at the register of ontology, such that the spectacle itself necessitates a consideration of the dialectical terror of the mundane and quotidian. With the spectacle in mind, it is both through the granting of humanity and its suspension that blackness and death are tethered to humanity's coherence, and the circulation of black suffering.

readings

- Sharpe, Christina. 2016. *In the Wake*. Duke University Press.
- Hartman, Saidiya. 1997. *Scenes of Subjection*. Oxford University Press.
- Rankine, Claudia. 2014. *Citizen*. Graywolf Press.
- Wynter, Sylvia. 2015. *No Humans Involved*. Publication Studio Hudson.

media

- Brown, Danny. 2016. *Atrocity Exhibition*. Fool's Gold Records, New York. Warp Records, London.

Borderlands: a concept used to capture both the liminality of being in between multiple spaces, identities, and communities as well as the violence and death associated with how deterritorialized *borders* become technologies to segregate, to suppress, and ultimately to manage life and death. Conceptually, this concept can refer to how ideas and systems of thought cross or refuse the boundaries of a particular scholarly discipline.

readings

- Dunnavant, Justin. 2020. "Have Confidence in the Sea: Maritime Maroons and Fugitive Geographies." *Antipode*, 53:3 p. 884-905.
- Mbembe, Achille. 2003. *Necropolitics*. Duke University Press.
- Lowe, Lisa. 2015. *The Intimacies of Four Continents*. Duke University Press.
- Genova, Nicholas De. 2005. *Working the Boundaries: Race, Space, and "Illegality" in Mexican Chicago*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press Books.
- Weitzberg, Keren. 2017. *We Do Not Have Borders: Greater Somalia and the Predicaments of Belonging in Kenya*. Ohio University Press.
- Byrd, Jodi. 2011. *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*. University of Minnesota Press.

Citizenship: a concept marking the differential privileges afforded to those recognized as members of *civil society* which is constituted by racially defined systems of surveillance and exclusion. This concept is linked historically to the genocidal colonial states imposed by European settlers upon global indigenous populations. The institutional legacy of the colonial state has left us with a globally bifurcated apartheid, within which states govern a racially defined population of citizens, and manage, through political economic coercion, a population that exists outside of the assumptive protections of civil society.

readings

- Walia, Harsha. 2021. *Border and Rule: Global Migration, Capitalism, and the Rise of Racist Nationalism*. Haymarket Books.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. 2020. *Neither Settler Nor Native: The Making and Unmaking of Permanent Minorities*. Harvard University Press.
- Gilroy, Paul. 1991. *"There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack": The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.
- Williams, Brackette F. 1991. *Stains on My Name, War in My Veins: Guyana and the Politics of Cultural Struggle*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Brennan, James R. 2012. *Taifa: Making Nation and Race in Urban Tanzania*. 1 edition. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Achiume, Tendayi. 2019. *Migration as Decolonization*. 71 Stanford Law Review 1509 UCLA School of Law Research Paper No.19-05

Detention: a system of incarceration or confinement often referring to the imprisonment of political dissidents or people and communities understood to be antagonistic with or threatening to the nation-state. Key components of carceral political and geographical formations are surveillance and policing.

readings

- Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. 2007. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. University of California Press.
- Shakur, Assata, and Angela Davis. 1987. *Assata: An Autobiography*. New York: Lawrence Hill Books.
- Jackson, George L. 1996. *Blood in My Eye*. Reprint edition. Black Classic Press.
- Rodriguez, Dylan. 2006. *Forced Passages*. University of Minnesota Press.

European identity: an ongoing phenomenon in which the multiple communities living within the member states of the European Union have themselves undergone genocidal transformations into apparently monolithic racial and ethnic languages and identities. Personal or national identification with *Europe*, as a supranational and racial formation, is an ongoing and elite-driven project that relies on the production and export of ostensibly coherent ideas about *whiteness*.

readings

- McIntosh, Janet. 2016. *Unsettled: Denial and Belonging Among White Kenyans*. First edition. Oakland, California: University of California Press.
- Shore, Cris. 2000. *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration*. Psychology Press.
- Willoughby-Herard, Tiffany. 2015. *Waste of a White Skin: The Carnegie Corporation and the Racial Logic of White Vulnerability*. First edition. Oakland, California: University of California Press.
- Hall, Stuart, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke, and Brian Roberts. 1978. *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*. 1978th edition. London: Palgrave.

media

- Centre Pompidou. 2017. *Denise Ferreira da Silva: The Crises of European Imagination*. Cosmopolis #1: Collective Intelligence. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6szzzQg7_c

Humanism: and the Human are products of Enlightenment philosophy that articulate a certain ideology of being through concepts such as reason, rationality, and objectivity, which were meant to stand in stark opposition to the doctrines of the church. This framework and regime is interrogated to signify the violent processes and philosophies that render racialized people's access to humanity's protections provisional.

readings

- Jackson, Zakiyah Iman. 2020. *Becoming Human*. NYU Press.
- Ferreira da Silva, Denise. 2016 "On Difference Without Separability," for the catalogue of the 32a Sao Paulo Art Biennial, "Incerteza viva" (Living Uncertainty)
- Leeb, Susanne & Kerstin Stakemeier. 2019. *An End to 'This' World Denis Ferreira da Silva*. Textezurkunst. <https://www.textezurkunst.de/articles/interview-ferreira-da-silva/>
- Spillers, Hortense. (1987). "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book." *Diacritics*, 17(2), 65-81.
- Wynter, Sylvia. 1990. "Afterword: Beyond Miranda's Meanings: Un/silencing the 'Demonic Ground' of Caliban's 'Woman.'" In *Out of the Kumbia: Caribbean Women and Literature*, edited by Carol Boyce Davies and Elaine Savory Fido, 355-72. Africa World.
- Dubal, Sam. 2018. *Against Humanity: Lessons from the Lord's Resistance Army*. First edition. Oakland, California: University of California Press.

Islamophobia: a politicized form of ideological and political violence against Islamic practices and Muslim peoples. Scholars have argued that this process produces a *racialization* of Muslim peoples as inherently threatening to the Western hegemony.

readings

- Rana, Junaid. 2011. *Terrifying Muslims: Race and Labor in the South Asian Diaspora*. Durham: Duke University Press Books.
- Bouteldja, Houria, and Sadri Khiari. 2012. *Nous sommes les indigènes de la République*. 1st edition. Paris: Amsterdam.
- Said, Edward W. 2003. *Orientalism*. Pantheon Books.
- Puar, Jasbir K. 2017. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Duke University Press.
- Maira, Sunaina, Howard Winant, and Paola Bacchetta, eds. 2018. *Global Raciality*. 1st edition. New York: Routledge.
- Agrama, Hussein Ali. 2012. *Questioning Secularism: Islam, Sovereignty, and the Rule of Law in Modern Egypt*. University of Chicago Press.

Imaginative Rupture: a concept used to refer to how individuals and communities can imagine ways to create and maintain communities that are alternative to the global capitalist patriarchal world order. These ruptures are seen to be the catalysts for new forms of orienting oneself to others and to the planet.

readings

- Gumbs, Pauline. 2018. *M Archive*. Duke University Press.
- Morrison, Toni. 1977. *Song of Solomon*. Vintage.

media

- Neuman, Arjuna & Denise Ferreira da Silva. 2016. *Serpent Rain*. Commissioned by Stefano Harney for The Bergen Assembly.

Indigeneity: is a term fraught with settler colonialism's legacy. This term is often used to refer to people considered to be the First Nations/People of a particular geographic area who experience the genocidal spatial arrangement of nation building. The land of the nation is unceded. The language around indigeneity is politicized to denote the presence of a *settler* that violently disrupts indigenous continuities with pre-colonial societies.

readings

- King, Tiffany Lethabo. 2019. *The Black Shoals*. Duke University Press.
- Goett, Jennifer. 2016. *Black Autonomy: Race, Gender, and Afro-Nicaraguan Activism*. 1st edition. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Hodgson, Dorothy L. 2011. *Being Maasai, Becoming Indigenous: Postcolonial Politics in a Neoliberal World*. Indiana University Press.
- Horne, Dr Gerald. 2020. *The Dawning of the Apocalypse: The Roots of Slavery, White Supremacy, Settler Colonialism, and Capitalism in the Long Sixteenth Century*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Shaw, Karena. 2008. *Indigeneity and Political Theory: Sovereignty and the Limits of the Political*. Routledge.

Liberal democracy: is a form of settler governance that champions ideologies of individual freedoms and private property. This fetishization of individualism marshaled the emergence of the neoliberal order.

readings

- Melamed, Jodi. 2011. *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing Violence in the New Racial Capitalism*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Robinson, Cedric J. 2016. *The Terms of Order: Political Science and the Myth of Leadership*. Reprint edition. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Brown, Wendy. 2006. *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Goldberg, David Theo. 2009. *The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neoliberalism*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Settler colonialism: a form of colonialism that includes the violent displacement, murder, and detention of an indigenous population by settlers. Settler colonialism often creates the conditions for the emergence of a nation-state in which settlers violently and on-goingly occupy stolen land and impose governance in the form of dispossession, surveillance, and management on indigenous people.

readings

- Simpson, Audra. 2014. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life across the Borders of Settler States*. Duke University Press.
- Cattelino, Jessica. 2008. *High Stakes: Florida Seminole Gaming and Sovereignty*. Duke University Press.
- Speed, Shannon. 2007. *Rights in Rebellion: Indigenous Struggle and Human Rights in Chiapas*. 1st edition. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

Racial Capitalism: a theory closely associated with Cedric Robinson's 1983 text *Black Marxism* that maintains intimacy between the racist ideologies that shaped the development of Western Europe and the settler colonial capitalism that was exported from its major port cities. It allows one to see how the value derived from capitalist practices is the racialization of particular communities as laborers or commodities.

readings

- Robison, Cedric. 1983. *Black Marxism*. University of North Carolina Press.
- Jones, Claudia. 2011. *Beyond Containment*. Ayebia Clarke Publishing.

readings (continued)

- Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. 2022. *Change Everything: Racial Capitalism and the Case for Abolition*. Haymarket Books.
- Kelley, Robin D.G. 2021. *Why Black Marxism, Why Now?* Boston Review. <http://bostonreview.net/race-philosophy-religion/robin-d-g-kelley-why-black-marxism-why-now>
- Wolf, Eric R. 1982. *Europe and the People Without History*. University of California Press.

Third World: a cold war era term that emerged to describe the “non-aligned” countries that refused political commitments to either the U.S. or the Soviet Union. The term is now used to refer generally to underdeveloped countries and former colonies.

readings

- Escobar, Arturo. 1995. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Lee, Christopher J. 2010. *Making a World after Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Salaita, Steven. 2016. *Inter/Nationalism: Decolonizing Native America and Palestine*. 3rd ed. edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mann, Gregory. 2014. *From Empires to NGOs in the West African Sahel: The Road to Nongovernmentality*. Illustrated edition. Cambridge University Press.
- Lorde, Audre (1984). *Sister Outsider*. Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press.

Historical Events

The Second World War and the Holocaust

- Clarke, Kamari Maxine. 2019. *Affective Justice: The International Criminal Court and the Pan-Africanist Pushback*. Illustrated Edition. Durham: Duke University Press Books.
- Moyn, Samuel. 2012. *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*. Reprint edition. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press: An Imprint of Harvard University Press.

The Cold War

- Baker, Lee D. 1998. *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896-1954*. First edition. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Borstelmann, Thomas. 2003. *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena*. Revised edition. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Horne, Gerald. 1988. *Black and Red: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944-1963*. State University of New York Press.

Geographies

Vietnam

- Ang, Cheng Guan. 2002. *The Vietnam War from the Other Side: The Vietnamese Communists' Perspective*. Psychology Press.
- Pribbenow, Merle L., trans. 2002. *Victory in Vietnam: The Official History of the People's Army of Vietnam, 1954-1975*. Reprint edition. University Press of Kansas.
- Nguyen-Vo, Thu-Hong. 2008. *History Interrupted: Life after Material Death in South Vietnamese and Diasporic Fiction*. *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, 3:1, 1-35.

Iraq

- Munif, Abdelrahman. 1989. *Cities of Salt*. 1st Vintage International ed edition. New York: Vintage.
- James, Brendan & Noah Kulwin. 2020. *Blowback*, podcast.

Palestine

- Kanafani, Ghassan. 1999. *Men in the Sun and Other Palestinian Stories*. Translated by Hilary Kilpatrick.
- Stamatopoulou-Robbins, Sophia. 2019. *Waste Siege: The Life of Infrastructure in Palestine*. 1st edition. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

U.S. - Mexico border

- Leon, Jason De, and Michael Wells. 2015. *The Land of Open Graves: Living and Dying on the Migrant Trail*. First edition. Oakland, California: University of California Press.
- Ngai, Mae M. 2014. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America - Updated Edition*. Revised edition. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

South Africa

- Magubane, Bernard. 1996. *The Making of a Racist State: British Imperialism and the Union of South Africa, 1875-1910*. Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press.
- Gooden, Mario, Sammi Henni, Mpho Matsipa & Annoradha Iyer Siddiqi. 2021. *(Anti/Post/De-) Colonial Practices*. The Irwin S. Chanin School of Architecture, The Cooper Union. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pNPJOtsLrmU>

Guiding Questions

- What would an indigenous notion of sanctuary look like?
- If, as E. Tendayi Achiume says, our borders are in the wrong place, how might we think about the accountability of former empires to materially and symbolically repair their former colonies?
- What good are open borders if we still have global capitalist exploitation?
- What would your life look like without borders? What does it mean to be a border person?