UNDERSTANDING RESISTANCE TO IMMIGRATION CONTROL IN THE CASE OF IMMIGRATION DETENTION IN LAVAL, QUEBEC, CANADA

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List of Acronyms

ARM	Action Réfugiés Montréal
CBSA	Canada Border Services Agency
CCR	Canadian Council for Refugees
CPJ	Citizens For Public Justice
CRC	Canadian Red Cross
DCO	Designated Country Of Origin
DFN	Designated Foreign National
EU	European Union
IHC	Immigration Holding Centre
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRB	Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada
IRPA	Immigration and Refugee Protection Act
IWC	Immigrant Workers Centre
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIDF	National Immigration Detention Framework
NOII	No One is Illegal
non-IHC	Non-Immigration Holding Centre
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Abstract

In a growing context of increasing immigration control and practices of immigration detention in countries such as the US, Australia, the UK, and the region of Europe, migrant detainees are often portrayed as passive victims who are helpless to create change. This begs the following questions: how are projects of immigration control resisted? What dynamics of political agency can these acts of resistance show? And which theoretical frameworks can best help to understand these dynamics of resistance? This paper aims to rethink migrants as having agency to affect change by expanding analyses to the under-examined Canadian context through the case of resistance surrounding the Laval Immigration Detention Centre in Quebec, Canada. Specifically, it theorizes strategies of resistance in solidarity with migrants as a form of agency, by combining theoretical frameworks from Michel Foucault on governmentality and counter-conducts, Hannah Arendt on rightlessness and political agency and action, and James Scott on "everyday acts of resistance" as well as publicly declared resistance. Using a multi-method qualitative approach involving participant observation and semi-structured interviews with members of organizations working in solidarity with migrants, as well as discourse analysis of public documents produced by these organizations—this thesis demonstrates how these acts of resistance can challenge social movement literature on the forms of resistance employed, the apparent "rightlessness" of migrants, and thereby reconsider conventional meanings of resistance, agency, borders, and citizenship.

The findings first indicate that migrant solidarity resistance needs to be seen on a continuum, as strategies combined both small and large acts as well as displayed variation in terms of intensity (reformist to radical forms). Specifically, many of these strategies were largely constrained by power structures and dynamics of control. Second, findings show that migrants can importantly contest notions of rightlessness through resistance and solidarity and thereby display strong forms of political agency and action, against representations of "rightlessness" and passivity. In particular, organizations working in solidarity with migrants were crucial in reducing fear and mistrust surrounding engagement for those with precarious immigration status. Thirdly, methodologically and theoretically, this thesis demonstrates the strengths of using a combination of approaches to develop a coherent picture of the dynamics taking place. Ultimately, this study sets the stage for broader research on immigration control in Canada, along with dynamics of migrant solidarity, as a means of rethinking how migrant agency and resistance can be interpreted.

Résumé

Dans un contexte de l'augmentation du contrôle de l'immigration et des pratiques de détention des immigrants dans des pays comme les États-Unis, l'Australie, le Royaume-Uni, ainsi que l'Europe, les détenus migrants sont souvent présentés comme des victimes passives, incapables de créer des changements. Cela amène à se poser les questions suivantes : comment les projets de contrôle de l'immigration et des pratiques de détention des immigrants sont-ils résistés ? Quelles dynamiques d'actions politiques ces actes de résistance peuvent-ils démontrer ? Et quels sont les cadres théoriques qui peuvent le mieux aider à comprendre ces dynamiques de résistance ? En s'éloignant géographiquement des analyses actuelles, en se penchant sur le cas de la résistance contre le Centre de détention des immigrants de Laval au Québec, Canada, ce projet vise à reconceptualiser les migrants comme agents capables de créer du changement. Plus précisément, il théorise les stratégies de résistance en solidarité avec les migrants en tant que forme d' agentivité, en combinant les théories de Michel Foucault sur la « gouvernementalité » et les « contre-conduites », de Hannah Arendt sur les « sans droits » et l' agentivité et action politique, et de James Scott sur la « résistance quotidienne » ainsi que la « résistance publique ». En utilisant une approche qualitative multi-méthodes impliquant l'observation de participants et des entrevues semi-structurées avec des membres d'organisations en solidarité avec les migrants, ainsi que l'analyse du discours des documents publics produits par ces organisations, ces actes de résistance remet en question la littérature des mouvements sociaux sur les formes de résistance employées, l'apparente « absence des droits » des migrants dans l'action politique, et reconstitue ainsi la signification de la résistance, de l' agentivité, des frontières et de la citoyenneté.

Les résultats de ce projet indique d'abord que la solidarité des migrants a la résistance doit être considérée sur un continuum, comme des stratégies qui combinent des actes, petits et grands, et des variations en terme d'intensité (de réformiste à radical), et que la résistance doit tenir compte des structures de pouvoir et des dynamiques de contrôle qui impactent les stratégies disponibles pour des actions. Deuxièmement, les résultats montrent que les migrants peuvent réclamer fortement « le droit d'avoir des droits » par la résistance et la solidarité et ainsi faire preuve de fortes formes d'agentivité politique, contre les représentations de « sans droit » et de passivité. Plus précisément, les organisations en solidarité avec les migrants ont joué un rôle crucial en ouvrant des possibilités d'actions contre des obstacles dus à la précarité du statut d'immigration (peur et

méfiance). Troisièmement, d'un point de vue méthodologique et théorique, cette thèse démontre les atouts d'utiliser une combinaison d'approches pour développer une image cohérente des dynamiques en cours. Ce projet met la table pour une recherche plus large sur le contrôle de l'immigration au Canada, ainsi que sur les dynamiques de solidarité par les migrants, en tant que redéfinition de l'agentivité et de la résistance des migrants.

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Introduction

Headlines on immigration detention such as Australia's controversial "Pacific Solution" of offshore detention centres on Nauru and Manus Island, the separation of Mexican migrant children under US President Trump's "zero tolerance" immigration policy in 2018, and EU hotspots in Lampedusa or Greece which hold asylum seekers on islands for long periods of time in inhumane conditions before deportation or relocation—have all sparked international human rights criticism as to the treatment of migrant detainees and reminded the public of the disconcerting underbelly of immigration control (Doherty 2014; Nielsen 2019; Stevis-Gridneff et al. 2020; Wong et al. 2018). As part of a larger trend towards increasingly restrictive immigration policies which aim to contain and discipline mobility as well as criminalize migration, practices such as detention, deportation, and dispersal have all become "normalized" within immigration control (Lindley 2019). Rich democracies turn to practices of "remote control" by deliberately shutting down legal pathways to safety as an "architecture of repulsion" to keep out migrants from even seeking asylum (Fitzgerald 2019, 2).

In contrast, under the motto of "law, order, and good governance" (Mountz 2010, 9), Canada largely avoids this criticism, instead praised for its response to some of the most prominent refugee "crises" in history. In 1986, Canada received the UN Nansen Medal for the efforts of over 7000 Canadian sponsoring groups in privately sponsoring 29,269 Vietnamese refugees in 1979. In 2015, news emerged that the family of three-year-old Syrian refugee Alan Kurdi, whose body had washed up on a beach in Turkey, had originally been trying to reach Canada. Shocked and heartbroken, Canadians sponsored a total of 40,081 Syrian refugees between 2015 and 2017 (Goodspeed 2018, 292, 285, 301; Molnar 2016; Reuters 1986). Yet, while telling of the strong potential of Canadian society to work in solidarity with migrants, focusing only on such "positive" responses ultimately threatens to gloss over a much more securitized, controlled, and exclusionary immigration policy than most public rhetoric emphasizes. As Mountz (2010, 7) writes, while "Canada set the stage for addressing immigration and refugee issues globally," it has now become, "the place where the paradox of liberal immigration policy and contemporary border enforcement emerged most prominently". In fact, Canada "does not act alone in these practices" and like the US, Australia, the UK, and Europe, exemplifies an acute level of this contradiction (Ibid., 169).

Essentially, Canada detained 9,051 migrants in 2019, ranking below other democracies such as the US, yet well above numbers in Australia, the UK, and Italy (European example)

(Canada Border Services Agency & Access to Information and Chief Privacy Office, 2020).[1] As part of a global trend, migrants in Canada face the possibility of unlimited detention and contrary to popular belief, the large majority (about 85 percent) of migrants are detained based on administrative (fear of not appearing or inability to prove identity) rather than criminal or security grounds (7 percent) (Government of Canada 2019b).[2] Vulnerable individuals such as children or those with mental health conditions and psychological disabilities suffer most from these practices, deemed contrary to Canada's commitment to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, as well as customary international law (International Human Rights Program 2018).

Moreover, within analyses of migrants in constrained circumstances, the literature and policy rhetoric still risks portraying migrants as "victims" or "beneficiaries", helpless to create change beyond fulfilling their individual basic needs (Bradley, Milner, and Peruniak 2019). In response, a growing amount of literature has aimed to understand the dynamics of political agency of migrants in the context of immigration detention (Bailey 2009; Campesi 2015; Conlon 2016; Fiske 2016; Marciniak and Tyler 2014; McNevin 2013; Moulin and Nyers 2007; Nyers 2015; Pfeifer 2018; Puggioni 2013). Still, the majority of this literature examines migrant-led acts such as hunger strikes, and has only recently started to consider the dynamics of solidarity formed between migrants and non-migrants which motivate political action on both sides (Freedman 2009; Gill et al. 2014; Johnson 2012; King 2016; Lindley 2019; Pendakis 2020; Pupavac 2008; Rygiel 2016; Walters 2006b). Furthermore, dynamics specific to the case of migrant solidarity in Canada are even less studied (see McDonald 2012; Nyers 2010; Shantz 2004), with the majority continuing to focus on the harmful effects of detention on migrants, rather than the political agency of migrants and non-migrants resisting these policies (Bell 2006; Cleveland 2015; Crock 2018; Fitzgerald 2019; Gros and van Groll 2015; Kronick, Rousseau, and Cleveland 2015; Larsen and

[1] In comparison, the United States detained 50,922 migrants in 2019, Italy detained 4,092 migrants in 2018 (in addition to 13,777 migrants detained in "hotspots" in 2018), the UK detained 1,784 migrants in 2018, and Australia detained 1,373 migrants in March 2020 (Australia Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2014; Australian Department of Home Affairs and Australia Border Force 2019; Government of Italy 2019; UK Home Office 2019; US Immigration and Customs Enforcement 2019). The numbers for Australia reflect both those held on mainland Australia (1368 individuals) and those held in offshore or "Alternative Places of Detention" such as Christmas Island (less than 5 individuals reported in March 2020) (Australian Department of Home Affairs and Australia Border Force 2019). As Australia officially closed detention centres on Nauru in March 2019 and Manus Island in January 2020, it does not have official reporting for these locations (BBC News 2019). Nevertheless, at the end of March 2020, reports indicated 227 ex-detainees remaining on Manus island and 209 ex-detainees on Nauru (Chia 2019).

[2] See Figure 1, Appendix A. For total numbers detained in Canada over the years, see Figure 2, Appendix A.

Piché 2009; Silverman 2014a; Silverman and Molnar 2016; Walia and Tagore 2012).

Hence, a better understanding of immigration control and detention happening in Canada, as well as an investigation into the ability of Canadian society to act in solidarity alongside migrants to resist these policies, is paramount. This thesis thereby aims to answer the following research questions: *how are projects of immigration control, specifically immigration detention, resisted? What are the dynamics of political agency which these acts of resistance show? And, which theoretical framework(s) can be most helpful for understanding this form of resistance?* In responding to these questions, this thesis will specifically focus on resistance to immigration detention in Laval, Quebec, examining how strategies of solidarity between migrants and non-migrants (e.g. detention visits, campaigning for the release of detainees, popular education, use of networks, lobbying, protests, blockades, or acts of sabotage) can be best understood as a form of agency within a theoretical framework combining insights from Michel Foucault (1991, 2009) on governmentality and counter-conducts, Hannah Arendt (1968, 1973, 1978) on rightlessness and political agency / action, and James Scott (1989, 2008) on everyday acts of resistance and publicly declared resistance.

Along with a wish to geographically decentre an analysis towards the case of Canada, the objectives of the thesis are to: 1) determine the important dynamics and strategies of migrant resistance to immigration control, 2) examine the perceptions of activists engaging in these forms of resistance, 3) understand how acts of solidarity can help facilitate migrant resistance for those who are detained, 4) and demonstrate the significance of how acts of solidarity give voice to both migrant detainees and non-migrants (citizens) across communities. Moreover, this thesis hopes to demonstrate the strengths of using a combination of methodological and theoretical approaches to better illustrate a coherent picture of complex dynamics taking place, and ultimately reconfigure mainstream understandings to recognize that resistance is not necessarily contingent on citizenship and can be expressed in diverse ways, not only through large-scale, traditional forms of political action.

As a case study, an investigation into instances of resistance and political agency taking place in response to the construction of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre (set to be built in 2021), embodying similar characteristics happening in other contexts, will act as a crucial site of analysis. While little known to Canadians and in contrast to depictions of Canada as an accepting and welcoming place for migrants, activists have contested the new centre's expected impacts on

detainees in regards to health, minors, support services, and indefinite detention—ultimately representing a space for resistance to broader practices of immigration detention and control (Stoppons la Prison 2019). As resistance in this case involves both migrants and non-migrants, and engages in a variety of strategies of resistance to immigration control, it allows for an analysis of the dynamics of solidarity across varying migrant identities, the importance of seeing resistance on a continuum, and a rethinking of the significance of both migrant resistance and political agency in light of the theoretical frameworks mentioned.

Through a multi-method qualitative approach involving participant observation with organizations working in solidarity with migrants, semi-structured interviews with members from these groups (both migrants and non-migrants), as well as analysis of publicly available documents and discourse from these organizations, this thesis will analyze which strategies members have engaged in to resist these policies and the meanings attributed to resistance. It will assess the impact of immigration status on motives and meanings of resistance, examine the implications of these dynamics for understandings of political agency and action in highly constrained circumstances, and give insights into why the literature largely under-examines the case of Canada.

Ultimately, as primarily an academic study, this thesis hopes to advance understandings of resistance to immigration control practices. In trying to understand the voices of sub-state actors and the implications of their resistance in the case of Laval, instead of looking to change emerging from policy-makers, international organizations, and the state—it reconsiders how resistance should be defined when it involves migrants and non-migrants as well as more contentious acts of resistance (i.e., vandalism, roadblocks, sabotage) which may naturally illicit less sympathetic responses from the public than images of migrants suffering (see Moulin and Nyers 2007). Creating effective and informed research in this field can counter media narratives portraying migrants as helpless and passive actors, and open up new spaces for inquiry. This thesis will additionally demonstrate how migrants excluded from politics can still have their voices heard, regardless if it translates into policy. Finally, it hopes to identify potential resistance strategies for activists, lobbyists, and policy-makers to make national and international immigration control policy more inclusive and in line with international human rights and refugee rights standards.

Before turning to a discussion of the literature, methodology, and theoretical framework, the key definitions will be delineated, followed by a brief outline of the structure and progression of the remainder of the thesis.

Definition of Key Terms

First, the terms *refugee*, *asylum seeker*, and *migrant* require clarification and differentiation. According to the 1951 Refugee Convention, a *refugee* encompasses those who have crossed an international border to find safety in another country and who, "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality [or former place of residence if without a nationality] and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (UNHCR 1951, 2019).[3] In a legal sense, individuals who have not yet received protection of the host state but are in the process of applying for convention refugee status are referred to as a *refugee claimant* or an *asylum seeker* (CCR 2010; UNHCR 2020). Those denied refugee status and who may slip into a legal "limbo" will be referred to as *precarious* (see Goldring et al. 2009).[4] S*tateless persons* (CCR 2010) are those not recognized as a citizen by any state. The term *'illegal'* will be enclosed in quotation marks to problematize its political construction and the exclusion it creates (De Genova 2002).

In order to encompass a variety of experiences of displacement, this thesis principally employs *migrant* as an overarching term.[5] The International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines *migrant* as an "umbrella term" referring to "a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons" (IOM 2015). Hence, instead of viewing *refugee* and migrant in *opposition* to each other (see Haddad 2008, 169; Kukathas 2016, 265), *refugee* will be used as a specific category within that of migrant. Drawing from arguments by Nail (2015, 3), who warns of an overemphasis on place-bound social membership, primary to an understanding of the migrant is its defining feature—that of *movement* and not the state (see Zolberg 1981). As Nail

[3] Given that the UNHCR 1951 Refugee Convention definition often receives criticism for its need for "persecution", the Organization of African Unity (OAU) has a more inclusive definition, defining a refugee in 1968 as "every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of nationality" (OAU 1969, 2).

[4] This can also refer to individuals sometimes termed *irregular migrants*, who are portrayed as illegitimate or unwanted by the state and who may have entered the country through "unauthorized" means (see McNevin 2013, 183).

[5] In line with King (2016, 17), *migrant* is preferred because of the way in which terms such as *refugee*, *asylum seeker*, or *economic migrant* are "used to divide and control". While the term migrant is often used interchangeably with *immigrant*, which usually refers to a person who has settled permanently in another country, or even associated with *economic migrant* or *emigrant* for those who usually seek entrance to improve their standard of living (Gibney 2014, 11), *migrant* in this thesis encompasses both temporary and more permanent experiences of migration (see CCR 2010).

(2015, 15) contends, heterogeneity is crucial to understandings of the migrant, because "just as there are different types of societies, so there are different types of migrants, different degrees of mobility, and different forces of expulsion". *Migrant* will thereby refer to any individual who has moved from one state to another and faced some form of social, legal, political, or economic exclusion (see Nail 2015). Migrant will be used in contrast to *non-migrant* which denotes Canadian citizens with no first-hand experience of immigration.[6]

Secondly, this thesis differentiates the broader practice of *detention*, which refers to the practice of incarcerating "criminals" based on a judicial sentence, from *immigration detention* which is much more administrative, bureaucratic, and non-punitive in its design and focuses on confining *migrant detainees* (usually *precarious*) awaiting decisions in regards to admittance or removal (Gill 2016b, 12; Leerkes and Broeders 2010, 831).[7] According to the UNHCR (2012, 9), *immigration detention* can be described as "the deprivation of liberty or confinement in a closed place which an asylum-seeker is not permitted to leave at will, including, though not limited to, prisons or purpose-built detention, closed reception or holding centres or facilities".[8] Immigration detention is also inseparable from *deportation*, the practice of returning "foreign nationals to their country of origin against their will" (Gibney and Hansen 2003, 2). The broader goal of *immigration detention* is to support structures of *immigration control*, which deters migrants from violating the states' immigration and residence laws, reinforces territorial borders, and ensures that "'unwanted' migrants can be located and identified and cannot abscond while the expulsion is prepared" (Leerkes and Broeders 2010, 831, 836; see also Cornelisse 2010; De Genova 2002).

Finally, this thesis will clarify the terms *resistance*, *agency*, and *solidarity*. Understandings of *resistance* are varied, ranging from actions and behaviours at the individual, collective, and institutional level to taking place in settings such as political systems, the workplace, or even in

[6] While some scholars such as Stierl (2019) and Nyers (2015) prefer to use the terms *citizen* and *non-citizen* to critique the exclusion of immigration policies, this thesis will rather chose to use the terms of *migrant* and *non-migrant*. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that employing a dichotomous categorization between *migrant* and *non-migrant* runs the risk of not fully representing the complexity and variable forms immigration status can take because of the regulative policies of movement (De Genova 2002; Goldring et al., 2009).

[7] Increasing overlap exists between *immigration detention* and *detention* (Atak and Simeon 2018; Gill 2016b, 12), where *migrant detainees* held within these institutions may still experience a form of punishment, just as those within criminal detention feel a sense of pressure to conform to law-abiding behaviour (Leerkes and Broeders 2010, 836).

[8] It should be noted that *immigration detention* can take place both within and exterior to the state (Gill 2016b, 23–24). For example, at land and sea borders, in airports, on islands or boats, in refugee camps, extraterritorially, and even in one's own home through restrictive measures such as house arrest and electronic monitoring within communities (often called *Alternatives to Detention*) (UNCHR 2012, 9).

entertainment or literature (Hollander and Einwohner 2004, 534). Delmas (2018, 10), who theorizes resistance against injustice, conceptualizes resistance as "a multidimensional continuum of dissenting acts and practices, which includes lawful and unlawful acts (or "principled disobedience"), and expresses, broadly, an opposition and refusal to conform to the established institutions and norms, including cultural values, social practices, and laws." Central to all forms are elements of *action* (verbal, cognitive, or physical), *opposition* (to counter, reject, subvert, or disrupt), *recognition* (visible or invisible), and *intent* (conscious or unconscious), whereby the last two elements are much more variable and debated (Hollander and Einwohner 2004, 538–39).

For *migrant resistance* specifically, this usually involves a contestation of notions we take for granted or an opposition to *power structures* (e.g. the state) (King 2016, 19). As Delmas (2018, 5) argues, one may require a rethinking of what is considered as "legitimate" resistance, such as principled lawbreaking, in a context of injustice. If we take the socially constructed nature of resistance seriously (Hollander and Einwohner 2004, 547–48, 551), resistance can be viewed as "constitutive" in itself of new subjectivities, social relations, and institutions, challenging the meanings of borders, citizenship, and agency (see Marciniak and Tyler 2014; McNevin 2013; Nyers 2015; Stierl 2019). Other terms which this thesis may use within resistance include *activism* or *advocacy*, depending on the perceptions of participants and the forms of resistance taken.

While *resistance* can describe acts by either migrants and non-migrants, this thesis uses *solidarity* for those acts carried out by migrants in partnership with non-migrants. Essentially, King (2016, 52) sees this form of *solidarity* as "mutual support between and within struggles for liberation that seek to change unjust or oppressive social structures". As Delmas (2018, 7, 9, 19) explains, citizens face the moral obligation to resist injustice which demands *solidarity* with those experiencing injustice, whether this takes form in "civil or uncivil" ways. Central to migrant resistance is specifically the need to engage in the "building of wider communities of struggle" through *solidarity* (Tyler 2013, 102). Throughout, an awareness of power relations is essential (see Stierl 2019, 95) as those subject to immigration control may have different understandings or experiences of resistance than non-migrants (see King 2016, 12).

Lastly, this thesis aims to disrupt common understandings of *agency*, based on the unique perspectives and realities of migrants. Drawing from James Scott's (2008b, 38) theorization of those at the margins of society as active, rather than passive actors, *agency* can be broadly defined as "consciousness—the meaning [people] give to their acts." Hence, agency is subject to the

perceptions of those engaging in resistance to assert or, in effect "construct" their sense of agency in response to more narrow views of agency (Kurik 2016).[9] Similar to the "acts of citizenship" literature by Isin and Nielson (2008) who contend that instead of looking at individuals as *subjects* of citizenship, it is much more important to examine those acts which *produce* subjects and in turn, rupture social-historical patterns—meaning that the *act* itself matters.[10]

Outline of the Proceeding Chapters

This thesis will be organized in the following way. The first part focuses on the existing scholarship as well as the methodological and theoretical grounding for the research. Chapter one reviews the literature covered to date on immigration detention and resistance and identifies new areas of inquiry, especially in the Canadian context. Chapter two designates the methodological research design and chapter three provides the theoretical framework used for analysis in the proceeding chapters. Part two will focus on the empirical case study and the findings of the inquiry. Chapter four describes the case of Canadian immigration control and immigration detention, as well as the dynamics surrounding the construction of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre and the various organizations resisting. Chapters five and six present and interpret the research findings in light of the theoretical frameworks employed and according to the research questions. Specifically, chapter five focuses on the various strategies of resistance, their barriers, and their meanings, and chapter six provides an analysis of the dynamics of political agency and action, examining the motives for resistance and the perceptions of political agency and action which emerged. Part three concludes with chapter seven to provide an overview of the key findings of the case in line with the original research questions and objectives, along with a discussion of the limitations of the work and the implications the findings have on future scholarship and policy.

[9] A fine line may nonetheless be drawn between portrayals of migrants as *agents*, and a romanticization of this agency which can gloss over repression and violence inherent in border controls as well as heterogeneity or tensions in political views between migrants' own goals and intentions (Nyers 2015, 30; Ortner 1995, 177).

[10] Giorgio Agamben is perhaps most well-known in discussions of migrant agency, in describing the refugee in the "camp" as exemplifying *homo sacer* or the "bare life", in a permanent "state of exception" outside of the normal legal framework and lacking political freedom (see Edkins 2005; Hanafi 2010; Rajaram 2004; Vaughan-Williams 2009; Zevnik 2009). However, authors also critique Agamben's theory as portraying migrants as passive, rather than active agents of political agency and social change, a stance which this thesis also supports (Bradley 2014; Johansson and Vinthagen 2015; McNevin 2013; Owens 2009). In line with Nyers (2015, 29), acts within constrained spaces such as hunger strikes, subversion, or everyday survival, should be seen as an assertion of agency rather than acts of desperation.

Part I: Literature, Methodology and Theoretical Framework Guiding the Research

Chapter 1: Literature Review

This chapter provides an overview of the scholarship on immigration detention and resistance, thereby grounding the research in existing studies and identifying new areas of research for the case of Canada. It first reviews the broader literature relating to immigration control, specifically the increasing securitization of immigration detention; then turns to examine literature relating to resistance to immigration control and detention; covers studies on solidarity movements in the context of immigration detention; and lastly, assesses current scholarship in the case of Canada. While it finds that there is a large body of literature on the securitization of immigration control, detention, and resistance to these processes, as well as dynamics of solidarity, there is an overall lack of studies on these dynamics happening in the case of Canada. Hence, this research aims to fill this gap by expanding these investigations to the Canadian context in contrast to mainstream narratives of Canada as inclusive and welcoming to newcomers.

Theorizing the Landscape of Immigration Detention

Much attention focuses on the increasing securitization of immigration control, especially practices of immigration detention. A number of studies in political and critical geography have aimed to understand the geographical location and spatialities of immigration detention and their changing nature using analytical frameworks of governmentality and highlighting the agency of those detained (Bigo 2002; Bosworth 2012; Conlon 2010; Gill 2009; Mitchell, Jones, and Fluri 2019; Mountz et al. 2013; Nethery and Silverman 2015; Walters 2005, 2006b). As some studies indicate (Coutin 2010; Menjivar 2014), securitization creates a "rendering ambiguous" of spatial locations by facilitating both the extraterritoriality and intraterritoriality of legal practices of immigration detention, with "technologies" of border enforcement acting as similar extensions of the state (Williams 2015). The surveillance apparatus of territories, creation of racialized boundaries, and the fostering of "regimes of exception" are similarly studied (Fassin 2011).

Concentrating more closely on movement within spaces of immigration detention, scholars focus on the impact immigration detention has on the immobility and mobility of migrants. Acts of mobility may require examining acts of immobility, such as those becoming "displaced in place" during conflict (Lubkemann 2008), those confined within immigration detention centres,

extending to migrants stuck in compartments during irregular border crossings, or those stranded at sea (Brigden and Mainwaring 2016). Alternatively, carceral regimes of sovereignty may persist even when the subject is not traveling through space or held within the confinement of detention centres themselves, exemplified by the concept of "confinement in motion", or the use of surveillance technologies as a substitute for detention (Balaguera 2018). Or, immigration detention and deportation can reverberate all the way to migrants' local and personal spaces in home counties (Hiemstra 2016).

Given the controversial nature of these policies, the underlying reasons for the increasing securitization of these practices are well-discussed (Fitzgerald 2019; Hollifield, Martin, and Orrenius 2014; Wong 2015). Many of these studies speak to a broader trend of post-9/11 narratives and discourses of securitization, specifically in the European and US context. Essentially, detention may become less about security and deterrence and more about sovereign enforcement as "spectacle", which generates and reinforces crises (Mainwaring 2012; Mainwaring and Silverman 2017). These practices then become internalized and legitimized through a narrative of fear, affecting relationships detainees have with staff at immigration detention centres in the UK (Hall 2010, 2012). Racism and structural inequality also play a strong role (Hernandez 2008) and form part of deeper structures of "border imperialism" (Walia 2013).

Linking well with themes in carceral studies, authors commonly apply the concept of the "prison-industrial complex" to describe the increasing privatization of immigration detention services. Studies show the emergence of a "business" of detention centres and the construction of an "immigration-industrial complex" wherein government contracts and private corporations create a profit incentive and undermine human rights (Douglas and Saenz 2013; Menjivar, Cervantes, and Alvord 2018). Explorations on causes and persistence of the immigration-industrial complex indicate aspects such as the legal apparatus, worldviews, and webs of influence as central to its functioning and inability to reform (Doty and Wheatley 2013). Underlying these trends, the criminalization of migration, or "crimmigration", blurs the line between criminal and immigration law and contributes to more restrictive immigration policies and the stigmatization of migrants (Atak and Simeon 2018; Cornelisse 2010; Hammerstadt 2014; Hudson 2018; Mountz 2010).

Theorizing Resistance to Immigration Control and Detention Practices

A growing body of literature has likewise revealed resistance to immigration control and

how this reconfigures meanings of resistance and citizenship. Studies on migrant acts of dissent, resistance, and revolts against conditions within national and regional border zones ultimately question what counts as protest, by showing how smaller and more subtle forms of political activism can provide political voice, recognition, and mutual support systems (Marciniak and Tyler 2014). These works analyze resistance such as sit-ins by Sudanese refugees held outside the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) office in Cairo (Moulin and Nyers 2007), or acts by irregular and undocumented migrants in Berlin, Germany, which resist and re-inscribe contemporary hierarchies of mobility and power relations (McNevin 2013). Within these works, many argue that while the "Autonomy of Migration" literature demonstrates the agency of movement itself (drawing from Agamben's work), it can risk over-emphasizing the negative and exclusionary sides of citizenship (control/state as central) or see mobility as primary to the state, instead of challenging citizenship as a concept in itself and thereby portray migrants as passive actors (Maestri and Hughes 2017; McNevin 2011; Nyers 2015; Nyers and Rygiel 2012).

A subset of the literature on migrant resistance is specifically focused on resistance taking place within the walls of immigration detention centres, embodying places of defense, solidarity, and freedom. Here, migrant detainees are theorized as making autonomous decisions about their own life and politics through acts of resistance and in rejection of Agamben's concept of the "bare life" (Bailey 2009). Fiske (2016) is specifically invested in humanizing these acts, demonstrating how human rights language articulates these claims in contrast to portrayals of migrants as idealized passive victims or as threats to national security. Beyond studies of hunger strikes as a method of resistance (Conlon 2016; Fiske 2016; Pfeifer 2018), works highlight other strategies including sit-ins, non-compliance, lip-sewing, escapes, and riots (Fiske 2016). Research in Italy shows how migrant detainees try to create a condition of "undeportability" (Campesi 2015) or claim rights through imperceptible coping strategies (Puggioni 2013).

The Emergence of Dynamics of Solidarity within Resistance

Acts of resistance often transcend boundaries and become linked to solidarity movements from the outside. For instance, when Zimbabwean detainees in British removal centres in 2015 launched a hunger strike, connections formed between detainees and citizens, spurring a number of anti-deportation campaigns (McGregor 2011). The success of resistance itself may ultimately depend on forging links to outside groups, as Montange (2017) argues. While hunger strikes were

significant as a form of political action, the significance lay in the ability of migrant detainees to build strong links with activists and the media on the outside, which helped to portray detainees' actions as a larger national campaign for immigration reform (Ibid.). Similarly, the ability of "failed" asylum seekers in France to harness support from migrant NGOs facilitated collective action to resist their exclusion and launch anti-deportation campaigns (Freedman 2009). Other tactics include transforming deportation buses into spaces of spiritual support for migrants or attending immigration court hearings (Gill et al. 2014), framing issues in terms of the rights of non-citizens (Ruth Grove-White 2012), public protests (Johnson 2012), or transnational activism in solidarity with migrant deaths taking place at Europe's borders (Rygiel 2016; see also Lindley 2019). Walters (2006b) highlights the pro-migrant activist network "no borders" in Europe which used "noborder camps" as a symbolic protest for political claims and citizenship (see King 2016).

However, not all resistance is seen in a positive light, with some studies warning of the potential negative effects solidarity movements can have on detainees. For example, Tyler (2013) is concerned with the co-optation of charities within the British immigration detention market, arguing that charities may encourage the growth of for-profit immigration detention markets and result in a reduction of political opposition to immigration detention. Pupavac (2008) additionally warns that refugee advocacy groups in the health sector in the UK often misrepresent refugees as traumatized, depoliticized and feminized subjects, risking predetermining their interests and undermining the movement's original goals (see also Pendakis 2020).

Limits to the Canadian Literature on Immigration Control and Resistance

While studies on immigration control, resistance to immigration control, and strategies of solidarity have opened up new understandings of political agency and citizenship within spaces of detention, the literature continues to pay more attention to these dynamics happening in Europe, Australia, the UK, and the US, largely leaving out countries such as Canada. Assumed to be much less controversial in its immigration policies and praised for its private refugee sponsorship program (see Goodspeed 2018), in reality, Canadian immigration control demonstrates similarities in numbers and policies with immigration detention in the US, UK, and Australia, and therefore provides an excellent opportunity for extending these analyses.

The current literature on immigration detention in Canada is often limited to studying the effects of detention on migrants or the increasing securitization of these policies, rather than

resistance to immigration detention or dynamics of solidarity. Legal and human rights issues of detaining migrant children in Canada or the impact of immigration detention on generating or aggravating the mental health conditions of detainees are well-studied (Crock 2018; Gros and van Groll 2015; Janet 2015; Kronick and Rousseau 2015). Similar to the broader literature on securitization, Bell (2006) examines the link between the national security response to the "war on terror" and the *Canadian Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* to deny basic legal protection to non-citizen detainees on the grounds of 'exception" (see also Larsen and Piché 2009).

The work of Silverman is particularly critical of the Canadian government's policy of immigration detention, in exposing the changing nature of Canada's immigration policy towards the irregular arrival of migrants by sea and the deterioration of detention centre conditions against international standards (Silverman 2014b; Silverman and Molnar 2016). As Walia and Tagore (2012) argue, Canadian practices of immigration detention serve the sole purpose of forcible confinement and control to ensure deportation in the name of nationalism, with migrants viewed as "prisoners of passage" in their attempt to migrate. Fitzgerald (2019) further exemplifies Canadian immigration control as a strategy of "remote control" of asylum seekers, by citing the case of pushbacks of migrants from Canadian shores or borders, especially the *Safe Third Country Agreement* between the US and Canada.

A few studies analyze solidarity movements within resistance to immigration control in Canada, but they are limited in their number and focus. The case of Toronto has been explored, but instead of focusing on resistance to immigration detention, works concentrate mainly on city-level resistance by groups such as Toronto's Sanctuary City or No One Is Illegal (NOII) which secured access to social rights and community services for migrants as a form of "regularization from below" (McDonald 2012; Nyers 2003, 2010; Shantz 2004; Walia 2013). Ample room exists not only to extend these current analyses to other cities, but also to pay more attention to the personal perceptions of solidarity movements in Canada, not yet entirely theorized in any context of migrant resistance. For example, the work of Lindley (2019) has recently shown the benefits of using qualitative methods to understand what motivates UK volunteers to engage in solidarity activities such as visiting detention centres or campaigning for change. The case of Canada thereby provides rich dynamics of immigration control, resistance, and solidarity for investigation, a narrative in contrast to impressions of Canada as inclusive and welcoming to newcomers.

Chapter 2: Methodology

This chapter will give an overview of the methods underpinning the research design. It will first situate the methodology within broader research trends in the field of forced migration, calling for a combination of methods and emphasizing the benefits of qualitative research for studies of migration. It will then justify the various methods used, as well as an explanation of the benefits of a case-study and reasons for the choice of the particular case. Following, the three main qualitative methods will be discussed (participant observation, semi-structured interviews, discourse analysis), highlighting the process involved in each method and their application to the case. Lastly, this chapter will conclude with considerations on positionality, reflexivity, and ethics concerns inherent in the methods, case, and broader field of forced migration studies, as well as an overview of the potential challenges these methods and topic of study may present.

Methods of Research in Migration Studies

Approached from a variety of disciplines in the social sciences, attempts to understand dynamics of migration have displayed both overlaps as well as distinct methods of study, yet rarely engage in a cross-fertilization (Brettell and Hollifield 2015, 2). It is, therefore, necessary to consider a combination of approaches to fill in the gaps of each methods' strengths and weaknesses and to challenge more "isolated" or "ones-sided" methodological approaches (Brettell and Hollifield 2015, 2). In political science alone, shifts towards ethnographic or fieldwork approaches have increasingly complemented more quantitative or short-term qualitative (survey) approaches to studying migration (Brigden 2018; Bradley et al. 2019). While this thesis could not employ a full ethnography, it still aimed to move from "etic" or outside representations of migrant agency (e.g. narratives from humanitarian actors or the state) to more "emic" or inside perspectives which highlighted claims for rights and the political subjectivity of migrants (Sigona 2014, 370).

Hence, this thesis used a multi-method qualitative approach, infused with ethnographic approaches (participant observation, semi-structured interviews), to bring attention to the lived realities of more invisible forms of immigration and resistance. First, participant observation of public events held by groups in solidarity with migrant detainees was carried out, largely in collaboration with Montreal based NGOs such as Solidarity Across Borders, the Immigrant Workers Centre, Action Réfugiés Montréal, and Guineans United for Status (with one Ottawa-

based organization, Citizens for Public Justice). Second, participant observation complemented the six semi-structured interviews with members from these groups (both migrants, non-migrants and former detainees) to give voice to their strategies, motivations, and challenges in resistance. Lastly, these methods were grounded in a broader discourse analysis of publicly available documents and statements from the aforementioned organizations, ensuring that individual experiences were portrayed in light of broader organizational goals.

Justification for Qualitative Methods Used

Qualitative methods coalesce around three components: description, analysis, and interpretation (Creswell 2003; Wolcott 1994). In employing an interpretivist epistemology, this thesis will focus on "the systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds" (Neuman 2006, 88). Methods such as participant observation and semi-structured interviews will thereby allow for a deeper understanding of the experiences and perceptions of activists resisting immigration policies. As these dynamics often remain "invisible" at the sub-state level, embedding oneself within the environment of these organizations can allow for details not normally explored in quantitative analysis or survey methods. Complementing these methods with discourse analysis can work to illuminate the broader meanings these organizations ascribe to and simultaneously expose potential gaps from the other methods.

Case Study Selection

Grounding this research in a case study was identified as the most appropriate approach to understanding the micro-dynamics of resistance to immigration control. Case studies are useful in allowing for a connection between the micro-level (individual actions) and macro-level (large-scale social structures and processes), with qualitative analysis lending itself particularly well to a deeper understanding of the many factors involved in a phenomenon (Gerring 2007, 10; Neuman 2006, 41). Ultimately, the goal of a case study is to carry out an intensive qualitative study of a specific case in order to shed light on a larger class of cases or social reality (Gerring 2007, 20, 91). In this sense, the case of resistance to the immigration detention centre in Laval, Quebec could give insights into similar dynamics of resistance to immigration control happening in Australia,

the US, the UK, and European countries. As explained in the literature review, the whole choice of this case was to raise awareness on similar strategies of resistance happening in the lesser studied Canadian context and highlight any potential uniqueness of this context. As a Canadian studying in Montreal, wishing to get more involved with immigration dynamics in my own community, this case was an excellent opportunity to carry out research at home and give back to my own community. An exploration of a population in a context not previously studied motivated this choice, and while new, still allowed for observations based on literature and existing theories.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is a common tool used to describe a group of interacting individuals through direct participation in the event or group being studied, commonly used in migration studies to understand lived experiences (Chatty 2014, 76; Neuman 2006, 378–85). Over a course of a few months, I attended (in-person) a total of three public events held by these organizations (one information session and one film event by SAB one meeting with the IWC), I took part in their outreach programs twice (SAB and IWC), and stayed up to date on their activities through electronic newsletters and social media posts. I obtained information on how resistance relating to immigration detention was carried out within these organizations and identified specific strategies used. Developing relationships with individuals at these events allowed for better chances of obtaining some of my later interviews. However, the outbreak of COVID-19 limited in-person participant observation. This forced me to move my participant observation to online events only, such as Zoom webinars, teach-ins, and virtual meetings.

The few in-person events I attended were mostly held at main offices, or at public locations such as university lecture rooms, cafes, and restaurants, and outreach took place at locations such as metro stations (handing out information flyers with the IWC). Whether online or in-person, I spoke with participants, often hearing from individuals who had experienced detention or who had worked closely with those in detention. The online events (total of three) coalesced around hearing from former detainees, helping to draft letters to Ministers and Members of Parliament, and celebrations such as Refugee Rights Day. Interactions with participants online or in-person as well as social media posts identified key individuals from the organizations, and allowed for snowball sampling for potential interviews as well as gave more in-depth access to public documents for the groups concerned. Participants were mainly identified as Canadian citizens or those with clear and

formal immigration status (i.e. refugees, new immigrants, permanent residents), with a few identified as former detainees. During and after attending events, I took field notes to inform my understanding of the case and identify further avenues of research. These notes provided a good source of data in my later analysis.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Qualitative interviewing of participants formed the second portion of the research, based on the ontological position that the views of activists, their perspectives, feelings, and ways of understanding their resistance to immigration control were central to answering my original research questions. Different from formal survey interviews, semi-structured interviews involve a "joint-production" between the interviewee and the researcher, with interviewees providing insights, feelings, and cooperation to reveal subjective meanings and the researcher guiding the interviewee's replies (Neuman 2006, 406). For those individuals identifying as migrants, storytelling is crucial to the experience of migration, where "by constructing, relating and sharing stories, [forced migrants] contrive to restore viability to their relationship with others, redressing a bias towards autonomy when it has been lost, and affirming collective ideals in the face of disparate experiences" (Jackson 2006, 18).

A total of six participants from the different activist organizations were interviewed, with the majority of participants identified through snowball sampling during participant observation, interviews, or through email. Similar to individuals described above, interviewees encompassed a variety of genders (two men and four women) and age groups (ages of 18 and over) and were either identified as Canadian citizens or those with clear and formal immigration status (e.g. new immigrants, permanent residents, refugee claimants), with one identified as a former detainee. Positions within their respective organizations differed, with some permanent employees (3), strong members (2), and some volunteers or interns (1). Each of the respective organizations had at least one interviewee, with some exceptions (e.g. the IWC had two).

The interviews took place over a total of four months and were held over Zoom due to the health concerns of in-person contact because of COVID-19. Interviews were conducted in English or French,[11] were audio-recorded (with participants' verbal and/or written consent, following the

[11] Both interviews from Safa and Viviana were originally done in French, and then translated into English. Hence, translation may have lost some nuance in terms of language, although this was minimized as much as possible.

protocol approved by the McGill Research Ethics Board), and lasted approximately one hour (one extended to 2 hours). I was largely limited to recruitment via email or messenger applications, and relied heavily on snowball sampling from interviewees to make use of personal connections and direct contacts. Due to the limits of my small sample size, I heavily complemented interviews with other methods (discourse analysis and participant observation).

Interview questions involved an overview of background information, questions on experiences relating to resistance more generally as well as in the case of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre, and a personal reflection on their perspectives as activists involved in resistance. Data thereby included not only specific acts of resistance in response to the construction of the new immigration detention centre, but also in response to immigration detention more generally. The interviews also aimed to determine why participants may have believed this case was largely ignored in Canada. A common interview guide with open-ended questions was used for all participants, but more targeted questions were asked if, for example, the individual was an organizer, or if they were a former detainee or had experienced precarity affecting resistance.

After transcribing the interviews, I reviewed each of the transcripts to get a larger sense of the perspectives interviewees raised, manually making some memos directly in the text. Coding was then done using NVivo software employing a grounded theory coding process, first assigning codes through open coding on a variety of themes which emerged, then moving to more selective coding for aspects I noticed repeating, especially those related to my theoretical framework. After repeated coding, these codes were organized into themes and then categories in NVivo according to the theories and research questions (see Glaser 1992, 61; Holton 2007). I also coded for themes which disconfirmed my theoretical frameworks. Themes or categories used were codes on strategies of resistance, barriers to resistance, definitions or perceptions of resistance and success (differing scales of intensity and size), motivations for resistance, immigration background, and solidarity. I also organized interviews according to organization as well as method type. This produced a code matrix to compare the frequency of codes from the organizations and methods.

During the interpretation of data, I employed a triangular approach (see Creswell 2003, 196), by moving between the theoretical framework, knowledge obtained from participant observation, codes from the discourse analysis, and codes from interview responses, remaining open to surprises which disconfirmed the theories (Neuman 2006, 459; Timmermans and Tavory 2012, 169). I also compared interview responses within categories, looking for similarities or

differences, allowing me to contrast codes across interviews and organizations based on identities (e.g. migrant or non-migrant) or intensity of resistance (reformist or radical).

Discourse Analysis

Similar to the other qualitative methods, discourse analysis is inherently social in its creation, meaning, and use. As Wodak (2014, 303) explains, discourse can be defined as "socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned; it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it." Especially in social movement literature, discourse remains a central aspect, as strategies of persuasion resemble "an active, creative, constitutive process" (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001, 16; see also Johnston and Klandermans 1995, 219). Hence, examining discourse produced by those resisting immigration detention requires a level of analysis pertaining to the *active construction* and the *constitutive process* of the meanings of political agency and resistance.

Discourse analysis methods coalesced around an analysis of publicly available documents that the aforementioned organizations or interviewees offered, as well as information from websites, social media, public submissions to government institutions, news articles, and outreach documents (flyers, handbooks, etc.). These documents were downloaded and organized into a folder for analysis, ensuring to gather a wide variety of documents which could indicate perceptions or strategies of resistance to immigration control. Paper copies were scanned into NVivo for easier digital analysis. I mainly selected those documents which pointed to the organization's values or goals, and excluded information relating to fundraising or administrative duties or other themes of immigration. I also excluded documents produced in relation to the COVID-19 response. To document specific acts of resistance, I collected news articles, e-newsletters or social media posts and videos to analyze. Similar to the interpretive process used for interviews, after collection of these documents, I analyzed them in NVivo alongside the other two methods and through a grounded theory coding approach assigned codes according to the themes which emerged, developed larger categories, documented divergences in light of these patterns, and compared these code results to other methods employed as well as the different organizations. The results from the NVivo coding process on this combined data returned approximately 65 different and overlapping codes relating to larger themes such as varying

strategies of resistance, motivation for engagement, definitions of resistance and success, barriers, impacts of immigration background, and dynamics of solidarity.[12]

Positionality, Reflexivity, and Ethical Issues

As a researcher involved in the activist organizations myself, and in researching marginalized groups such as migrants, this necessitates a transparent discussion of issues of positionality, reflexivity, and ethics. As Scheyvens (2014, 61) explains, positionality involves an acknowledgement or "self-scrutiny" from the researcher that one's position in relation to the research can have an influence on the type of information obtained or how it is interpreted. This may comprise of positions in relation to gender, religion, class, sexual orientation, race, life experiences, or history, and result in being only able to "provide a partial picture of the social world being interrogated." (Ibid.). This is complicated by the fact that, as Creswell (2003, 182) explains, "the personal-self becomes inseparable from the researcher-self" when carrying out qualitative research. Similarly, my own personal, academic, and professional experiences played a strong role in influencing those whom I chose to research and my perceptions of those I studied.

It is, therefore, important for me to recognize that my own experience of immigration was likely positive as a white, educated, middle-class, Canadian from European-descent, who never had to go through an immigration process where I feared return to an unsafe country, compared to migrants who are more constrained in taking those risks. This may have biased my research towards those more vocal on immigration detention, or assuming that all wished to speak out. My identity as first-generation German-Canadian may have additionally made me more sympathetic to the views of those subject to immigration control over those who implement these policies. I was thereby aware of my tendency to highlight more negative experiences of immigration, and I aimed to keep myself open to diverging opinions on the topic. My academic experiences may have also made me more critical of the exclusionary dimension of immigration, strongly influenced by two university exchanges in Europe and a volunteer placement in Tanzania, which widened my

[12] The most common codes (in terms of number times referenced) which emerged were "protests", "NGO network", "education", "sense of community", "solidarity", "immigration background as barrier", "system change", "radical vs. reformist", "racism", "colonialism", "government barriers", and "slow / frustrating". Examining across cases (organizations), key codes relating to ARM were in categories such as "government barriers", "immigration background", and "NGO Network"; for SAB codes such as "protest", "definition of activism", "racism", "radical vs. reformist", "system change", "immigration background", and "solidarity" were most common; and the IWC had a codes relating to "solidarity" and "self-determination".

understandings of Canadian exceptionalism and privilege. My Bachelor thesis on the survival strategies of Syrian refugees, along with first-hand experience volunteering with urban refugees in Paris, crucially shaping my wish to ground my research in the lived experiences of migration.

My positionality could have also influenced the answers given by my participants. For example, they may have felt more comfortable discussing with a woman and in cases where I shared my own family's experiences of immigration or time spent abroad. Conversely, my position as a white, Canadian with no experience of the immigration system, may have also affected the openness for discussion. This made me more aware of the need to be open to a wide variety of experiences, backgrounds, and identities within migration (Sigona 2014, 371). Importantly, as Clark-Kazak (2017, 11) stresses, displaced persons may often be in unequal power relations of dependence on sponsors, the government, or service providers for legal status or basic survival and this may threaten the voluntary nature to consent to participation in research. Entering into a relationship with those I studied, I tried to remain critically aware of my own privileged positionality, as well as to the fact that many of the former detainees I interviewed depended strongly on civil society for their release.

In regards to broader ethical concerns, researchers have a "dual imperative" to both promote academic knowledge and carry out ethical action (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2014; Harrell-Bond 1986). Turton (1996, 96) contends that there is no "justification for conducting research into situations of extreme human suffering if one does not have the alleviation of suffering as an explicit objective of one's research" (see also Chatty 2014, 76). Much of my own motivation stems from wanting to advocate for the interests of marginalized individuals within my own community, and given that I was personally involved in supporting the organizations resisting immigration control, it was key for me to remain transparent about the overarching goals of my research and to act as a platform for voices resisting immigration control. It was important for me throughout the process to share my findings with the groups and individuals involved, and to ensure an accurate representation of their voices in a way they felt comfortable with.

The research proposal, recruitment emails, and informed consent form were certified by the McGill Research and Ethics Board based on guidelines for studies involving human subjects (please see Appendix B for additional information on the research ethics process). Especially in regards to interviews, because of the potential vulnerability of some of the participants (e.g. refugees, new immigrants, former detainees), anonymity and confidentiality was a key concern. In

fact, Clark-Kazak (2017, 11) reminds researchers that for many displaced persons, they are called to tell their story many times and to many individuals, and this makes the researcher's questions feel like an additional burden when recalling these painful experiences. Some interviewees who had experiences of migrant detention and were more sensitive to negative experiences chose to share this information on their own initiative. Although the option to use pseudonyms was made clear to participants, the majority of those wished their names to be made public, while some preferred to only have one of their names used.

Challenges to the Research

As described earlier, it is important to note that as participant observation involved direct engagement in the events which I was studying, my presence may have affected the work of the organizations I studied. As King (2016, 1) explains in her engagement in the No Borders movement, "despite being involved in migration struggles in very practical ways there, being an outsider and a researcher created borders, and collaboration proved difficult. I was an uninvited visitor, and there was often suspicion." Beyond influencing the answers of my interviewees in regards to their level of ease in sharing their stories, participants could have additionally been either encouraged or dissuaded from participating in acts of resistance. For example, organizations may have increasingly felt that their work was valued and hosted additional events on immigration detention, or participants with fears of privacy may have worried about public attention and therefore declined participation. However, as these were largely public events in which the majority of participants were specifically focused on outreach, and already had plans to engage, I did not observe this as posing a large problem. Moreover, my engagement with these organizations was not extensive enough to have a crucial role in the trajectory of their work.

It is arguably impossible for researchers to be neutral, objective, or detached from the knowledge they create (Mason 1996, 6); rather than attempt to claim "neutrality," I aimed to reduce these biases or communicate them upfront. In order to control for confirmation bias, given the personal sympathy I had with the goals of the group, I aimed to provide a well-balanced background of immigration control in Canada. I further aimed to interview a wide variety of individuals working on the different levels of immigration detention, for example, those working most closely with both the CBSA and detainees, such as Action Réfugiés Montréal, who were able to provide more balanced views on the issue compared to more contentious views such as

anarchists. Methods of triangulation were used to shift between discourse analysis, participant observation, and interviews, thereby identifying similar patterns across different methods and increasing the reliability and internal validity of the research (Neuman 2006, 149–50).

As explained earlier, additional limits included the inability to carry out in-person interviews due to health concerns at the time (COVID-19 pandemic). Unable to be physically present when interviewing may have created distance between my interviewees and I and made them feel less comfortable to open up and less spontaneous in their replies. Due to ethical concerns, I was unable to ask about resistance acts of a more criminal nature, such as vandalism, as this could threaten the interviewee's security especially for more precarious migrants. I was also not able to speak to individuals currently in immigration detention at the time of my research, limiting an exploration of migrant-led acts. However, I tried to overcome this by interviewing former detainees with more secure immigration status, those participating from outside, or attended public events where detainees shared their experiences from within detention centres (over the phone).

Lastly, using a grounded coding process posed additional challenges to the research. Given that a grounded theory requires a constant comparison and balance between "conceptual abstraction of data and its reintegration as theory" (Holton 2007, 265), both an openness to the emergence of codes as well as a strong grounding in the theoretical framework and goals of the research was necessary. As Holton (2007, 266) describes, the key challenge of grounded coding is "preconceiving the study through the import of some standard qualitative research requirements, raising the focus of coding and analysis from the descriptive to the conceptual level and trusting one's intuitive sense of the conceptualization process to allow a core category to emerge, then being comfortable to delimit data collection and coding to just the core concept and those concepts that relate to the core." Other challenges could have included too quickly jumping to theoretical codes, leaving out smaller codes which may be more descriptive of the data and only reading the data in light of the theory (Ibid.). Overcoming these barriers required continually navigating between codes, theory, and data while remaining aware of my own potential to favour theory over data. Beginning with the data itself through open coding before moving to theory as well as including data which disconfirmed my theories aimed to overcome these tensions. Employing theoretical breadth (e.g. three theories), by relating a large amount of codes to a variety of potential theoretical insights, similarly required a constant triangulation and an awareness for the potential of overlooked theoretical insights.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Similar to using a combination of methods of inquiry, the theoretical framework employed will likewise hope to demonstrate the benefits of bridging different theories not typically used in concert to overcome limitations of narrow theoretical approaches. Using a combination of theories will allow for richer insights, reveal how these theories relate to each other, whether they are compatible or in tension with each other, and shed new light on the benefits and limitations of each theory for the case at hand. The three theorists include Hannah Arendt's (1970, 1973, 1998) ideas on statelessness and recognition of political agency through inclusion into a political community; Michel Foucault's (1991; 2009; 2012) insights on counter conducts in opposition to governmentality and detention as a tool of governance; and James Scott's (1989; 2008a; 2008b) everyday acts of resistance and category of publicly declared resistance. A discussion of each will follow, explaining each theory's application to the case at hand, and concluding with a reflection on the potential limits to a multi-theory framework.

Hannah Arendt on Statelessness, Political Agency, and Action

The work of Hannah Arendt (1973, 1978, 1998) frequently frames academic discussions of migration. As a German Jew stripped of her citizenship during WWII who first fled to France and then to the United States, Arendt's writing is strongly infused with her own experiences of discrimination and exclusion. Arendt offers useful applications in two regards: first, her discussion of what it means to be stateless and rightless in the context of a political community, and second, the intersection of these debates in relation to her insights on belonging in a political community and the assertion of political agency and action.

Arendt's main argument relating to migration is her understanding of refugeehood as "statelessness" and "rightlessness", set out in her book *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1973).[13] In the context of post-WWII Europe facing large-scale displacement and a growing threat of totalitarianism, refugees had no home to return to and no state willing to offer them protection (1973, 293–94). Much of her explanation stems from an understanding of the nation-state based

[13] Important to note is that Arendt did not differentiate between stateless individuals (those not recognized as a citizen by any state) and refugees (who had citizenship but faced persecution and were not protected by their home state) (see Bradley 2013). Essentially, both were the same in both being denied political agency and entering into a condition of "rightlessness" (Gibney 2014, 54), making her theory applicable to a wide variety of experiences of migration.

on the premise that only nationals could be seen as citizens, and therefore those who were not nationals were outside of legal protection of the state (1973, 267, 275). She explains that refugeehood resulted from the fact that a new category of individuals was created once groups fled, writing that "once they [refugees] had left their homeland they remained homeless, once they had left their state they became stateless; once they had been deprived of their human rights they were rightless, the scum of the earth" (267, 277). This resulted in a condition of "absolute lawlessness" and ultimately deprived them of their human rights (269, 283-285). Strongly expressed in her piece "We Refugees" (1978, 60, 6) where she speaks on behalf of her fellow displaced Jewish community, Arendt describes experiences such as "being told we were undesirable" or emphasizes that "being a Jew does not give any legal status in this world."

Central to this, a difficult paradox emerges for those deprived of their rights and their claims to these rights. Summed up in Arendt's earlier writings on "the Perplexities of the Rights of Man", essentially, although the Rights of Man were "inalienable" to all, "the moment human beings lacked their own government and had to fall back upon their minimum rights, no authority was left to protect them and no institution was willing to guarantee them" (1973, 292). In this sense, the loss of national rights inevitably meant the loss of human rights for refugees (Ibid.). Arendt (1978, 64) discusses the frustrating and precarious dilemma this created for Jews after WWII to assert their proper identity, experiencing social exclusion and discrimination as a result:

> If we should start telling the truth that we are nothing but Jews, it would mean that we expose ourselves to the fate of human beings who, unprotected by any specific law or political convention, are nothing but human beings. I can hardly imagine an attitude more dangerous, since we actually live in a world in which human beings as such have ceased to exist for quite a while; since society has discovered discrimination as the great social weapon by which one may kill men without any bloodshed; since passports or birth certificates, and sometimes even income tax receipts, are no longer formal papers but matters of social distinction.

Gundogdu (2015, 3), who examines the implications of Arendt's work for refugees and human rights, contends that: "precisely when one appears as *nothing but human* [emphasis added], stripped of all social and political attributes, it proves very difficult to claim and exercise the rights that one is entitled to by virtue of being born human". Arendt (1973, 294) claims that for refugees, this meant a total state of "rightlessness" and an inability to assert their rights because of the unenforceable nature of the Rights of Man to non-citizens, ultimately persecuted because of what they *were*, not what they did.

Underlying this paradox is a deeper implication for understandings of belonging within a political community and what this means for political agency and action. In fact, Arendt wrote extensively about political action, agency and citizenship (see Arendt 1970, 1998). For example, in her book *The Human Condition* (1998, 7), Arendt breaks down an understanding of political agency through her analysis of the *vita activa* – or the life of action and speech, essential to all political life – into three fundamental categories of being in the world: labour, work, and action. For Arendt, political action is the most important of the three categories and refers to, "the only activity that goes on directly between men without the intermediary of things or matter, corresponds to the human condition of plurality … this plurality is specifically the condition — not only the *conditio sine qua non*, but the *conditio per quam* — of all political life" (Ibid., 7). Plurality, to Arendt, is based on the assertion that "we are all the same, that is, human in such a way that nobody is ever the same as anyone else who ever lived, lives, or will live" (Ibid., 8), thereby allowing for both equality and distinction with others at the same time.

Essential to political action and plurality is the creation of a collective identity, community, and belonging. To Arendt, political action is central to acting in concert and creating a public space, whereby, "the public realm rises directly out of acting together, the 'sharing of words and deeds.' Thus action not only has the most intimate relationship to the public part of the world common to us all, but it is the one activity that constitutes it" (Ibid., 198). Even further, the ability to act within a shared public space relates strongly to social power, whereby "power corresponds to the human ability not just to act, but to act in concert. Power is never the property of an individual: it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together" (Arendt 1970, 44). Through acting within a public space, freedom is asserted, or the ability to "begin" or to "set something in motion", underlined by the human condition of natality or birth, whereby inserting oneself through speech and action represents a "second birth" (Arendt 1998, 177). With plurality comes the *recognition* of these acts by others, "where every reaction becomes a chain reaction" thereby reinforcing a sense of legitimacy and extending these actions across communities (Ibid., 190).

However, a caveat emerges when we put Arendt's ideas on political agency in contrast with her understanding of the impossibility for the rightless to claim the "right to have rights" (Kremmel and Pali 2015). While some read Arendt in a way which sees her insights on rightlessness and political agency as compatible (Horst and Lysaker 2018; Krause 2008; Singh

2020), a number of theorists are not convinced and view her different themes in tension with each other (Benhabib 2003; Birmingham 2006; Bradley 2014; Heuer 2007; Kremmel and Pali 2015; Näsström 2014). Although Arendt speaks in her earlier work of political agency in the context of refugees' ability to assert their proper identity despite discrimination and exclusion, writing how "refugees driven from country to country represent the vanguard of their peoples—if they keep their identity" (1978, 66), a tension presents itself when she later claims that refugees, as rightless, remain outside of a political community and consequently cannot assert their rights and political agency. Specifically, Arendt (1973) rationalizes that what is missing for the stateless is precisely *membership* within a political community which limits their human rights: "the calamity of the rightless is not that they are deprived of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, or of equality before the law and freedom of opinion—formulas which were designed to solve problems *within* given communities—but that they no longer belong to any community whatsoever" (295-296). If we take Arendt's conflicting claims seriously, theorizing the migrant as a valid political actor outside of the political community of citizens seems difficult if not impossible, with her theory unable to provide a clear answer on "the question of how political agency is constituted by refugees' protests and actions" (Kremmel and Pali 2015, 269). As Näsström (2014, 550) explains, Arendt's contrasting arguments may generate a "normative lacuna" which "leaves us with a disquiet about the normative foundations of her own political philosophy" (Benhabib 2003, 82).

Hence, this thesis takes the position that despite the extensive attention Arendt gives to political action and agency, her arguments on the "rightless" as devoid of political agency creates a clear inconsistency. As a result, this tension limits her theoretical application to situations where "rightless" migrants still engage in political action. Bradley (2014, 107) similarly speaks to the limits of Arendt's work in explaining that "refugees are predominantly characterised as having been stripped of their capacity for political agency." In showcasing the ability of certain groups of refugees to use the repatriation process as an opportunity to assert their claims to rights in the case of the Guatemalan repatriation movement, Bradley demonstrates that even within displacement, refugees can engage in "challenging the state's prerogative in deciding which citizens can participate in the political community of the state" (117). Turton (2005, 278) also challenges this "passive" view of refugee agency and upholds that doing so treats them as "fundamentally flawed human beings" whose only existence is to be "assisted, managed, regimented and controlled."

Essentially, this thesis aims to argue that acts of resistance to immigration control carried

out by migrants (non-citizens) in solidarity with non-migrants can nonetheless display dynamics of plurality, a shared public space, and an assertion of political agency, which suggests that irrespective of "rightlessness" the basis for the right to action and agency may rather be through *engagement* with and not necessarily *membership* in a political community. As d'Entreves (2019, n.d.) similarly understands, "it is only by means of direct political participation, that is, by engaging in common action and collective deliberation, that citizenship can be reaffirmed and political agency effectively exercised". Especially if Arendt (1973, 301) contends that "we become equal as members of a group on the strength of our decision to guarantee ourselves mutually equal rights" and if refugees represent "vanguards" for change, then can this not extend to migrants resisting their rightlessness and pushing for a claim to the right to equality within a political community? Gundogdu (2015, 59) would argue yes, whereby an "Arendtian politics of human rights centers on the democratic agency of the very subjects who find themselves in a condition of rightlessness and yet take it upon themselves to contest that condition by bringing into view new understandings of equality and freedom." Or, as Heuer (2007, 1171) explains, "what is required is not refugee policies but *political action by the refugees* [emphasis added]", and "who make the opening of political space possible by their *action* [emphasis added]". Much like the acts of citizenship literature contends (see Isin and Nielsen 2008), it is the *act itself*, and not the immigration status, which matters for resistance and political agency. Expanding this discussion in light of Arendt's reflections on political action and agency represents an avenue for future work.

An investigation into instances of resistance carried out by migrant detainees despite existing in a state of "rightlessness" has the potential to shed new light on the necessity of membership within a political community. If in effect, "the rights claims articulated in these struggles are not simply juridical appeals to the sovereign state," as Gundogdu (2015, 24) argues, but are rather "political practices positioning migrants as subjects entitled to equal rights, manifesting a political community beyond the restrictions imposed by territorial borders," this may have the effect of "ushering in new understandings of rights, citizenship, and humanity". Or, as Näsström (2015, 550) highlights "rather than being passive victims of a politics of exclusion they *become political agents in their own right* [emphasis added], capable of bringing something into being which did not exist before." This can change our understanding of "rightlessness" not as the absolute loss of rights, but perhaps rather as entering into a precarious legal, political and human standing as Gundogdu (2015, 93) advocates for. For instance, varying levels of engagement within

a community (e.g. immigration status) may affect the ability of migrants to exert political agency, further demonstrating that while political agency is *not necessarily contingent* on immigration status, a lack of membership in a political community may still pose barriers to political action.[14] Pushing the bounds of Arendt's work is central to this thesis, and ample room exists to explore how permeable the boundaries are between the political community and those excluded. Moreover, while Arendt is limited in clearly identifying a solution to her paradox, especially for the displaced, this research aims to fill this gap and contribute to new interpretations and critiques of her work.[15]

Michel Foucault on Governmentality and Counter-Conducts

Often cited in the literature on immigration, especially in regards to immigration control and the surveillance of mobility, Foucault's theories on governmentality and counter-conducts apply well to the increasing securitization of migration policies and the subsequent resistance this control may elicit (Bigo 2002; D. Conlon 2010; Fuggle, Lanci, and Tazzioli 2015; Gill 2016b; Mountz 2010; Walters 2005). Given the extensive application of his work to contexts of immigration detention and migrant resistance, only a brief discussion follows. Foucault's work will be important to this research in two regards: first, his insights on governmentality highlights practices of immigration detention and immigration control as a tool of governance carried out by the Canadian state; and second, Foucault's ideas on "counter-conducts" illuminates how dynamics of resistance to immigration control challenge regimes of state surveillance and governmentality and can open up new pathways of political action for migrants.

While Foucault does not explicitly define "governmentality", for Foucault, government is most famously known as the "conduct of conduct" which refers to a type of activity that can shape

[14] For example, one could theorize that those displaced who can achieve "belonging" within a political community (e.g. permanent residency), will be more likely to have their rights respected compared to precarious migrants with less secure status who tend to become criminalized as 'illegal'.

[15] Although not the main focus of this thesis, as it aims to study resistance to immigration detention, rather than the nature of immigration detention itself, scholars often use Arendt's work to understand the intersection between criminality and migration. For example, Arendt explains that refugeehood, as a state of "rightlessness" resulted in a constant transgression of the law to exert any rights such as the right to work or reside, whereby "he [the stateless] was liable to jail sentences without ever committing a crime" (1973, 286). Even further, Arendt speculates that criminals may be largely better off than the stateless, indicating that "since he [the stateless] was the anomaly for whom the general law did not provide, it was better for him to become an anomaly for which it did provide, that of the criminal" (1973, 286). Canada embodies similar dynamics, exemplifying gaps in legal rights between the criminal justice system and those held in immigration detention (International Human Rights Program 2018). Even Arendt's ideas on how the stateless become "completely at the mercy of the police," are similar to border enforcement services (the CBSA) which increasingly resemble criminal law enforcement agencies (Arendt 1973, 283; Atak 2019, 8).

or guide the actions of another person or persons (Foucault 1994; Gordon 1991, 2-3). In its broadest form, governmentality combines "government rationality" and represents both a logic and a practice that aims to regulate and manage populations (Foucault 1991, 80; Gordon 1991, 1). Using the analogy of the "panopticon", Foucault draws from the philosopher Jeremy Bentham's plan for a privatized prison that used architecture to allow for the inspection of prisons, factories, hospitals, and schools. He explains that power within the context of governmentality is to be understood as a "strategy" and that its "effects of domination are attributed not to 'appropriation', but to dispositions, manoeuvers, tactics, techniques, functionings" (Foucault and Sheridan 2012, Chapter 1). Hence, it is the disciplinary *practices* and not the ideology or institutions which matter in his study of prisons (Foucault 1991, 75). This form of power can be both transmitted through and by those who use it, in effect permeating down to the "depths of society", whereby governmentality can be extended beyond the state, to contexts such as schools, factories, and hospitals (Foucault and Sheridan 2012, Chapter 1, 3). Central to his ideas is the *internalization* of power, knowledge, and discourses which guide the everyday behaviour of subjects, forming a technology or "surveillance of behaviour" (Foucault and Sheridan 2012, 80). As this surveillance operates, it takes on what Foucault terms as the "automatic functioning of power", in that surveillance continues its effects through subjects even if it is not continuing it its actions, and thereby making the actual exercise of surveillance itself unnecessary (Foucault and Sheridan 2012, Chapter 3).

One can witness similar dynamics of governmentality occurring in immigration detention, especially in the literature on critical geography described earlier (Mitchell, Jones, and Fluri 2019; Mountz et al. 2012; Walters 2006a). Very similar to Foucault's ideas on apparatuses of security, migration management employs deportation and detention to achieve this goal, with detention operating as "technologies of exclusion" and disciplinary strategies such as confinement and surveillance to shape migrant mobility (Mountz et al. 2012, 526-527). Similarly, these practices become internalized and routinized to migrant detainees who are subject to these controls within detention centres, whereby the fear of constant surveillance within detention isolates migrants from communicating with each other and they "become 'self-regulating' in their attempts to avoid suspicion" (Mountz et al. 2012, 529; see also Cleveland 2013). Even outside of the walls of the detention centre itself, there is an increasing use of practices of digital monitoring which subjects detainees to surveillance – through in-person reporting, electronic monitoring by GPS ankle bracelets, undeclared visits by border control officials, or phone check-ins – regardless if they are

within or outside of the confines of an immigration detention centre (Sampson 2019, 261).[16] Enforcement bodies such as the CBSA similarly act under the Canadian state, but exert their own form of power on migrant detainees through surveillance within and outside of detention, facilitating an expansion and proliferation of authorities' control (Mountz et al. 2012, 524).

In response to these dynamics, Foucault's ideas on "counter-conducts" can illuminate how resistance to immigration control challenges regimes of state surveillance and governmentality and opens up new pathways of political action for migrants within constrained circumstances. In Foucault's 1978 lectures when asking whether there can be forms of resistance towards "power as conducting" (Foucault et al. 2009, 195-196, 201-202), he determines that there is "an immediate and founding correlation between conduct and counter-conduct," in this sense that counter-conduct is always in the "struggle against the processes implemented for conducting others". This reversibility of power relations can open up a space for individuals subject to governmentality to actively resist these mechanisms of control, regulation, and discipline while being aware of its disciplining effect (Gordon 1991). In fact, resistance to immigration control is commonly analyzed through theories of counter-conducts, displaying similar forms of questioning the specific rationale which guides the conduct of migration management (see Conlon 2016, 129).

Lastly, solidarity between migrants and non-migrants may pose new challenges to Foucault's insights, in determining how counter-conducts can emerge from both migrants and non-migrants to resist state practices of governmentality. In effect, counter-conducts launched by outsiders may open up of new pathways for resistance or strengthen migrants' own resistance to immigration control practices. While Foucault does not aim to provide solutions to the structures of governmentality, his ideas on counter-conducts still offers a useful theoretical framework to understand strategies of resistance to immigration control by both migrants and non-migrants.

James Scott's Everyday Acts of Resistance and Publicly Declared Resistance

The work of James Scott (1989; 2008a; 2008b) first needs to be situated within a diverse field of social movement studies to justify the use of his theory over others. A large debate within

[16] For example, the Alternatives to Detention program in Canada, while aiming to reduce the number of detainees in detention facilities, still embodies an "externalization" of surveillance practices by monitoring detainees outside of detention centres through in-person reporting (check-ins), undeclared visits, a voice reporting program using voice biometrics to report to the CBSA at a decided time, and an electronic monitoring program (ankle bracelets) using GPS and Radio Frequency (Government of Canada 2017).

the literature is between theorizing small-scale action (one or a few individuals) compared to large-scale collective action (groups such as protests). In fact, the majority of studies within political science focus on large-scale collective action, that is publicized and focuses on bringing about a concrete political change (outcome) (Jenkins 1983; McAdam 1999; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Meyer 2004; Norris 2009; Olson 2009; Tarrow 1994; Tilly 2015). However, this understanding of collective action leaves little room for theorizing about individual, small-scale, and sub-state acts and actors which may often fly under the radar and may not be successful in their goals (Brook 2001; Johansson and Vinthagen 2020). As Brook (2001, 267, 269) describes, given that "politics is more than what can be observed in the public arena" instead of focusing on either large or small-scale acts, one should rather be looking to resistance along a "continuum", whereby both forms are "merely endpoints on a continuum of collective action". In line with Johansson and Vinthagen (2020, 27), who critique Scott's understanding of resistance as a binary categorization (everyday vs. publicly declared resistance), this thesis will similarly aim to conceptualize resistance in its "hybrid" forms whereby "public and hidden [everyday] resistance mix and combine". Nevertheless, by delinaeting both endpoints (everyday and publicly declared resistance) of Scott's theory, this thesis can include a variety of acts along this continuum and simulantaneously identify overlaps and contrasts between empirical reality and Scott's categorization.

Essentially, James Scott is most well-known for his ethnographic research of peasant farming communities in Malaysia. Instead of observing peasant revolts or rebellions, he rather witnessed a constant struggle between the peasantry on the rice paddies and those higher up in class who obtained food, labour, rent, interest or taxes from them, resulting in strategies of "everyday forms of peasant resistance" (2008b, 29). In effect, he terms these strategies the "weapons of the weak", which include acts such as "foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so forth" (Scott 2008b, 29). Similar to Delmas (2018), these acts display an underlying sense of "principled disobedience"[17] which intend to undermine power structures or the law, and according to Scott (2008a) remain "hidden" by disguising the identity of the resister. Scott's idea of "hidden transcripts" specifically refers to "a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant." Essentially, while these

[17] For example, Delmas (2018) defines "principled disobedience" as either: *civil* in undermining unjust laws or practices but largely nonviolent, public, and respectful; or *uncivil* as more controversial through forms which may be "covert, evasive, anonymous, violent, or deliberately offensive" (18).

acts may be public in their expression, they are communicated in a way so they cannot be understood by those who threaten resistance (Scott 2008a, xii, xiii). What is different, Scott argues, from more organized, large-scale protests movements which pose a threat and usually gain the interest of academics and media, is that these everyday forms "require little or no coordination or planning; they often represent a form of individual self-help; and they typically avoid any direct symbolic confrontation with authority or with elite norms" (Scott 2008b, xv, 29). Hence, Scott opens up the idea of resistance as not needing to be organized, large-scale, or engaged with the state to be legitimate, but that it can be small-scale, informal, disguised and seemingly invisible acts in response to power structures, which are often overlooked within most understandings of resistance in academia. While resistance in the context of immigration detention may be more public and exceptional rather than everyday in nature, defining both the everyday and public forms of resistance nevertheless allows for applications of Scott's theory to combinations of both.

Moreover, Scott (2008b) is well-placed to theorize the marginalized, as he is interested in the resistance of peasant communities who are at the margins of society in relation to their "oppressors" who extract taxes and labour. His work helps to overcome the limitations of other social movement theories, which are less well-suited to account for resistance from those excluded from traditional political channels or situated within complex power structures. Ultimately, social movement studies may struggle to account for more radical or contentious forms of resistance (perhaps outside of the scope of traditional or romanticized categories of civil society) which directly place into question the very structures they are resisting (such as the state, its borders, and citizenship) (see Stierl 2012, 436, 427).[18] As King (2016, 26) argues, "social movement studies remains weak in exploring movements that refuse established ways of being – the frameworks of identity, rights and self-determination – or that feature people who are largely excluded from politics, as people/travellers without papers invariably are" (see also Stierl 2012). Scott's theory of resistance from the margins is therefore helpful in bringing to light the dynamics of power which shape the forms and presence of resistance. As Scott explains, if we only look to those acts of resistance with large-scale impacts, then, "all that is being measured may be the level of repression that structures the available options" (1989, 51). For Scott, the power of everyday resistance comes

[18] For example, as Kremmel and Pali (2015, 268-269) explain, more violent acts such as migrant hunger strikes should not be seen as "poetic" acts or romanticized, but rather represent "auto-aggressive acts" which are shaped by exclusion to become "(some) people's [migrants'] most effective means to be heard".

in part from its ability to remain hidden; by bringing light to these dynamics through his research he demonstrates the importance of these actions by the marginalized, who are normally seen as a "political nullity" and unable to carry out more open and organized political action unless supported by outsiders (2008, xv). It will be additionally interesting to determine how privilege in regards to immigration status intersects with resistance to immigration detention, especially if migrants are assumed to be "rightless" in Arendt's terms.[19] Similar to Foucault's ideas, power relations or dynamics of exclusion may likewise occur between the Canadian state and migrants to silence their resistance.

Moreover, Scott (1989, 49–50) himself alludes to the fact that the state rarely publicizes these acts because this would admit to the weaknesses of their authority and unpopularity of their policies. It would be rational that the Canadian state would similarly not endorse a critique of their immigration policy from non-migrant citizens or citizens engaged in "fringe" solidarity movements. Perhaps, as Scott (1989, 49) writes, it "is not to say that their resistance leaves no traces; it is rather that the traces must be teased out of the record by the historian who knows what he or she is looking for." Hence, uncovering these dynamics is a primary aim of this thesis to demonstrate that the acts of those resisting immigration control, even if small-scale and relatively hidden, matter. Arguing for the need to consider small-scale acts cumulatively, Scott writes that:

> Everyday forms of resistance rarely make headlines. But just as millions of anthozoan polyps create, willy-nilly, a coral reef, thousands upon thousands of petty acts of insubordination and evasion create a political and economic barrier reef of their own. And whenever, to pursue the simile, the ship of state runs aground on such a reef, attention is typically directed to the shipwreck itself and not the vast aggregation of actions which make it possible (1989, 49).

Hence, bringing attention to how acts of resistance to immigration control may be slowly and cumulatively challenging the Canadian state's migration policies is central to this research's goals. In addition, as Johansson and Vinthagen (2020, 49) explain, since Scott (1989, 36–37) is more focused on the intention of the act rather than the outcome itself, he can theorize resistance as occurring whether there is an outcome or a failure. Similarly, whether or not the Laval Immigration

[19] It should be noted that this does not imply that migrants in detention centres are not privileged, merely that they may face barriers in relation to citizenship which can constrain their ability to carry out resistance. In fact, given that Canada employs a highly selective immigration program, the majority of migrants are especially well-educated. In 2016, Statistics Canada reported that 40% of immigrants between the ages of 25 to 4 had a bachelor's degree or higher (compared to 25% of Canadian-born) and 11.3% of immigrants had a master's or doctorate degree (compared to 5% of Canadian-born) (Statistics Canada 2017).

Detention Centre is built will not be known during the time of this research, and so this thesis is more interested in understanding the *strategies* and *perceptions* of resistance involved.

In contrast to everyday forms of resistance, Scott's (1989) category of "publicly declared resistance" may better describe the majority of resistance to immigration detention. Scott (1989, 34) differentiates publicly declared resistance as "more direct", with "open confrontation", and rather than "tacit, *de facto* gains" it "aims at formal, *de jure*—recognition of those gains." Scott (as cited in Johansson and Vinthagen 2020, 25) identifies actions such as revolts, petitions, demonstrations, land invasions, the public assertion of worth, or public counter-ideologies, all against domination. These acts may take place in ways such as a public show of deference, always with the identity of the actor known, and a "public discursive affirmation of the very arrangements being resisted" (Scott 1989, 56). He further contrasts the two types of resistance in relation to the dominant symbolic discourse, by explaining how, "if everyday resistance is 'heavy' on the instrumental side and 'light' on the symbolic confrontation side, then the contrasting acts would be 'light' on the instrumental side and 'heavy' on the symbolic side" (Ibid.). Ultimately, for Scott (1989, 57), publicly declared resistance fails if it does not get attention while everyday forms of resistance leave the dominant order intact. Hence, for those acts of resistance against immigration detention which are more public and confrontational of dominant power structures, Scott's category of publicly declared resistance may be most applicable. By viewing resistance along a continuum, this research will aim to uncover both the visible and invisible aspects of resistance to immigration control, challenge which forms of resistance are seen as legitimate and how they intertwine, and show the interaction of power dynamics in legitimizing or suppressing resistance.

Combining Theories of Political Agency, Power and Resistance

By employing diverse theoretical perspectives, the hope is to bring out the multiplicity within acts of resistance which help to understand how strategies of resistance to immigration control can: 1) be viewed as political agency in light of demands to make visible their claims using Hannah Arendt's ideas on recognition through inclusion into a political community; 2) challenge regimes of state surveillance and governmentality using Michel Foucault's ideas on counter-conducts; and, 3) highlight acts of resistance that may embody both the visible and the invisible along a continuum and emerge from the margins of society using James Scott's everyday acts of resistance and his category of publicly declared resistance.

However, it is not without inherent tensions that three theories are brought together. Foucault's work may be better suited to studying power relations, rather than resistance, while Scott can offer strengths in understanding smaller or hidden acts of resistance but only speaks of power relations in terms of positionality or constraints to resistance. In comparison, Arendt may be even less likely to offer insights on power and control shaping resistance, although she can offer perceptions into the barriers in relation to immigration status which may emerge. Alternatively, while Arendt highlights the unique position of migrants within citizenship and belonging, Foucault and Scott can underscore the political agency of these actors to resist despite their apparent "rightlessness" by engaging with solidarity from non-migrants outside of immigration detention. Nevertheless, it will remain to be determined if these theories can account for more traditional dynamics of social movements, such as resource constraints or the use of traditional political channels or motivations for joining, which the literature on social movements might be better equipped to explore (see Giugni 2001; Goodwin 2004; Jenkins 1983; McAdam 1988; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Passy 2009; Peace 2015; Tilly 2015).

This thesis' research on resistance to immigration control in the case of Laval, Quebec, may point to particular shortcomings, strengths, or limitations of these theories. For example, will Arendt's theory on the rightlessness of unwelcome migrants be useful in explaining those acts of resistance by migrants in solidarity with non-migrants? Or, will Foucault's ideas on counter-conducts help to understand strategies of resistance which coalesce around goals to disrupt static notions of citizenship, territoriality, and borders? And can Scott's work be challenged by migrant resistance which is much more "loud and contentious" than predicted for those in constrained circumstances, or by those acts which combine both hidden and public forms? Determining how dynamics of solidarity and resistance challenge these theories' abilities to provide a strong framework may uncover new weaknesses and strengths of each. The goal, therefore, is not so much to create a unified theory to analyze resistance to immigration control, but rather to expose ways in which diverse theories can complement and strengthen each other while simultaneously opening up new critiques of their ability to account for dynamics of resistance, power, citizenship, and political agency.

Part II: Case Study and Findings

This section of the thesis provides an overview of the background of the empirical case study and the findings of the inquiry. Chapter four will first describe the case of Canadian immigration control and immigration detention, as well as the dynamics and organizations resisting both the construction of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre and immigration detention more broadly. Chapters five and six will provide an overview of the main research findings and interpret these findings in light of the theoretical framework employed, according to the research questions. Hence, chapter five will focus on the various strategies of resistance, their barriers, and their meanings in light of the theoretical insights. Chapter six will then provide an analysis of the dynamics of political agency in the empirical evidence, examining the motives for resistance and the perceptions of political agency and action which emerged.

Chapter 4: Background to the Case of Immigration Detention in Laval, Quebec, Canada

It is essential to acknowledge that while this thesis exposes dynamics of immigration control and detention happening in Canada, Canadian immigration policy is not normally seen by the public in a negative light.[20] This chapter will first review the changing nature of Canadian immigration policy towards one of increasing control and securitization, then follow with a summary of the policy and history of immigration detention in Canada as well as its harmful effects. It will then present the specific case of immigration detention and the construction of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre, the grounds for resistance, and the various organizations involved. By highlighting the structural factors underlying immigration control and detention in Canada, this chapter will therefore help to explain the reasons for the emergence of resistance in Laval.

Immigration Control in Canada

Canada is no exception to global trends of the securitization of immigration control (Mountz 2010). Because of Canada's geographic location – surrounded by three oceans and having the natural "buffer" of the US – Canada has the upper hand in deciding who can or cannot reach its borders (Fitzgerald 2019, 15–16; Mountz 2010, 10). Through point systems which rank potential immigrants based on skills, education, or work experience, along with visa and air transportation policies, Canada uses methods of "remote control" to further reduce asylum claims from targeted countries (Fitzgerald 2019; Government of Canada & Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada 2015; Mountz 2010, 6–7).[21] Moreover, the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001 justified "crimmigration" trends in Canadian immigration policy, further restricting the rights of migrants especially in regards to immigration detention (Mountz 2010, 21–22). As Canada was critiqued for its "porous borders" which threatened a "haven for terrorists", groups such as No One is Illegal (NOII) formed in opposition to worrisome security developments (Hammerstadt 2014, 269; Pratt 2005, 3–4; Walia 2013, 98). For example, Bill C-36 (or the Anti-Terrorism Act) allowed

[20] For example, the Canadian private-sponsorship program is widely viewed as a model of success in going beyond the government's own resettlement programs, praised by the current United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Filippo Grandi, as a model for other Western countries to replicate (Goodspeed 2018, 301; UNHCR Canada 2017)..

[21] Most significantly, in 2012, the Canadian government implemented the Designated Countries of Origin (DCOs) legislation to deter individuals "from countries generally considered safe" (Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada 2010; Silverman 2014, 28). As soon as a nationality reaches 2% of total asylum claims, Canada implements a visa requirement, even in for states with a significant asylum recognition rate (Fitzgerald 2019, 60).

Canadian law enforcement and national security forces to "target, monitor, arrest, and detain without warrant Canadian citizens on the basis of suspicions relating to terrorist activity" (Pratt 2005, 3–4). Most concerning for civil society, the Safe Third Country Agreement in 2002 restricted migrants from the US from making a refugee claim in Canada, forcing many to face inhumane detention conditions in the US (International Human Rights Program 2018; Mountz 2010, 9–10).[22]

Immigration Detention in Canada

Contrary to popular belief, the practice of detaining immigrants in Canada has a much longer history, beginning as early at the 1890s.[23] In fact, only when the *MV Ocean Lady* and the *MV Sun Sea* disembarked on the Canadian West coast in 2009 and 2010 did Canada implement *legislative* immigration detention policy (Silverman 2014a, 28). Most troubling to civil society, the conservative government amended the IRPA in June 2012 with Bill C-31 to formalize the use of mandatory immigration detention (Silverman 2014a, 28). This included requiring biometric data, separating families, the ability to strip permanent residence from refugees, and the designation of refugees as "irregular" (called DFNs) who would be detained if suspected of assistance by smugglers or if processing took too long (CCR 2012; Cleveland 2015, 82).

Much to the frustration of migrant rights groups, Canada still places high on the list of democratic countries employing immigration detention, detaining 9,051 migrants in 2019 (see Appendix A, Figure 2).[24] According to current policy, the CBSA has the jurisdiction to arrest, detain, and remove any individuals not permitted in Canada, with or without a warrant (Government of Canada 2014). Not all migrants entering Canada are detained, only those assessed by the CBSA as a danger to the Canadian public; those who seem unlikely to appear for a hearing, examination, or removal; those who cannot prove their identity; or those arriving irregularly[25]

[22] The Canadian Federal Court has recently challenged the Safe Third Country Agreement as infringing on the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, specifically its section guaranteeing "the right to life, liberty and security of the person". It is yet to be determined if the Canadian government will appeal the decision (Tunney 2020b).

[23] In fact, between 1890 to 1915, the Canadian government processed Chinese migrants arriving on the West coast in a building known as the "detention shed" on the Vancouver pier, used by the immigration department until 1975 (Mar 2010). Canada also engaged in boat push-backs, turning away 300 Sikh Indian nationals in 1914 on the *Komagata Maru* and in 2008, formally apologized for returning 936 Jewish refugees on the *SS St. Louis* in 1939 to Europe who were later sent to concentration camps (Silverman 2014a, 28).

[24] See Figure 2, Appendix A. According to Nakache (2011, 36), CBSA statistics remain rather limited. For example, there is no clear differentiation between asylum seekers and failed refugees. Statistics on gender, age, and nationality are also not publicly available. Some data was obtained through an Access to Information Request and this is included accordingly.

[25] Meaning those who arrive between official border crossings or by sea. See also Figure 1, Appendix A.

(Government of Canada 2014). Contrary to popular belief, the most significant ground for detention is administrative (fear that the individual will not appear) at 85 percent compared to those detained on grounds of either criminality, security, human rights violations, or danger to the public at 7 percent (Government of Canada 2019b) (see Appendix A, Figure 2). Although generally positive towards immigration,[26] until recently, Canadians were largely unaware of the impact and extent of immigration detention in Canada (Molnar and Silverman 2018). Misinformation and skepticism surrounds immigration and large support for deportation continues to exist (Gonzalez-Barrera and Connor 2019; Wright 2018).[27]

Similar to the UK, the US, and Australia, migrants in Canada face the possibility of unlimited detention, with the average length of detention at 13.8 days (2018-2019) (Government of Canada 2019b). The longest period the CBSA detained an individual was 11 years, and the longer an individual is in detention, the less likely they are to be released (International Human Rights Program 2018, 6). In 2019, only 29 migrant detainees had their asylum claim granted at some point before or during their detention (Canada Border Services Agency & Access to Information and Chief Privacy Office, 2020). On average, up to a third are detained in non-Immigration Holding Facilities (IHCs), where they are subject to the same rules as inmates (International Human Rights Program 2018) (See Appendix A, Figure 4). There are currently a total of three main IHCs, with higher-risk detainees or those outside of areas with an IHC held in standard correctional facilities (Global Detention Project 2018, 31) (See Appendix A, Figure 3). The impact of immigration detention continues to fall primarily on men (81 percent on average between 2012 and 2019) compared to women (19 percent on average in the same period) (Canada Border Services Agency & Access to Information and Chief Privacy Office, 2020). Between 2012 and 2019, the majority of detainees were citizens of Mexico, the US, China, or India (Ibid.).[28]

After a number of complaints by civil society emerged regarding the health and well-being of migrants in detention, Prime Minister Trudeau implemented the National Immigration

[26] According to a study by Ipsos commissioned by Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada in March 2018, Canadians generally believed that immigration had a positive effect (economically and culturally) (Wright 2018).
[27] For example, the same study by Ipsos highlighted that participants were confused and misinformed about irregular migration, unaware of the Safe Third Country Agreement between the US and Canada, and questioned the legitimacy of irregular migrants. Moreover, a 2018 Pew Research Center survey reported that 53% of Canadians surveyed support "deporting immigrants currently living in the country illegally" (Gonzalez-Barrera and Connor 2019).
[28] It should be noted that the CBSA reports only the nationality of detainees' *current* country of citizenship, making it difficult to distinguish situations where individuals may have a different migratory background than their current citizenship (Canada Border Services Agency & Access to Information and Chief Privacy Office, 2020).

Detention Framework (NIDF) in 2016 (Government of Canada 2014; Harris 2018).[29] A total of 138 million CAD would be invested over five years, with 122 million CAD for the construction of two new detention facilities—one in Laval, Quebec, and the other in Surrey, British Columbia—and 5 million CAD towards a new "Alternatives to Detention" program[30] (Government of Canada 2017; Stoppons la Prison 2019). Nevertheless, the CBSA remains part of Canada's larger security and law enforcement apparatus, is not legally accountable to the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, and was accused of misconduct in May 2020 (British Columbia Civil Liberties Association 2017; Hudson 2018, 50; Tunney 2020a). Essentially, only the Canadian Red Cross (CRC) and the UNHCR can provide oversight, although they cannot investigate complaints, and the first CRC report was only publicized in February 2019 (Cleveland 2015, 85; Government of Canada 2018; Nakache 2011, 32). Civil society is also concerned that increasing privatization of detention will outsource responsibility (British Columbia Civil Liberties Association 2017).[31]

In October 2017, after frustrations with the NIDF reached a new high, Canadian civil society organizations issued a joint submission to the UN Universal Periodic Review stating that immigrant detention in Canada "continues to violate binding international law, such as the rights to equality, liberty and security of the person, and the right to an effective remedy. In many cases, this treatment constitutes arbitrary detention, as well as cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment" (International Human Rights Program 2018, 1). Those with psychological disabilities are most likely to end up in non-IHCs, and since 2000, 16 deaths have occurred under the CBSA's care (Ibid., 4, 8; Molnar and Silverman 2017). Unaccompanied children are segregated to avoid mingling with non-familial adults, and children may even be placed under detention for the same reason as adults—an inadequate environment for childhood development (International Human Rights Program 2018, 9–10, 12–13). Between 2018 and 2019, 118 minors were detained in IHCs for an average of 18.6 days (Government of Canada 2019b).[32]

[29] As a result of the NIDF, the number of detainees held for three months or longer decreased by 30 percent between 2016-2017, with the overall number of detainees falling by 5 percent during this same time period, and the average number of days in detention going down by 20 percent (Global Detention Project 2018, 7).

[30] The Alternatives to Detention program involves monitoring detainees outside of detention centres through in-person reporting, undeclared visits, a voice reporting program using voice biometrics, and an electronic monitoring program (ankle bracelets) using GPS and Radio Frequency to monitor detainees (Government of Canada 2017).

[31] For instance, private multinational companies such as G4S, Serco, and GEO Group – a US company already implicated in labour violations and sexual abuse within detention facilities – have been similarly used within detention facilities in Canada (Global Detention Project 2018; Krol 2020; Stoppons la Prison 2019).

[32] According to the CBSA, Quebec currently holds the most minors (91% of all provinces), with a total of 107 minors detained in 2018-2019 (Government of Canada 2019b).

Resistance to the Laval Immigration Detention Centre

To the majority of civil society, the construction of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre represents one piece of larger concerns with immigration detention. The Laval Immigration Detention Centre is set to be built in 2021 outside of Montreal, to improve the current detention facility's capacity and quality, given that the current facility is in need of repairs (currently houses 109 detainees, but this would increase to 133 to 158 individuals) (Government of Canada 2016; Wilton 2016).[33] Nevertheless, organizations are worried about the expected health and support facilities of the new centre, its connection to private interests, and its potential to contribute to continued effects of separation, isolation, and indefinite detainment of migrants.

In effect, resistance is made up of a loose and broad network of affiliates consisting of migrants and non-migrants. There are currently two main identifiable groups involved in direct resistance to the construction of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre: Solidarity Across Borders (SAB) and *Stoppons La Prison* (Stop the Prison). SAB is a migrant justice network with demands to end deportations, detentions, and to achieve a full and comprehensive regularization program (Solidarity Across Borders 2018c). *Stoppons La Prison* is a (solely) online information resource for resistance against the Laval Immigration Detention Centre (Stoppons la Prison 2019). Others such as NOII as well as *Ni Frontières Ni Prisons* are more focused on general detention issues rather than the new centre, and Guineans United for Status advocates for the rights of precarious Guinean migrants in Montreal, often in respect to detention.

Two other networks work directly with migrants in and around Montreal and advocate for those subject to immigration detention, deportation, and migrant workers' rights. Action Réfugiés Montréal (ARM) forms partnerships with migrants and non-migrants for mutual empowerment through detention visits, buddy programs, and private sponsorship (Action Réfugiés Montréal n.d.). The Immigrant Workers Centre (IWC) is more focused on defending the rights of migrants in workplaces, particularly for precarious migrants (Immigrant Workers Centre 2010). And lastly, other organizations engage in more indirect action through research on refugee rights in Canada, such as Citizens for Public Justice (CPJ) in Ottawa (Citizens for Public Justice 2005). Lastly, "anarchists" engage in more contentious actions of resistance (largely anonymous). This research will mainly focus on SAB, Guineans United for Status, ARM, the IWC, CPJ, and anarchists.

[33] Further information is not made public on the numbers of migrants held at the current Laval Immigration Holding facility compared to those held in provincial correctional facilities or in other institutions. See Appendix A, Figure 4.

Chapter 5: How are Projects of Immigration Control Resisted?

This chapter will first give a descriptive overview of the various strategies of resistance used by migrant solidarity organizations against projects of immigration control and immigration detention. These will be divided into strategies on the inside of detention centres (e.g. in-person visits to detention centres or providing material and emotional support to migrant detainees), those on the outside of detention centres (e.g. protests, sit-ins, the use of popular education, NGO networks, lobbying, and contentious forms such as blockades, pickets, caravans, and acts of sabotage), and those which blur the clear division between the inside and the outside (phone calls from the outside, publicizing interior conditions, facilitating the direct release of detainees, or mobilization outside to connect to those on the inside). Specifically for the strategies in between the inside and the outside, insights from Foucault and Arendt on borders and citizenship will be used to better understand the ways clear divisions are resisted by migrant solidarity groups. These strategies will then be interpreted in light of Scott's theories on both everyday resistance as well as publicly declared resistance to demonstrate the need to see resistance on a continuum of acts, both large and small, and as intention rather than outcome.

Secondly, this chapter describes the barriers to resistance, bringing in Foucault's insights on governmentality and state control, Scott's ideas on repression in preventing resistance from emerging, and Arendt's ideas on immigration status as a barrier. Lastly, an analysis of the ways migrant solidarity organizations are engaging in differing intensities of resistance from more radical to reformist forms will be analyzed as a form of Foucauldian counter-conduct to specifically contest larger systems of control and naturalized concepts of borders and citizenship. As explained previously, given that more organizations resisted immigration detention or immigration control, rather than specifically mobilizing against the construction of the new detention centre, acts of resistance specific to the construction of the detention centre itself will be interpreted as one piece of broader resistance to immigration detention and control in Canada.

Results indicate that beyond showing a diversity of forms of resistance along a continuum of small to large acts as well as radical to reformist acts, the "in between" strategies of resistance occurring across the walls of detention centres can be theorized in parallel with Foucault's ideas on counter-conducts which resist structures of governmentality and control (e.g. the CBSA), and simultaneously challenge Arendt's clear divisions between the inside and outside of the state and

the citizen vs. non-citizen. On the whole, Foucault provides a stronger frame of analysis for more contentious acts in opposition to power structures and systems of control than Scott. Moreover, aligning with Scott's theory, the perceived legitimacy of resistance stemmed from the intention and recognition of the acts rather than from the outcome itself, and the Canadian state's constraints of public debate on immigration resistance and detention contributes to the invisibility of these struggles. However, in contrast to Scott's clear differentiation between everyday and public acts of resistance, evidence suggests blurring and hybridity between both forms of resistance. Specific barriers to resistance center on the restrictiveness of government structures, the negative rhetoric towards immigration detention, the impact of immigration status on participation (sense of fear and mistrust), the slow and frustrating nature of resistance, and difficulties in fundraising. Intersections occur between these barriers and all three theories, such as Foucault on surveillance and power structures, Scott on state repression and secrecy, and Arendt on the limits placed by citizenship. However, constraints such as fundraising do not conform as well to the theories given the practical/logistical nature of fundraising, deemed better suited to social movement theories such as resource mobilization (Jenkins 1983; McCarthy and Zald 1977).

Strategies of Resistance: The "Inside", the "Outside", and the "In-Between"

Resistance Inside Detention Centres

Surprisingly, while hunger strikes remain a strong method of resistance by migrants held within detention centres in other contexts (see Conlon 2016; Fiske 2016; McGregor 2011; Montange 2017; Pfeifer 2018), this strategy did not emerge as a large-scale response in the case of Laval. It should be noted, however, that migrant detainees have used hunger strikes in Canada since 2011, and have been especially influential in pressuring for the 2016 NIDF reforms.[34] The largest of these hunger strikes occurred in September 2013, when 200 migrants initiated a 65-day hunger strike at the Central East Correctional Centre in Lindsay, Ontario protesting their move from the Toronto West Detention Centre which had caused increased isolation, constrained legal

[34] Examples include 4 refugee claimants detained at the Niagara Detention Centre hunger striking in 2011, demanding to be moved to Toronto where they had higher hopes of legal success, better support, and conditions (No One Is Illegal Toronto 2011). In July 2016, 60 migrants in two maximum security prisons in Ontario organized a 19-day hunger strike, another 17 migrant detainees in Lindsay initiated a hunger strike in October 2016, (Malone 2016; Reuss 2016). Lastly, in 2018, 15 detainees in Lindsay organized a hunger strike which lasted a few days (Davis 2018).

counsel, frequent lockdowns, and disregard of dietary needs (Keung 2013). Rather, at the time of the research, hunger strikes were initiated by 10 migrant detainees in Laval, but were solely triggered by concerns related to detainees' increased risk to COVID-19, although the resistance was framed within broader concerns with immigration detention.[35] For example, members from SAB engaged in a campaign to pressure for release of migrant detainees held in the current Laval Immigration Holding Facility, wrote to MPs to demand their release, carried out protests outside of the detention centre, and even broadcasted phone calls online with detainees to publicize the voices of those resisting and to update the activist community.[36] However, since hunger strikes during the research were not solely motivated in relation to the construction of the new detention centre in Laval or by broader concerns with immigration detention, I chose to exclude this data.[37]

While the majority of organizations focused on resistance outside of detention centres, a select few such as SAB, Guineans United for Status, and ARM were directly involved within the detention centre, similar to resistance (albeit lesser studied) occurring in other contexts (see Lindley 2019).[38] Action Réfugiés Montréal (ARM) is currently the only organization with official CBSA approved access, and since 1994 visits at least once a week[39] to provide moral and material support to detainees in the form of legal information, community organization contacts, as well as provision of phone cards, currency exchange and supplies such as clothing (Action Réfugiés Montréal 2020; Jeanes and Goettl 2015).[40] Once inside the detention centre, a small team from ARM's detention program talks with detainees to ensure they are informed about the reasons for detention and where to get support to advocate for themselves (Action Réfugiés Montréal 2020b).[41] At times, this may involve looking for "special needs and vulnerabilities" and making

[35] For instance, SAB's campaign to release migrant detainees from the Laval immigration holding facility was primarily concerned with the health risks associated with immigration detention because of COVID-19. Nonetheless, SAB called for broader changes such as the abolition of immigration detention or the push for status for all migrants as "essential workers" (Solidarity Across Borders 2020a).

[36] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "#HungerStrikeLaval Teach in - The Struggle Continues", April 11 2020

[37] The only recorded case of a hunger strike in the Laval Immigration Detention Centre unrelated to COVID-19 was in 2005, carried out by Arash Aslani who had been detained for 10 months. In an effort to end his detention and bring awareness to the situation, his hunger strike lasted for almost a month and inspired other detainees to join him as well as garnered support from SAB (Neylon 2011; Solidarity Across Borders 2017a).

[38] Similar strategies of immigration detention visits have also occurred in the UK context, where migrant detainee visitors groups in the UK provide emotional and practical support, assist detainees in finding a legal advisors, and help contact friends or obtain personal items or documents for detainees (Lindley 2019, 11).

[39] Up until 2013, visits were weekly. Now, they take place twice a week (Jeanes, interview, April 2020).

[40] Jeanes, interview, April 2020

[41] Ibid.

sure detainees can connect with those outside of detention, sometimes even getting in touch with family or friends for them.[42] As a report by ARM describes, for many detainees, emotional support provided by ARM "was the only source of hope for a lot of people there" particularly during psychologically challenging periods (Jeanes and Goettl 2015, 33, 38). ARM members also accompany detainees as observers to detention review hearings at the IRB (Action Réfugiés Montréal 2020b). For Jenny Jeanes, the detention program coordinator at ARM, she views detention visits as a strategy "to push for change from within", justifying that, "we feel people can have better access to justice if they understand better what's happening, and if they have the information that they need to navigate these systems, and they have legal counsel, and they have support, and their particular vulnerabilities or situations are being addressed."[43]

Although ARM is the only organization who has official access to the Laval Immigration Holding Facility, members from other organizations such as SAB or Guineans United for Status engage in similar strategies of visits, but because of CBSA restrictions are limited to visiting during public visiting hours on behalf of a specific individual. Members of SAB and Guineans United for Status additionally provide frequent phone contact with those in detention.[44] In contrast to ARM, these visits by SAB and Guineans United for Status are less focused on legal information and more focused on the material or emotional side of support, working to provide a listening ear to migrant detainee's challenges.[45] Engaging in direct action with detainees likewise increased members' ease around detention.[46] For some organizations, such as Guineans United for Status, visits coalesce around mutual support for those within the same community of individuals.[47] For example, Muhamed who was detained for two days in Laval himself, specifically visits fellow Guineans up to three times a week to provide contact information or support.[48] Members motivate others within their group to join detention centre visits, inspiring continued resistance and creating a stronger sense of mutual support. Bringing others physically to the centre was particularly effective:

> I talked to them [members of Guineans United for Status] about the detention centre, I brought a lot of them to the detention centre just to see ... I showed them the van where they put them, and I showed them the detention centre. Some of them went inside to see, and to visit the waiting room. They're even motivated now to visit the detainees. They call

[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020
[45] Ibid.
[46] Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020
[47] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020
[48] Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020

> me, "Hey, Muhamed, whenever you go to the detention centre, please let me know, we'll go together. We can provide them with everything they want."[49]

Visits also expanded through networks with other members or organizations, whereby members from Guineans United for Status and SAB now organize a small team through WhatsApp or emails to coordinate outreach to the detention centre.[50]

Resistance "In Between" the Inside and Outside

While there is significant ambiguity between what can be considered uniquely inside and outside strategies of resistance, given that the aim of this thesis is to rethink methods and meanings of resistance, opening up the space for a blurry in-between is crucial. As Stierl (2019) explains, migrant resistance often challenges mainstream views of resistance within oppositional categories and thereby reconstitutes meanings of not only resistance, but even borders in themselves (see also Freedman 2009; McGregor 2011; Montange 2017). In effect, "migrant resistances are more than momentary noises disturbing the ongoing sovereign sound. Through their struggles, they probe the dominant political imaginaries of the present, and often prefigure alternative ways of being-with one another and of living communally, despite difference. When one accepts their politicality, one begins to think migrations, borders, and resistance differently" (Stierl 2019, 4). Hence, strategies of resistance taking place across the walls of the detention centre, may put into question not only nation-state concepts of borders and territory (see King 2016), but also Arendt's seemingly clear designation of the stateless as outside of the state and political community, and citizens as inside the state and within a political community (1973, 267, 275). If one were to apply Arendt's theory seriously in the case of Laval, detainees may theoretically remain isolated on the inside of the detention centre (outside of the state), and non-migrants on the "outside" of the centre (within the state). However, drawing from Foucault's (2009, 196, 201-202) ideas on counter-conducts as the "struggle against the processes implemented for conducting others" strategies of resistance reconfigured and challenged rigid boundaries.

Essentially, the various strategies taken by solidarity movements in resistance to immigration detention in Laval disrupted clean divisions between inside and outside within the effective 'borders" of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre, engaging in solidarity *across*

[49] Ibid.
[50] Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020; Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020

borders.[51] As Stierl (2019, 7) explains, forming *linkages* across differing communities of belonging has the potential to "subvert in-themselves the divisions that border regimes generate" and thereby transform understandings of not only citizenship and borders, but also *resistance* itself. Across the data, the strategies solidarity movements took can be interpreted as traversing the borders between inside and outside. As described earlier, a number of organizations (SAB, ARM, Guineans United for Status) engaged in phone-calls, as a way to reduce detainees' feelings of isolation from the outside world (Action Réfugiés Montréal 2020).[52] As Lindley (2019, 15) emphasizes, volunteers visiting migrant detainees connect the outside with the inside and can challenge immigration detention centres' "function to isolate, contain and exclude people from wider society".

The use of phone calls additionally worked to contest or question specific actions happening within the detention centre, indirectly challenging the exclusive control CBSA had within the walls of detention centres. Beyond making phone calls to detainees themselves, a number of interview results described members calling the CBSA or migrant solidarity organizations on behalf on individuals detained or threatened with deportation, where members would question the grounds for deportation in light of detainees' health conditions or demand transparency from the CBSA as to conditions on the inside.[53] These phone calls ultimately conveyed information from the inside to the outside, which normally would not have emerged independently—a crucial strategy of resistance to CBSA lack of transparency.[54] If detention centres, as places of pre-deportation, are viewed as embodiments of the nation-state, and consequent deportations are interpreted as "a manifestation of the right of sovereign states to control the entry and stay of foreign citizens on their territory" (Abdou and Rosenberger 2019, 107), then resistance to deportation could be interpreted as a challenge to the binary division of the nation-state itself or as a strategy to "question the boundaries between exclusion and inclusion" (Ibid.). In line with Foucault, one could thereby interpret these strategies as a contestation of mechanisms of control and regulation enforced by the CBSA (Gordon 1991).

Other strategies of resistance exposed the inside of the detention centre to the public's (outside) knowledge. As Lindley (2019, 15) describes, "ways of 'knowing' individuals in detention

[51] Interestingly, the name itself of the organization Solidarity Across Borders (SAB) itself symbolizes strategies of overcoming borders, divisions, and exclusion through SAB's guiding principles, in focusing on solidarity and resistance emerging from both migrants and non-migrants in cooperation (Solidarity Across Borders 2018c).
[52] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020
[53] Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020; Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[54] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020

– and understanding their life processes and experiences – are a vital antidote to state rationale for detention as containment of risky 'anonymous aliens'". Hence, exposing information on conditions of detention to the public may contest the state's control over the image conveyed of migrant detainees. As a case in point, organizations such as ARM have the ability to, in some cases, bring more general issues forward which may be happening in detention centres (they cannot discuss specific case details due to confidentiality) to government bodies, publish reports with interviews from former detainees, or support other organizations' reports with empirical evidence (for report see Jeanes and Goettl 2015).[55] Accordingly, "in numerous cases, access to information about 'life inside' has led visitors' groups to make complaints and publish information about poor treatment, which has resulted in improvements" (King 2016, 5). Other migrant solidarity organizations, such as SAB or Guineans United for Status, employed similar strategies, for example migrant detainees called in at some SAB events to make statements on their condition and reasons for wanting their release.[56] This not only exposes the harmful impact of detention on individuals, but also embodies a broader strategy to, "amplify the voices of the detainees" (Walia 2013, 121).

In fact, strategies include establishing direct links with those on the inside to facilitate their passage to the outside, whereby members of organizations such as SAB and Guineans United for Status may act as guarantor for detainees to secure their release. Acting as a surety for detainees has direct impacts on the lives of some detained within the centre. As Muhamed describes: "we [Guineans United for Status] succeed to stop a lot of deportations, and we succeed to be the cause of a lot of help in the detention centre, which was good." In other cases, backing by an organization provided more legitimacy to a detainee's case.[57] In cases where direct release is not an option, organizations such as the IWC who are familiar with case-work in regards to precarious migrants, reach out to other organizations such as ARM or SAB to collect the appropriate documents and provide language translation.[58] Across the data, the IWC, Guineans United for Status and SAB commonly organize broader campaigns of release alongside family or friends of detainees

[55] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[56] Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "#HungerStrikeLaval Teach in - The Struggle Continues", April 11 2020
[57] For example, as one ex-detainee explained at one SAB event, sponsorship by SAB significantly helped his case and chance of getting out of detention (Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "No Borders, No Prisons: opposing the New Detention Centre for Migrants in Laval", February 18 2020).
[58] Medina, interview, June 8 2020

(Immigrant Workers Centre 2018b).[59] Ultimately, for many of these organizations, strategies of "stopping one deportation at a time makes a significant difference in people's lives and helps build movement morale" (Walia 2013, 108).

For some, the line between the inside and outside seems even more blurred, given the overlap between members of organizations, such as SAB and the IWC, and those detained. For instance, almost all migrant interviewees described that that it is common to know a detainee outside of the detention centre before they are detained because of the small community of activists, and beyond the emotional pain incurred when friends and community members become detained, these ties can furthermore help to strengthen channels of communication and resistance.[60] As Montange (2017, 515) describes in the UK context, "these relationships of solidarity involve the building of lines of communication and political action that bridge the boundaries of detention spaces, so that detainee's activism and actions are connected with political networks and political struggles outside detention" (see also Mountz 2011). Losing members because of detention or deportation is a strong emotional reality for those such as the IWC or SAB:

> Many friends, people who organize themselves around the detainees, they get there, they are detained, sometimes we managed to free a few people, sometimes not, and that's the problem, right? Like, in several dimensions. Our relationship with the detention centre is very, very, very close, because among us, there are many members with no status or a precarious status, and that is always a risk.[61]

As Lindley (2019, 15) suggests, acts of resistance which try to overcome this physical distance "can create and cultivate forms of literal closeness that are often highly emotive." Both SAB and the IWC were strongly involved in the nation-wide campaign to stop the deportation of Lucy Granados, a strong community member for the rights of undocumented women who had been violently arrested and detained for 24 days before being deported (Immigrant Workers Centre 2018b; Solidarity Across Borders 2018d).[62]

In fact, Lucy Granados later told SAB that upon her deportation she had seen a glimpse of the sit-in organized on her behalf (Immigrant Workers Centre 2018b; Solidarity Across Borders 2018d). At other times, those protesting loudly outside of the detention centre are heard by

[59] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020; Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "No Borders, No Prisons: opposing the New Detention Centre for Migrants in Laval", February 18 2020
[60] Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020; Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[61] Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[62] Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020; Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020

migrants on the inside, and give them courage to continue their fight.[63] Demonstrations hosted outside of detention centres commonly create dynamics which permit "people at the fences and inside the centre to see and wave at each other, taking turns to shout, sing, and make speeches relayed by mobile phone and loudspeaker" (Lindley 2019, 14). Or, as Montange (2017, 521) describes in the UK context, the "audible presence of protesters enabled detainee strikers to feel supported and connected despite attempts to isolate them." In fact, during the Lucy campaign, "in sharp contrast to the armed force beside them and the cruelty of prisons, supporters sent powerful messages of solidarity and love over the prison walls" (Solidarity Across Borders 2019e). Ultimately, organizations engaging in resistance across the walls of the detention centre worked to undermine the clear distinction CBSA enforces between the inside and outside of detention centres, question the detention centre's ability to truly act as an impermeable border, and demonstrate how resistance in the context of immigration detention can challenge understandings of what is possible within the bounds of borders.

Resistance Outside of Detention Centres

A much larger proportion of strategies of resistance occurred outside of immigration detention centres, ranging from popular education, to forming networks with other NGOs, protests, lobbying, media engagement, hosting events, research and policy, and even documentation and legal work. Many of these strategies intersected with one another, and revealed differences in forms and perceived effectiveness across organizations. Many of these strategies aimed to inform the Canadian public and key stakeholders on undiscussed topics concerning immigration detention, migrant rights, and immigration control.

The large majority of organizations used popular education as an overarching strategy, intersecting with the use of events or research. Popular education, as a strategy of resistance, is specifically rooted in the "popular" or in the individuals in which it comes from, drawing from experiences of those directly marginalized and usually demanding a form of (informed) action (Crowther 2013, 46). Hence, engaging with migrants, hearing their voices, and disseminating this to the non-migrant community embodied solidarity in its essence, if solidarity is understood as "mutual support" and "building of wider communities of struggle" (King 2016, 52; Tyler 2013,

[63] Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "#HungerStrikeLaval Teach in - The Struggle Continues", April 11 2020

102). For example, SAB emphasizes popular education as requiring active "dialogue, openness, discussion, support, and learning", taking a role within one's own communities, and representing "an ongoing process of social struggle" (Solidarity Across Borders 2018c). Members of the IWC highlighted that popular education requires an engagement with both migrants and Canadians to be successful as resistance, and can ultimately create a form of "empowerment".[64] For instance, Mostafa Henaway, a key organizer of the IWC, writes: "the biggest victory [for the IWC] has been the creation of a space where migrant and immigrant workers are empowered" (as cited in Walia 2013, 169). In the case of IWC programs which educate migrant women on their rights in the workplace, this can even encourage leadership:

> That knowledge can begin to reproduce, we can have more impact, right? This is also like education, a very effective training, to begin to assert our rights inside our workplaces, right? How can we defend ourselves collectively? If I go alone to defend myself in front of my boss, who knows my immigration status, and will do who knows what in front of me, right? And if I know my rights, the more I share my knowledge with others in the workplace, it creates a collective defence.[65]

Similarly, some ARM members justify the use of popular education in the sense that "knowledge is power", where increased knowledge on issues of immigration detention can empower further change and help to overcome a lack of transparency surrounding immigration detention.[66]

Some organizations, such as CPJ and ARM, were much more focused on research-backed popular education than others. For example, CPJ's main strategy in regards to refugee rights is to "educate the public", providing summaries of their research to their church congregations on platforms such as online publishing, blogs, or e-news (Citizens for Public Justice 2020).[67] ARM provides education and analysis of laws to better inform the Canadian public and those affected by detention laws, issuing a number of reports with academics and other organizations (Action Réfugiés Montréal 2020; for reports see Cleveland 2013; Jeanes and Goettl 2015).[68] The IWC also researches Quebec labour laws, or invites specialists from the Quebec occupational health and safety commission[69] to educate volunteers so they can better communicate rights to migrants.[70]

[64] Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[65] Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[66] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[67] Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020
[68] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[69] Called the Commission des normes, de l'équité, de la santé et de la sécurité du travail
[70] Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020; Immigrant Workers Centre, observation at meeting "Changements auxnormes du travail", February 6 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020

Across all organizations, hosting events intersected strongly with popular education, as a way to create a public space to inform a wide range of individuals. Some events occur annually, such as the May Day march which the IWC participates in for the rights of migrant workers (Immigrant Workers Centre 2012),[71] the "Status for All!" march hosted by SAB every summer (Solidarity Across Borders 2020b), or ARM's annual Refugee Rights Day in the spring (Action Réfugiés Montréal n.d.). Other events coalesce around specific themes, such as SAB's Week of Action in May 2019 which challenged the Safe Third Country Agreement, using public campaigns, forums, and media (Solidarity Across Borders 2019c). ARM frequently speaks in the academic, community, or faith community on topics such as the detention of children, the human rights of "refugeed people", and the integration of refugees (Action Réfugiés Montréal 2018, n.d). CPJ has even traveled across Canada to educate on refugee rights issues.[72] Events additionally raise funds for the organizations or for migrants' immigration legal fees.[73]

Public education through events also attracts the media, widening awareness further. Essentially, ARM uses the media to inform the public on these issues and often gives interviews because of their unique insights into the direct experience of working with migrant detainees (Action Réfugiés Montréal 2020a).[74] Similarly, newspapers and radio broadcasters often invite members of organizations from the CPJ, Guineans United for Status, and SAB for further interviews.[75] The IWC also uses events to bring journalists and MPs to their centre, publicizing their work and organization to the broader community (Immigrant Workers Centre 2019).[76] In some cases, interviewees such as Muhamed described how public education extended to hosting his own radio show or documenting abuses for Amnesty International or UN bodies in Geneva, in the case of violence against Guineans who were deported.[77]

Other organizations take the model of popular education even further, convinced that direct education is most effective. For the IWC, as an organization founded on direct collaboration with migrants to advocate for their rights (Henaway as cited in Walia 2013, 167-169), members expressed the importance of physical outreach: "I think we should go directly to see people,

[71] Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[72] Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020
[73] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[74] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[75] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020; Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020
[76] Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020
[77] Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020

because if there's just an article about it, maybe they won't read it. If we go in schools, if we do demonstrations, maybe if we go to people's workplaces. We like, go directly to them, I think then we will have their attention."[78] Essentially, the IWC carries out a number of outreach programs to instruct migrants about their labour rights and to provide resources to help advocate for themselves, handing out flyers at metro stations or organizing workshops (Immigrant Workers Centre 2010).[79] Other direct forms of education include bringing fellow members to detention centre visits,[80] or hosting information pickets (Solidarity Across Borders 2019a).

Organizations also make strong use of NGO networks. As Walia (2013, 121) describes, migrant resistance organizing in Canada involves "building as many alliances as possible" as this is what makes many of these actions of resistance possible. All organizations analyzed in this study networked with at least one municipal, national or international organization involved in migration or detention issues.[81] Some of these networks functioned to complement on the ground practice with research. For example, the Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR) is a crucial network to both ARM and CPJ, working closely together on issues, supporting each other in publications, consultations, discussions, and attending mutual events.[82] Organizations such as the CCR can fill in gaps missing in the capacity of organizations such ARM, given the CCR's work in developing documents from the expertise of a wide variety of organizations. Primarily, this strategy creates a "feedback loop" whereby the CCR creates policy documents from organizations' evidence and expertise, and organizations such as ARM use this to give legitimacy to their work and strengthen their ability to speak out on contentious issues.[83] Essentially, "with some organizations systematically utilizing insights derived from casework to enrich advocacy", this forms an

[78] Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[79] Ibid.; Immigrant Workers Centre, observation at "Outreach: Flyering at Namur Metro", February 20 2020
[80] Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020
[81] For example, ARM commonly raises concerns regarding immigration detention to bodies such as the UNHCR, the Red Cross, the CBSA, as well as the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB); and is a member of the Table de concertation des organismes au service des personnes réfugiées et immigrantes (TCRI) and the International Detention Coalition (Action Réfugiés Montréal 2020a, 2020c). Additionally, CPJ works with organizations such as the Canadian Association of Refugee Lawyers, the York Centre for Refugee Studies, along with local organizations providing housing support to new refugees in Ottawa (Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020). The IWC collaborates with a number of smaller migrant-led organizations such as Mexicans United for Regularization, Dignidad Migrante, the South Asian Women's Community Centre, or Guineans United for Status to name a few (Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020; Immigrant Workers Centre 2013a; Medina, interview, June 8 2020; Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020). SAB also remains well connected to a variety of migrant organizations across Canada such as No One is Illegal - Toronto, or the Migrant Rights Network (Solidarity Across Borders 2014).
[82] Jeanes, interview, April 2020; Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020
[83] Jeanes, interview, April 2020

important dynamic of "complementarity"—vital to public education on immigration detention (Lindley 2019, 13).

Networked activities also linked with non-migrant specific organizations. For example, opposition to the construction of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre garnered support from over 80 organizations on topics such as climate, law, and women's rights, and over 40 organizations from all across Canada supported the Lucy campaign (Solidarity Across Borders 2018d; Solidarity Across Borders 2019f). The IWC involves themselves strongly with organizations working on labour or housing rights, such as the Comité d'Action de Parc-Extension, the YMCA, sub-organizations working with placement agencies for temporary foreign migrant workers (ATTAP[84]), or human rights-based organizations such as the Committee for Human Rights in Latin America (Immigrant Workers Centre 2018a).[85] Other organizations such as ARM and CPJ, as faith-based organizations, are linked with religious institutions such as the Anglican Diocese of Montreal (for ARM), or the Canadian Council of Churches and the Canadian Reform Church (for CPJ) (Action Réfugiés Montréal 2018).[86]

To a great degree, migrant solidarity organizations work alongside each other in mutual support. As Muhamed describes:

> I know more than 25 organizations across Canada. From every province I have a connection with at least one or two organizations ... we are all in touch, we email each other individually or by organization. When we have something in Montreal we organize a conference here, they do the same in the same day, or they send journalists from there to here so it will be shared all across Canada… which is very helpful.[87]

Even at the IWC office, protest placards from SAB's campaign for Lucy were visible, showing interconnectedness between organizations.[88] The IWC uniquely acts as a community space for other migrant-led groups, motivating them to organize outside of the IWC, with the majority located close to the IWC (Henaway as cited in Walia 2013, 167-169).[89]

In addition, a number of organizations use lobbying to exert pressure on the government. For example, ARM uses certain channels of communication with the government or Members of

[84] Association des travailleuses-eurs temporaires et d'agences de placement
[85] Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[86] Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020
[87] Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020
[88] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Immigrant Workers Centre, observation at meeting "Changements auxnorms du travail", February 6 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[89] Immigrant Workers Centre, observation at meeting "Changements auxnorms du travail", February 6 2020

Parliament (MPs) to put forward concerns regarding immigration detention,[90] and the IWC often meets with representatives from the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Solidarity and follows with press conferences to exert more pressure on the government (Immigrant Workers Centre n.d.). CPJ is specifically situated close to Parliament in Ottawa, and as a registered lobbyist, organizes frequent meetings with MPs.[91] Strategies of lobbying additionally provide resources for members to pressure politicians themselves such as letter templates and contact information of local MPs (Citizens for Public Justice 2016; Solidarity Across Borders 2017b).[92] Nevertheless, some members were more skeptical, viewing lobbying as pointless in light of past failures, not radical enough, or as overly dependent on politicians.[93]

Lastly, a number of the organizations used strategies such as protests, blockades, and marches. As a central example, both the IWC and SAB participated in Lucy's 2018 anti-deportation campaign, involving rallies, vigils, and an 8-day sit-in—culminating in a blockade around the Laval Immigration Holding Centre to try to stop her deportation (Immigrant Workers Centre 2018b; Solidarity Across Borders 2018d). One year later, these groups organized a rally in the same place to mark the one-year anniversary of her deportation and continue the fight for migrants subject to detention and deportation. Here, techniques included chants against deportations and detention, testimonies by former detainees as well as Lucy herself (by phone), as well as redecoration of the detention centre fence with flowers, banners, and silhouettes of Lucy and other migrant detainees. Displaying a strong symbolic nature, resisters later threw "seed bombs" on the grounds of the new detention centre in Laval as a "symbolic act of defiance that aimed to reclaim the site and to prepare the muddy grounds for better uses" (Montréal Counter-information 2019).

More generally, marches, caravans, and demonstrations formed a common strategy of resistance. As described earlier, many of these marches occur annually or coalesce around one topic. Embodying solidarity irrespective of geographic boundaries, SAB initiated caravans in solidarity with those taking place in central America and held a friendly caravan at the Quebec-

[90] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[91] Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020
[92] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020; Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "HungerStrike - Grèvefaim by/par Migrants Zoom solidarity party", March 26 2020
[93] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "No Borders, No Prisons: opposing the New Detention Centre for Migrants in Laval", February 18 2020

US border to show resistance to Trump's policies (Solidarity Across Borders 2017e, 2018b, 2018a).[94] Some interviewees view protests as a central strategy of resistance to vocalize their frustrations with immigration policy, expressing: "we [Guineans United for Status] do demonstrations to show our anger, and to demand to the federal government to regularize those who are already here ... we did a lot of protests, in front of the detention centres, and in front of immigration Canada, downtown. Everywhere in Montreal, we did protests all the time. Even this winter we had like three protests, at Parc extension."[95]

A subsection of protests took place specifically in relation to the construction of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre, mainly carried out by anarchists and SAB, with some participation from IWC members.[96] Interestingly, strategies of protests repeatedly used silhouettes of those deported, and commonly occupied the construction site or the grounds of those involved in the centre's construction. In one case, hoping to prevent the bidding on contracts, anarchists used picketing to block vehicles from getting to the construction site, banging pots and pans, calling out company representatives against their actions, and holding banners and signs in opposition (Montreal Counter-Information 2019e). Another time, as a more symbolic re-appropriation of land, anarchists sowed 490kg of oats, peas and fava beans over the construction site (Montreal Counter-Information 2019h). Picnics held on the grounds of the new detention centre also represented a form of protest, as a "temporary occupation of the site; a transformation through poetry, painting, music, dance and laughter; an incitation to reclaim the site for community, to close prisons and open borders" (Solidarity Across Borders 2019d). Information pickets were similarly held on the grounds of the headquarters of companies such as Tisseur Inc., featuring live music, and speakers from a number of organizations (Solidarity Across Borders 2019f, 2019f). Protests also spanned geographic locations, with SAB organizing a Day of Action Against Immigration Detention in October 2019 with marches held in cities across Canada (Solidarity Across Borders 2019b). In another case, SAB marched directly into the offices of Lemay, chanting slogans, handing out flyers, and carrying silhouettes of those detained.[97]

Some of these actions were much more contentious in their nature, largely carried out by

[94] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020
[95] Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020
[96] Immigrant Workers Centre, observation at meeting "Changements aux normes du travail", February 6 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[97] Solidarity Across Borders, email communication, March 7 2020

anarchists. For example, throughout 2019, numerous acts of arson and vandalism on vehicles, buildings, and structures of the companies involved in the construction of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre took place, often in creative ways (Stoppons la Prison n.d.). For example, anarchists released thousands of crickets into Lemay's headquarters to have a symbolically longer-lasting impact in the hope that resistance "continues to proliferate, faster and further than thousands of crickets" (Montreal Counter-Information 2018a). Other acts of sabotage included the manipulation of door locks and blocking entrances to Lemay's headquarters (Montreal Counter-Information 2019c, 2019d), spray painting Loiselle's offices with "no to the migrant prison", or slogans such as "fuck Lemay" sprayed onto structures (Montreal Counter-Information 2019g).

Overall, resistance by migrant solidarity organizations demonstrated variation in form, scale, and level of intensity. Solidarity organizations utilized a broad variety of strategies, ranging from those on the inside of detention centres (in-person visits providing material and emotional support), to those on the outside of detention centres (popular education, NGO networks, protests or more contentious forms such as vandalism). These strategies may be interpreted through Foucault's theory as subverting the clear Arendtian divisions between the inside and the outside; for example, phone calls, publicizing conditions, and campaigning for the release of detainees challenged this purported division. In stretching from the inside to the outside to the in-between, these actions demonstrate that a simplistic dichotomous categorization of resistance is insufficient to capture the variety of forms migrant solidarity resistance takes. Alternatively, as discussed below, a conceptualization of resistance on a continuum may be much more helpful to understanding these dynamics.

Understanding Resistance as a Continuum, not a Binary

Given the broad variety of strategies of resistance to immigration control and immigration detention observed, and in reference to Scott's (1989; 2008a; 2008b) work on "everyday forms of peasant resistance" and "publicly declared resistance", resistance may ultimately involve not only large-scale collective acts, but also as the small-scale acts which may fly under the radar. An investigation into how these forms combine and co-exist on a continuum can further shed light on new understandings of resistance in challenge to Scott's theory, given his potential inability to theorize how "public and hidden resistance mix and combine" (Johansson and Vinthagen 2020, 27; see also Brook 2001). Understanding underlying intentions of resistance or perceptions of

success (whether or not outcomes were achieved), can further relate to Scott's arguments on the legitimacy of resistance regardless of success or failure (Johansson and Vinthagen 2020, 48; Scott 1989, 36–37). This next section will reflect on the various strategies used and how they relate to and simultaneously dispute Scott's understandings of resistance.

Based on the various acts of resistance described, acts of resistance did, in fact, range from small-scale to large-scale, but contrary to Scott, existed in simultaneously overlapping and hybrid ways. For example, acts of providing emotional and material support to migrant detainees, making weekly visits, engaging in phone calls, or facilitating the release of detainees were largely carried out by individuals, were small in their scale, and were somewhat perceived as "everyday by members carrying out these acts. For instance, as some members expressed: "maybe sometimes it's more individual, for example like, people who are vegan, people who go zero waste, and it's more individually who want to change things, more than people all together who are going to make an action."[98] Or, the importance lay in small, every day acts of resistance, emphasizing strategies such as getting members to volunteer to speak at events or to attend meetings: "at different levels, I would say it's a success that the girl who I'm organizing with attends the event. For me it's very simple things. For me, the revolution, we do it *every day* [emphasis added]."[99]

Nevertheless, given the exceptional nature of these acts taking place in the context of migrant detention centres, their coordination by organizations and members, and the fact that they were not intentionally "hidden" (e.g. most organizations publicized their work), they cannot entirely conform to Scott's ideas on "everyday forms of resistance" which "require little or no coordination or planning; they often represent a form of individual self-help; and they typically avoid any direct symbolic confrontation with authority or with elite norms" (Scott 2008b, xv, 29). Especially for small-scale acts which existed in the in-between space of migrant detention centres, in contrast to Scott's (1989, 57) ideas of the everyday which leave the dominant order intact, these acts were interpreted as undermining the control of the CBSA within detention centres. For example, as Stierl (2012, 433–34) explains, acts such as providing material or legal support to migrant detainees can still work to undermine "the modern state's ability to determine who to include or exclude" and therefore interfere in the "politics of protection". Interestingly, while acts which Scott (2008b, 29) highlights as characteristic of everyday forms of resistance, such as "foot

[98] Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020
[99] Medina, interview, June 8 2020

dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance" or "slander" did not occur, anarchists used those identified such as "arson" and "sabotage" at times. In contrast to Scott's ideas on "hidden transcripts", these more violent acts *intended* to gain public attention and were openly critical of the Canadian state. At the same time, *identities* were kept "invisible", somewhat in line with Scott's ideas on "hidden transcripts". While conforming to minimal elements of the everyday (small-scale in form and everyday in perception), the majority of resistance disrupted the clear differentiation between everyday and public acts of resistance, rather signifying a combination or mixing of both forms.

Ultimately, interviews revealed that smaller-scale forms of resistance still had strong impacts on the lives of detainees within constrained circumstances, demonstrating the importance of taking small acts seriously, whereby "a lot of actions can be activist".[100] Some viewed individual action as "more efficient" than large-scale acts of resistance in achieving change.[101] Much like Scott (1989, 49), who argues for a need to consider small-scale acts cumulatively, whereby "thousands upon thousands of petty acts of insubordination and evasion create a political and economic barrier reef of their own", for resisters, these small changes added up within resistance. For the IWC, as an organization focused on individual case-work with migrants (Henaway as cited in Walia 2013, 169), resistance can involve: "small impacts at different times. Like, in the case work you help someone, for example, to make a complaint, and sometimes it helps, but it's always a long process ... but you see small gains sometimes."[102] Small outcomes were likewise viewed as equally important to large outcomes: "when you get small victories, it's, of course, really motivating for all of us. We think we're moving forward, but after that, something comes along, something hard, some pretty cruel changes and we move backwards much more than we move forward."[103] Or, as Jenny from ARM articulated: "maybe the successes have been not making things worse, as opposed to making things better."[104] In fact, it is common for resisters to experience change as slow, frustrating and incremental, and sometimes without the desired outcome (Lindley 2019, 11).

Other forms of resistance such as public awareness campaigns, including popular

[100] Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[104] Jeanes, interview, April 2020

education, research, lobbying, outreach programs, hosting events, documentation or legal work, as well as networks, similarly challenge Scott's ideas on resistance. In the case of more mainstream strategies such as networks, education, or lobbying, Scott's theory may be less useful in comparison to traditional theories of social movements which analyze the use of political channels of action or social networks (Giugni 2001; Goodwin 2004; Jenkins 1983; McAdam 1988; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Meyer 2004; Norris 2009; Olson 2009; Passy 2009; Peace 2015; Tarrow 1994; Tilly 2015). Ultimately, while these strategies aimed to create a larger awareness on issues of immigration detention and control in line with publicly declared resistance which aims to gain public attention and resist state control (Scott 1989, 34, 56-57), to many interviewees (described in the barriers section), these strategies still had far and wide to reach the public's knowledge, and therefore may not have achieved Scott's (1989, 34) notion of public "recognition of these gains".

On the far end of the continuum of resistance, the use of publicly declared resistance existed in the form of protests, demonstrations, sit-ins, caravans, information pickets, lobbying, petitions, and media engagement which did attract the attention of the public ("recognition") and were in "open confrontation" to the state (Scott 1989, 34). Especially for more contentious acts carried out by anarchists such as land occupations, this conformed to Scott's identification of publicly declared resistance which denotes actions such as revolts, petitions, demonstrations, land invasions, the public assertion of worth, or public counter-ideologies, all against domination (Johansson and Vinthagen 2020, 25). As described previously, many of these strategies also aimed to challenge the control of the CBSA, the use of immigration detention by the Canadian state, and the borders created between migrants and non-migrants.

Unexpectedly, contestation over terms such as resistance, advocacy, and activism emerged, with discourse from interviewees and organizations using them interchangeably, yet often favouring one term over the other.[105] When interview questions used the term activism, this engendered debate, with interviewees commonly asking for clarification on the conceptualization of activism.[106] For instance, Jenny conveyed hesitance, preferring instead to speak of *advocacy* on behalf of ARM. She explained, "I guess it's a question if you consider what we do activism? Because I wouldn't say that we would normally use that word to describe what we do, we talk a

[105] Important to note is that "activism" rather than resistance was often used in interview questions, given the assumption that this would be more accessible in language to interviewees as well as based on the argument (see definitions section) that activism falls within the overarching category of resistance.
[106] Jeanes, interview, April 2020; Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020

lot about advocacy."[107] For ARM, a more balanced approach, taking into consideration relations with government (including the CBSA) and with its donor base, is preferred.[108] Nevertheless, organizations broadly agreed that resistance (however termed) could range from small to large acts. For example, Stephen from the CPJ spoke of the need to look at "all sorts of means" of resistance along a continuum, as to him, resistance was "not through holding placards or anything like that, but through doing research, writing, publications. That is the kind of activism I kind of engage in. Activism is on a continuum, from very active—placards and all that" to these more academic forms.[109] SAB similarly encouraged a variety of resistance, calling for "a diversity of tactics and direct action" (Solidarity Across Borders 2019c). Members of the IWC also indicated similar arguments: "I don't think there is even a specific formula as such, and it's more depending on the time or the situation. I really think that it's not a black or white, there's a lot of grey."[110]

Moreover, as Johansson and Vinthagen (2020, 48) explain, Scott is focused on "arguing that the actions of an actor who intend to resist should be defined as resistance regardless of the outcome of their actions" whereby "intent is a more relevant indicator than outcome ... since acts of resistance do not always achieve the desired effect" (see also Scott 1989, 36–37). Similarly, questions surrounding the meaning of success within resistance revealed both a variety of goals for organizations (large or small) and likewise demonstrated an awareness that many of these goals may not achieve their desired outcomes. Nonetheless, all interviewees viewed their resistance as valid, irrespective of their success or failure. To some organizations such as the CPJ, successful resistance could be as simple as "when you write something, or call for something, and something is done about it"[111] or focused on more targeted goals such as releasing individuals from detention centres, preventing the suspension of legal aid for refugees, or the removal of interest charges from refugee loans or waiving travel loans completely (Citizens for Public Justice 2019, 2). Others such as the IWC emphasized the importance of the recognition of their acts as a form of success, citing small goals such as raising awareness, being heard, or having members recognize their work.[112] As Viviana described: "if there's more than one or two people raising their hands, saying 'I'll do the talking,' that's a great success. Because all the work [at the IWC] you're doing to motivate the

[107] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[108] Ibid.
[109] Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020
[110] Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[111] Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020
[112] Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020

members, why it's important to speak up, why it's important to speak out on your rights, is already a success."[113] One member from SAB related success to "every change that's made with dignity"[114] or wished to "get them [the detainees] released."[115] Hence, not only did *forms* of resistance span a continuum from small-scale everyday (or hidden) acts to more public forms of resistance which mixed and combined (critique of Scott), but *meaning*s (intention) of resistance also varied. Ultimately, by placing Scott's work into dialogue with resistance to immigration detention and control in Laval, resistance is revealed as existing on a much broader scale than theorized by the majority of social movement theorists and as legitimate irrespective of its outcome.

Barriers to Resistance

Resistance to immigration detention and control was not easy, with many organizations reporting barriers in relation to the restrictiveness of government structures, the impact of immigration status on involvement and relationships, the slow and frustrating sense of resistance, and limits to fundraising. Many of these challenges only emerged in interviews with members, largely remaining hidden in the public discourse analyzed. Challenges relating to government structures, immigration status, and the frustration as a result of these barriers resonated well with theoretical frameworks from Foucault on surveillance and power structures, Scott on state repression and secrecy, and Arendt on the limits placed by citizenship. However, fundraising, as a practical constraint of securing resources for organizations, did not seem to fit as well with the more abstract tenets of the theoretical frameworks used. In this regard, social movement theories focused on resource mobilization may offer a better explanatory framework for barriers to resistance in relation to funding which may limit the success of social movements.

<u>Government Control and CBSA Lack of Transparency as Barrier and Source of Frustration</u>

As Foucault posits, government represents the "conduct of conduct" which shapes and guides the actions of those subject to its control (Foucault 1994; Gordon 1991, 2-3). As power is transmitted through individuals, it can permeate down to the "depths of society" and become internalized and self-regulating, forming a "surveillance of behaviour" (Foucault and Sheridan

[113] Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[114] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020
[115] Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020

2012, Chapter 1, 3; Ibid., 80). For those working most closely within the confines of the immigration detention centre in Laval, such as ARM, these forms of control by the government and the CBSA similarly worked to limit resistance. In comparison, those with less of a role within detention centres, such as SAB or the IWC, were much less constrained. These dynamics of control engendered frustration from all organizations, especially in regards to the unaccountability and lack of transparency of the CBSA, and ultimately contributed to a sense of fear and mistrust within the Canadian public and migrant detainees, exacerbating negative immigration rhetoric, and posing an additional barrier to the work of migrant solidarity organizations.

For ARM, as the only organization with official permission to visit the detention centre, they must "walk a fine line" with their work within the detention centre because they must abide by their security and confidentiality agreement with the CBSA in regards to protected information.[116] This is not unique to the case of Laval, whereby for other NGOs working within detention centres, "the links of dependence which are created by such relationships between NGOs and government mean that the tasks of these NGOs are complicated and they are pulled between their institutional role and their activities as militants and lobbyists for the rights of asylum seekers" (Freedman 2009, 350; see also King 2016). For Jenny, this dynamic poses two dilemmas:

> Part of it is a softer constraint in terms of not wanting to lose that trust with CBSA that allows us to keep going inside, and then part of it is actually a hard line drawn by our security clearance. Because without that security clearance, we also couldn't go inside. It's not just the relationship with the organization. It makes it harder to know what we can safely report, and of course if you're trying to do advocacy or raise awareness, you need to be able to provide examples or stories, or data, and it's harder for us to provide data, because of these constraints.[117]

Hence, ARM's agreement with the CBSA limits their ability to report on specific issues or cases they are witnessing within immigration detention centres, making it much harder to raise awareness on the issue and speak out publicly. Like Foucault describes, this "softer constraint" may internalize a form of control and surveillance within ARM's resistance, even if the CBSA might not be actively monitoring and even outside of the confines of the detention centre. Ultimately, "the detention system exerts various forms of discipline on civic groups that engage

[116] This is guided by a formal written agreement between ARM and the CBSA (previously Immigration Canada), which began in 2002 and was renewed in 2015. Basically, it allows ARM to have access inside certain controlled areas of the detention centre with the requirement that those entering have security clearance and abide by confidentiality and reliability rules (Jeanes, interview, April 2020).

[117] Jeanes, interview, April 2020

with it" and may, to the detriment of public knowledge, even result in a form of "self-censoring" (Lindley 2019, 12-13). Or, in line with Scott (1989, 51), CBSA control works in ways which "structures the available options" (or choice of strategies) of resistance for these groups.

Control also permeates into interactions between migrant detainees and solidarity organizations:

> Most people would never feel a hundred percent comfortable opening to us [ARM], because the fact that we're the only organization makes it seem, and it's not true, but it makes it seem like we must be working alongside the authorities, like they pay for us to be there,[118] or we're there to report back to them. It's constantly a challenge for us to try and gain people's trust.[119]

Hence, migrant detainees who are subject to the control of the CBSA may interpret those working closely within immigration detention centres as an extension of the government's control and experience "fear and mistrust" towards organizations such as ARM. Nevertheless, migrant detainees see organizations such as ARM as highly important, whereby these organizations' careful navigation of these constraints ultimately secure the only contact some detainees may have to the outside world (Jeanes and Goettl 2015, 3). While Lindley (2019, 13) warns that pressure to "establish credibility with political decision-makers and evidence of impact for funders ... can tend to channel energies into working for more modest 'asks' deemed more realistic and achievable in the current context" ARM continues to have strong credibility in relation to bringing forward specific concerns within immigration detention because of their unique experience working within detention centres. Nevertheless, ARM must be much more careful with the information they share publicly because of the CBSA's discretion.[120] In response, ARM often works through networks to build off the voices or research of other migrant solidarity groups with more freedom to speak out, speaks in general terms on issues which repeat themselves, or reports on experiences of detainees once they leave detention centres (for report see Jeanes and Goettl 2015).

Radicality of opinions in relation to the construction of the new immigration detention centre in Laval were similarly affected. For ARM: "the biggest difference for us as an organization, and why it's maybe harder to be so opposed to the building, is because of the work that we do. We need to be allowed inside the building, and so we might not like them building a new detention

[118] It should be noted, however, that ARM does not receive any funds from the CBSA for the work they do.
[119] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[120] Ibid.

centre, but if it's built, we need CBSA to want to keep letting us inside. And so, that informs our approach."[121] This dilemma is not unique to the case of Laval, where for visitor groups in other contexts, "such projects run the risk of recuperation where cooperation can not only lead to a loss of autonomy, but also some degree of re-enforcement of the detention regime" (King 2016, 20). In this regard, governmentality may limit the ability of those operating within these structures to engage in more radical forms of resistance (Foucault and Sheridan 2012, Chapter 3). In contrast, SAB, an organization without official access to detention "can much more quickly gain people's trust. Because they're on the outside, because they're mobilizing, protesting, like it's very clear that they're not aligned with the authorities."[122] Obtaining consent to publicize information may be therefore much less complicated for these organizations who can more easily foster public discussions on specific cases.[123] Because of CBSA's control, ARM faces an extra barrier to resistance—an additional border between them and those detained.

For many migrant solidarity organizations, CBSA control, unaccountability and lack of transparency creates a persistent sense of frustration. As Jenny from ARM described, at times "the amount of advocacy it took to make something draconian less draconian was enormous."[124] Even for the IWC who does not work inside detention centres, losing members because of detention and deportation can be frustrating for organizers trying to mobilize action.[125] Similar to Foucault's ideas on governmentality controlling actions and Scott's ideas on repression structuring options for action, some organizations understood "the new migrant prison as part of a strategy of the Canadian state to heighten its repressive control over freedom of movement" (Stoppons la Prison 2019). Interpreted in this way, resisters see the Canadian state as preventing actions, or trying to hide the truth on detention practices. Across all interviews, consensus emerged that Canadians and migrants alike do not know much about immigration detention because of the CBSA's lack of transparency, with knowledge only reaching those affected by or working within detention.[126]

In addition, organizations express frustrations with the media's coverage of immigration

[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Important to note, is that Jenny is speaking in reference to the mandatory detention for Designated Foreign Nationals, legislation which was introduced in 2012, which Jenny explains made the work of ARM much more difficult (Jeanes, interview, April 2020).
[125] Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[126] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020; Jeanes, interview, April 2020; Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020; Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020

detention. For example, during Ralph Goodale's Press Conference for the NIDF in 2016, although it was the first time that journalists could go into one of the secured areas of the detention centre, they were provided with pre-shot images in a press-kit, thereby still limiting access and footage.[127] To many organizations, this lack of transparency is intentional:

> because the government, they don't talk about that in the media. Once you go to the detention centre, you are not allowed to take photos, and they're hiding it, they're doing this underground ... when they send the detainees to the hospital, they put them in the van without windows, so nobody can see ... because they don't want the world to know how they're treating migrants. When they come to immigration [IRB], they don't stop in front of the door, they go in the basement, where no one sees.[128]

As Scott (1989, 49–50) suggests, publicizing these acts could admit to the weaknesses of authority and unpopularity of policies, a logical response from the CBSA which restricts public information on immigration detention. As SAB justifies, "the Canadian refugee system thus works silently and effectively to uphold global apartheid: judge people individually and then, quietly, outside the media spotlight, deport or criminalize them, one by one" (Solidarity Across Borders 2019c).

Even when information is made public, it is often shortened or the calls from organizations simply ignored. For instance, while the Canadian Red Cross independently monitors immigration detention in Canada, their monitoring is somewhat limited by rules laid out in agreement with the government (Cleveland 2015, 85; Government of Canada 2018; Nakache 2011, 32).[129] Even when migrant solidarity members inquire with the CBSA about specific issues, they rarely receive a satisfactory response: "the government is not open to negotiate. Or even if they are open to negotiate, they don't respect the negotiation .... it's [the CBSA] another wall which there is no control, who does whatever they want."[130] Hence, the CBSA continues to silence resistance to maintain their control over their public image, similar to how Scott (1989, 49) so eloquently writes, "it is not to say that their resistance leaves no traces; it is rather that the traces must be teased out of the record by the historian who knows what he or she is looking for." For organizations like ARM, this lack of transparency directly impacts their ability to be recognized and listened to by the government and ultimately constrains their ability to discuss detention issues more openly:

> even with access, and even with a voice, and even with a lot of sort of social power, it's still really hard when it comes to detention issues, to be heard ... It's been really hard to

[127] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[128] Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020
[129] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[130] Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020

> have CBSA and the federal government take our concerns really seriously ... I think that detention is a real flaw in our democratic fabric, because there's so little transparency and accountability, everything is shrouded in privacy, secrecy, security.[131]

Government control over immigration detention thereby both limits the space of resistance migrant solidarity movements can take, and contributes to frustration and disappointment as a result.

Government control and CBSA lack of transparency additionally fosters a sense of fear and mistrust within the Canadian public and exacerbates negative immigration rhetoric. Immigration detention continues to be stigmatized, based on the justification that "if people are in detention, it must be for good reason, because this is Canada, and we don't lock people up for no good reason."[132] As anarchist groups explain, actions against migrants are justified because "they [the Canadian state] want to assign criminality to *ideas* that threaten them" (Montreal Counter-Information 2019f). Other members of migrant solidarity organizations cautioned how government rhetoric is effective in hiding the reality from Canadians:

> But what does it look like when the light is on? When the light is off, then they beat you. This is the way they're working. Yes when you go to the offices, when you don't see a victim, everything seems to be perfect, you know? On TV you cannot feel it, in the media you cannot feel it, everything seems to be perfect, because they show only the positive sides. They don't show the negative side. But when you see a victim, or you are victim, then you know how abusive they are, how unfair they are.[133]

Or as CPJ emphasizes in their reports, "the negative characterization of refugee claimants by politicians and the media as 'bogus refugees,' 'illegals,' 'queue jumpers,' or 'asylum shoppers' creates a discriminatory public discourse" (Kaduuli 2019).[134] Much of the work of the IWC also focuses on combatting confusion around the different categories of 'illegal' migrants.[135] In this regard, Foucault's ideas on the internalization of control permeating into society through media bias strongly shapes a securitized perception of immigration detention. As SAB describes, "common struggles and entire communities are divided and rendered invisible, giving way to a culture of suspicion, surveillance and repression" (Solidarity Across Borders 2011, 2019c). Negative sentiments place additional barriers on those resisting from more diverse religious and racial backgrounds. For example, interviewees identifying as Muslim or racialized, commonly

[131] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[132] Ibid.
[133] Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020
[134] Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020
[135] Medina, interview, June 8 2020

cited racism as a significant barrier to resistance, minimizing their sense of voice.[136] For instance, Safa describes how being identified as a Muslim in radio shows will "affect the whole message I want to send after. Because my message won't be heard the same way it would be if I were another person ... my message already won't be credible, it's going to be questioned and everything."[137]

Immigration Status as a Barrier

As Arendt (1973, 295-296) writes, for the stateless and rightless in the world, the problem is precisely "that they no longer belong to any community whatsoever", creating a predicament whereby "precisely when one appears as nothing but human, stripped of all social and political attributes, it proves very difficult to claim and exercise the rights that one is entitled to by virtue of being born human" (Gundogdu 2015, 3). As this thesis reads Arendt in a way which sees her insights on rightlessness and political agency as in tension with each other, for those migrants without full status, carrying out any political action seems impossible, as only full members of a political community are theorized as entitled to political acts of resistance (speech, actions, recognition). Exclusion therefore requires both the creation of a non-citizen (outside of the political community) and the reinforcement of this by the nation-state (the political community itself). As anarchist groups indicate accordingly: "citizenship can only exist and be valued if there is also a category of others, those without status. For this distinction to exist, it must be enforced by the state, which has a number of tools to do so" (Montreal Counter-Information 2018c). As the evidence revealed, this precise dilemma arose for those members of solidarity movements who faced barriers to their resistance because of precarious immigration status.

Specifically for migrants held within the confines of detention centres who were most precarious, this precarity compounded with the aforementioned government control and surveillance to create dynamics of fear and mistrust between organizations and detainees, and in some cases, discouraged resistance. As Jenny from ARM describes, "people are in a very precarious, vulnerable situation, and they're looking for solutions to their very significant problems. It's hard in that context, with like so many barriers to justice, and so much surveillance, and so much fear."[138] For detainees, it sometimes takes a long time before they are comfortable to

[136] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020
[137] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020
[138] Jeanes, interview, April 2020

speak to organizations such as ARM and may even require the encouragement of other detainees (Jeanes and Goettl 2015, 15). Similar to Arendt's ideas, "to be without citizenship... was not to be liberated from state power but rather to become completely subject to it" (Gibney 2014, 54). As members of the IWC described, for many precarious migrants trying to speak out directly against immigration detention, there is a real risk that they too will end up inside, making it difficult to motivate precarious migrants to attend information sessions or workshops.[139] Essentially, "the threat of deportation keeps them [migrants] in constant precarity and serves to control and crush resistance to exploitation" (Solidarity Across Borders 2019c, n.d.). These barriers continue to hamper efforts to raise awareness on the most difficult experiences of detention because of the shame, humiliation, and trauma in speaking out:

> It comes back to this other challenge of people being afraid, and afraid to jeopardize their status, afraid to rock the boat. A lot of the people that we know who've been released from detention, could be re-detained, they could be deported. They don't have status yet, and so there are people who are willing to speak out, but there are a lot more people who are very afraid. And it's very sad, because ... I wish there was more mobilization, because if more people who have experienced this were able to speak out about it, I think that would be much more of a powerful motor for change.[140]

While this prevented resistance for those with more precarious status, such as migrant detainees, some former detainees were nonetheless encouraged by SAB to speak out about their experiences, perhaps due to the fact that SAB is not linked to the CBSA.[141] In fact, SAB was most effective in motivating these individuals to speak out, even encouraging them to engage in mobilization themselves. Moreover, as status of immigration background became less precarious, migrants were much more comfortable to engage in resistance.[142] For example, Stephen who immigrated from Uganda, describes his hesitations:

> At first when you just come to Canada, it's very hard to get engaged in activism I think. But with my kind of activism, in 2011, I wrote a paper criticizing Canada for its racist immigration policies. That was before I became a citizen. At first I was a bit hesitant, but I first published it in, somebody saw some paper of mine, and they published it in a local Mennonite church magazine .... later it was published by a peer-reviewed magazine in Germany… At first I was a bit hesitant because I didn't feel very stable in Canada because

[139] Medina, interview, June 8 2020; Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020
[140] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[141] Ibid.; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "Abolishing migrant detention, abolishing detention!", March 9 2020
[142] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020; Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020

I was in between becoming a resident and being a visitor. So citizenship affects activism.[143]

As Nyers (2015, 30) describes of migrant activism: "citizenship's exclusionary dimensions work to exclude the vast majority of migrants, dooming them to be outside the reach of the main categories that define people as political beings."

Despite some migrants feeling more comfortable to carry out resistance, on the whole, migrants without full status brought up concerns regarding their exclusion from citizenship and its effect on their political agency. For example, migrants often felt more exposed when making visits to the detention centre because ID cards were required to enter.[144] As Krause (2008, 334) similarly explains, "the lack of legal protection affects all areas of life. It is often the *sans papiers* [precarious migrants] who have the most to lose by attracting attention." This generated frustration, whereby "there are some instances where immigrants feel like second-class citizens, even if they are citizens."[145] Or, as Muhamed voiced: "sometimes it's hard for me, if I see my personal situation, how I am blocked to access some stuff, some opportunities which I'm supposed to have. I feel like I'm not part of Canada because if I was, I could access all these things, you know?"[146]

Privilege not only affected migrants' sense of voice and ability to carry out resistance, but also created barriers in regards to non-migrants' relationships with migrants, especially producing concerns with positionality and power-dynamics. As Nyers (2003, 1081) explains, privilege often features prominently in resistance to immigration detention or deportation, writing: "should advocates relate to non-status immigrants as clients or as allies? Should they speak on behalf of the non-status, or in conversation with them? .... what place is there for abject migrants in the politics of their own liberation?" As a case in point, non-migrant interviews expressed hesitations such as: "I have a lot of privilege. And sometimes I can, for immigrant people, I can look like someone who, I don't know how to say this, but immigrant people who seem to like someone who has a lot of power? And you have to be careful with this."[147] Dynamics at the IWC indicated that social workers without experiences of migration had a much harder time connecting to precarious migrants compared to social workers with a migratory background.[148] Non-migrant members of

[143] Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020
[144] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020
[145] Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020
[146] Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020
[147] Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020
[148] Medina, interview, June 8 2020

organizations such as ARM feel situated in between having social power, but not necessarily the legitimacy to carry out resistance on behalf of migrants.[149] Like Scott (1989, 57, 52–53) indicates in that public action is "confined largely to the literate middle class and the intelligentsia", non-migrants became increasingly aware of their own positionality and power vis-à-vis migrants.

These observations complicate Arendt's understanding of citizenship and political action, in the sense that while the "stateless" face clear barriers to political action, alternatively, those with full citizenship (non-migrants) who try to engage with migrants encounter additional constraints. Foucault's ideas on power not as exclusive to any individual, but as something *relational* which everyone can wield, may be an important application in this regard (as cited in Stierl 2012, 428). For instance, as the IWC employs a number of migrants (Henaway as cited in Walia 2013, 167-169), some migrants with positions of *relative* superiority (e.g. holding a salary) compared to those they are assisting, remain highly sensitive to their privilege within the migrant community itself.[150] Hence, barriers become blurred on both sides, in preventing non-migrants from resisting with migrants, migrants from resisting themselves, or migrants resisting vis-à-vis less privileged or more precarious migrants. In this regard, binary divisions between members of the political community are disrupted, reshaping notions of belonging, power, and agency through resistance.

Fundraising as a Barrier

Fundraising emerged as a common barrier for all migrant solidarity organizations, reducing the amount of time for resistance as well as its scale. For example, the IWC often struggles with having enough funds to pay their employees or rent, relying largely on the work of volunteers (Immigrant Workers Centre 2013).[151] For those organizations who rely solely on community funding, such as the IWC and SAB, while they may have more independence to take a political stance, financial limits can restrict the scale of resistance and even threaten their existence.[152]

For organizations with charitable status, such as ARM or CPJ, other financial barriers existed in relation to restrictions from the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA). While this restriction changed in 2018, up until then, any registered charity in Canada could only carry out 10 percent of their activities related to advocacy which the CRA website describes as "seeking to influence

[149] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[150] Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[151] Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[152] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020; Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020

the laws, policies or decisions of a government" (Canada Revenue Agency 2013).[153] Otherwise, they could lose their charitable status.[154] As Jenny describes: "it definitely puts a real damper on a non-profit organization's desire, or ability, or comfort level in doing activism or advocacy."[155] For ARM specifically, this limited engaging in "calls to action", such as "calling for changes in the law, and in particular, calling on members of the public to call for certain changes" and resulted in giving an analysis of laws or educating on how a law worked.[156] Nevertheless, barriers in relation to fundraising indicate a practical constraint relating more to dynamics of securing resources, outside of the applicability of the more abstract tenets of the theoretical frameworks used. Social movement theories focused on resource mobilization may therefore offer a better explanatory framework, whereby the success of a social movement depends on its ability to secure resources (e.g. money, labour, facilities) (see Jenkins 1983; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Travaglino 2014).

Responding to Barriers: Reformist and Radical Resistance

As Foucault (2009, 195, 196, 201-202) describes, there are specific forms of resistance against "power as conducting", whereby there is "... an immediate and founding correlation between conduct and counter-conduct," in the sense that counter-conduct is always in the "struggle against the processes implemented for conducting others." Hence, resistance would therefore contest forms of governmentality, mechanisms of control, regulation, and discipline while at the same time working within these same structures (Gordon 1991). In fact, many of the migrant solidarity organziations revealed the inherent barriers of working within systems of control and power, such as CBSA agreements limiting the forms of resistance, the fear of detainment or deportation for precarious migrants, and the non-transparent CBSA detention practices. While at times these elements constrained behaviour, organizations were acutely aware of these systems of control and expressed a strong desire to resist these structures (see Tyler and Marciniak 2013, 146).

Moreover, much like previous arguments which asserted that Scott's theory does not go far enough in emphasizing that these acts exist on a continuum, contestations to structures of control were similarly present in a continuum from reformist, or less contentious forms, to more radical forms of resistance. As Walia (2013, 182) argues in line with this thesis, there should not

[153] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid.

be a strict line between both forms, as "dualism pitting reformist against revolutionary strategies is often a false one, rooted more in theoretical abstractions than actual practice." Nevertheless, to differentiate both ends of the spectrum, this thesis conceptualizes reformist acts of resistance as working within the system, whereas radical acts try to uproot the system as a whole calling for "structural change" to systems of capitalism and imperialism which generate injustice and inequity (Ibid., 182).[157] Essentially, reformist acts "do not explicitly challenge the immigration and detention system as a whole, but by supporting individuals and engaging in localized tactics to improve their treatment, they have the potential to contribute to a wider community of struggle" (Lindley 2019, 13). While Scott's (1989, 56-57) ideas on publicly declared resistance may allow for an understanding of resistance as a more direct confrontation with the state which usually demands recognition and aims to change the dominant order, Foucault's insights into counter-conducts can be much more revealing of underlying dynamics of oppositions to power structures which more radical acts of resistance embody.

Throughout the data, a clear awareness of the differing scales of radicality within resistance was evident. As Abdou and Rosenberger (2019) explain, within migrant solidarity organizations, there exists a range in the questioning of practices of deportation, anti-immigration, and the boundaries between exclusion and inclusion, with "change aspirations" spanning from transformational, to reformist, or to conformist demands. Findings suggested how ARM or the CPJ tended towards more reformist approaches (although they rarely labeled themselves as such), in contrast to organizations such as SAB, the IWC, or Guineans United for Status, who openly identified themselves as more radical.[158] Some of these tendencies were the result of barriers of governmentality such as CBSA limitations described earlier, or reflected tendencies to focus more on research whereby "some [other] organizations are stronger at calling for action" (CPJ and ARM).[159] For example: "we [ARM] are still more in the school of, oh here's a problem, let's study it, let's get that on the ground experience let's try to make a really intelligent report, and hope that the right people listen to it and care about it, and do something about it. As opposed to calling for more radical change." Hence, reformist approaches reflected more incremental change in response to a specific part of the system (like Scott's ideas on cumulative resistance), whereas radical change

[157] Ibid.
[158] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020; Jeanes, interview, April 2020; Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020; Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020
[159] Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020

seemed to indicate a rethinking of the whole system to affect change (like Foucault).

The contrast between both ends of the spectrum emerged most explicitly when examining the different views in relation to the construction of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre. As Lindley (2019, 13) describes, even within migrant solidarity organizations, members' views differ on more contentious topics such as the abolition of immigration detention centres. Or, as Abdou and Rosenberger (2019, 112) reveal in their research in the case of Austria, the majority of migrant solidarity resistance is "not driven by a broader critique of the deportation system, policies or deportation enforcement practices." Hence, for more reformist organizations such as ARM and even their partners at CCR, less radical views on the existence of detention centres emerged such as, "we would like to see less detention" (Canadian Council for Refugees as cited in Champagne 2017) or "at the root we don't believe that detention is going away. That doesn't mean that we give legitimacy to detention, but we just don't believe, we don't see it stopping."[160] As an organization who works directly within the centre and therefore saw conditions of the current facility, it was more a practical reality that the centre had to be replaced (Champagne 2017; Jeanes and Clarke 2020).[161] Nevertheless, as disappointment emerged with the 2016 NIDF, the construction of the new centre embodied these frustrations, whereby "an investment in a new centre risks maintaining detention practices" (Jeanes as cited in Champagne 2017). CPJ similarly focused on more reformist goals, critiquing the conditions within detention especially indefinite detention, a practice which Kaduuli called "egregarious" (Citizens for Public Justice 2019b).

In contrast, organizations like SAB, the IWC, or Guineans United for Status, and especially anarchists, more strongly opposed immigration detention, perhaps as a result of less constraints from government (CBSA) structures of control moderating actions. As a clear example of counter-conducts, SAB works to directly denounce forms of control, regulation, borders, and discipline implemented by the Canadian state and the CBSA, stating in an information pamphlet, that, "we demand the immediate release of all detainees in immigration detention facilities, and we work towards the closing of all detention centres. We oppose all forms of incarceration." (Solidarity Across Borders n.d.). Other slogans from SAB demand radical change, expressing lines such as "no borders, no prisons", "Migrant Prison? Shut it down!", "stop the deportations!", and

[160] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[161] Ibid.

"Status for All!" (Solidarity Across Borders 2019e).[162] Statements by the IWC, although much less publicized, include discourse such as "defend your rights!" (printed in an outreach flyer) or call for the status for all migrants, whereby "we [IWC] believe that all workers, regardless of immigration status, deserve basic rights" (Henaway as cited in Walia 2013, 167). Guineans United for Status aligns with similar radical messages, calling for an end to deportations for their members and granting detainees permanent residency (Montreal Gazette 2017), often sharing SAB or IWC posts on demanding "Status for all!" or "We are all essential!" (Statut pour les guinéans 2020). Or, as anarchists see it, "a golden cage is still a cage" (Montreal Counter-Information 2018c).

Between the various organizations, tensions sometimes emerged when comparing their work to one another, seen as either too radical or too reformist. Interestingly, the majority of these critiques seemed to emerge only from those more radical organizations. Justifying these critiques is sometimes an expression of a fear that "securing modest changes can work to legitimise detention – to make it 'better' and more 'humane' – rather than challenging its fundamental basis" (Lindley 2019, 13). As Walia (2013, 182) writes, "reformist strategies are denounced for engaging state institutions, while revolutionary strategies are criticized for existing entirely outside and in confrontation with the state." For example, Safa specifically chose to join SAB because of its radicality to speak out against the state in comparison to reformist approaches:

> It's an organization that also dares to really criticize things when it's necessary. And the others are more organizations, at least apart from them, everything else is really organizations that are more immigrant reception services. And the immigrant reception service for me, it's a state apparatus, in any case, it's not, it should not be considered as activism, in fact, it's just as if it simply applies the public policy, that's all.[163]

SAB specifically writes that they are intent on "practicing tangible mutual aid and solidarity (support work) in contrast to charity or "service" approaches" (Solidarity Across Borders 2012). Similarly, for the IWC as an organization strongly embedded within on-the-ground case-work in the migrant community, reformist approaches can seem ideological and rhetorical:

> I see a lot of activists doing that, that's just the consumption of an ideology. But that after that, they don't do anything. They know, and after that, what do they do with their knowledge? You come up, you give a whole discourse about how the world and the system 'blah blah blah', after that, in the day to day, what do you do? For me that's the difference too, we're in the field, its heavy.[164]

[162] Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "No Borders, No Prisons: opposing the New Detention Centre for Migrants in Laval", February 18 2020
[163] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020
[164] Medina, interview, June 8 2020

Anarchists also opposed more reformist approaches, refusing to go along with "leftist movements", even denouncing the collaboration of the Red Cross with the CBSA, stating, "don't you just love it when NGOs step in to make government repression look good?" (Montreal Counter-Information 2018a, 2018c). To anarchists, reformist approaches "contribute to strengthening the chains that bind us to the state" and in the context of migrant detention, "no alternative is acceptable" (Montreal Counter-Information 2018c).

In more radical approaches to resistance, not only an awareness of structures of control but an explicit recognition of how their methods could contest these structures exists. Essentially, SAB acknowledged broader systems of border controls, resolutely exclaiming:

> This violence isn't arbitrary. Borders play a crucial role in the capitalist system and its "migrant crisis." North American borders, originally established by colonial wars to stake out the claims of European colonizers, also serve to control migration. They prevent people from leaving violence, poverty and exploitation. Borders push people into precarity without legal status, criminalizing them, making them easy prey to capitalist and patriarchal exploitation. Borders keep the global apartheid system in place (Solidarity Across Borders 2019c).

Anarchists expressed this awareness even more explicitly, describing "this prison is one of many tools in the state's arsenal, an important aspect in the preservation of Canada and its borders." (Montreal Counter-Information 2018c). Discourse coalesced around phrases such as "Nique les prisons", "Fuck prisons", references to "white supremacy", and phrases such as "may fires burn for all that the worlds of prison and borders have stolen from us" (Montreal Counter-Information 2019a, 2019d, 2019b, 11). Even members of the IWC saw immigration categories as "created for the state"[165] or anarchists viewed the construction of the new detention centre as a "project of domination", which if successful "brings the state of Canada closer to achieving its colonial mission of controlling every aspect of people's lives and the land it is situated on" (Montreal Counter-Information 2018c). Ultimately, anarchists groups called for a destruction of the whole system, stating: "realistically, the only way that we can stop Canada's deportations and new prisons, its exploitation, domination, and support for the worst kinds of atrocities, its propagation of authoritarian, racist, and colonial endeavors, is to destroy the colonial project altogether" (Montreal Counter-Information 2018c). To anarchists, negotiation or alternatives were simply not an option, rather opting for strategies that involved "direct confrontation" (Montreal Counter-

[165] Ibid.

Information 2018c). Essentially, more radical approaches to resistance emerge "in contrast to more mainstream immigrant rights movements that ignore the centrality of empire and capitalism to the violence of displacement, migration and border controls" (Walia 2013, 13).

As Conlon (2016) explains, counter-conducts involve "a practice that enacts a right to question how subjects are governed", and accordingly, more radical groups called into question these forms of control and imagined a different reality: "we have a vision of the future of our own. It does not include detention, borders, or prisons and we are calling for help to realise it" (Solidarity Across Borders 2019a). Imagining a world where migrant workers are granted citizenship irrespective of their immigration status or migrant detainees are released motivates resistance for organizations such as the IWC or Guineans United for Status (Henaway as cited in Walia 2013, 167; Montreal Gazette 2017). Or, as anarchists write, "until the end of this prison, of all prisons, and of the world that needs them," or, "a world where people are free to stay and free to move; a world without white supremacy, capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy" (Montreal Counter-Information 2018a, 2019a). Nyers (2003, 1089) similarly describes that radical migrant solidarity groups such as NOII, specifically disrupt normality, writing, "to say that no human is illegal is to call into question the entire architecture of sovereignty, all its borders, locks and doors, internal hierarchies." In effect, at the core of SAB's demands lies a clear "rejection of the Canadian state's borders and the system of multi-tiered status, deportation and detention created by its immigration laws" even expressing a refusal, "to collaborate with the state, including police or border agents" (Solidarity Across Borders 2018c). Exposing contradictions in policy formed key strategies for some members of SAB by "placing the system, face to face, against its own contradictions."[166]

To conclude, in line with previous arguments, resistance also displayed variation in its intensity—spanning from more reformist to more radical forms. Interpreted in the Foucauldian sense as "counter-conducts", resistance in its more radical forms contested and questioned governmentality and control, while at the same time were acutely aware of needing to work within these same structures (e.g. CBSA restrictions). Across all organizations, differing strategies manifested through opinions towards the construction of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre, the exclusion and inclusion of migrants, and the role of the Canadian state in enforcing structures of power and control. Interestingly, tensions between more radical and reformist approaches emerged, with more radical organizations critiquing reformists as reinforcing the state's control.

[166] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020

Chapter 6: What Dynamics of Political Agency do Acts of Resistance Show?

The second part of the analysis revealed a variety of themes on political agency, action, belonging, and solidarity, observed through the motives migrant solidarity movements and their members had for engaging in resistance and the perceptions of political agency this symbolized, especially in overcoming barriers in relation to immigration status. Strong parallels were made between the data and the theoretical frameworks in regards to Arendt's ideas of political agency and action, Foucault's ideas on challenging state control through counter-conducts across citizenship lines, and Scott's insights into the necessity of outsiders to overcome oppression for the subordinate trying to resist. In connecting theories with data, these overlaps were essential to understanding the overarching dynamics of political agency acts of resistance showed, and revealed both shortcomings and strengths of each of the theories.

This chapter will first review the different reasons for why individuals or migrant solidarity organizations engaged in resistance through the use of Arendt's notions on rights, political belonging, and community. Second, a discussion on how engaging in resistance generated notions of political agency and solidarity in confrontation with Arendt's ideas on the limits of political agency and action for the rightless will follow. This last discussion will also include some insights from Foucault's ideas of counter-conducts, specifically across citizenship lines, as well as Scott's insights on the position of outsiders to act as bridges of solidarity between those more oppressed to facilitate resistance of the "subordinate". In putting these three theorists into dialogue, this will help to address the overarching goal of exposing and filling in the limits of Arendt's theory and thereby develop new understandings of rights, citizenship, and humanity.

Motives for Resistance as Symbolic of Political Agency and Action

A variety of themes emerged to explain why migrant solidarity movements and their members carried out resistance or first got involved. These motives ranged from past experiences (in social work, resistance, or with immigration), to combatting racism or colonialism, to concerns for the impact and injustice or harms of immigration detention, or to sentiments of a common humanity, feelings of community, and wishes to help others (altruism). While some of these motives related more to practical aspects of past experience with resistance or immigration, there were two overarching dynamics in relation to Arendt's notion of political agency and action: 1) an

underlying wish to improve the rights of the apparent "rightless" through motivations such as injustice, equality, human dignity, and combatting structural domination (colonialism, racism), and 2) the motivation to be part of a larger community and to help others (altruism).

Logically, initial motivations for resistance in the area of immigration control or immigration detention often stem from past experiences in work, volunteering, or education on these issues. While the majority of the theorists (Arendt, Foucault, Scott), as more abstract in nature, may not offer insights into the practical motivations which social movement theorists might attribute to a category of attitudinal or cognitive inclinations or networks which help sustain and motivate action (Giugni 2001; Goodwin 2004; McAdam 1988; Passy 2009; Peace 2015), past experiences intersected with themes of rights, altruism, and solidarity, indicating a potential application for Arendt's theory. For example, as Delmas (2018, 7, 9, 19) explains, solidarity often occurs when citizens face a moral obligation to resist injustice. In some cases of assistance to undocumented migrants, individuals have "defended a moral 'duty of solidarity'," even "urging people to disobey laws" to provide housing or assistance to precarious migrants (Ibid., 7).

Interestingly, a number of the interviewees revealed past work or education in the field of social work.[167] For example, ARM and the IWC often seek interns or employees with a background in social work for legal or labour rights proceedings with migrants (Action Réfugiés Montréal 2020d). Especially for the IWC, it is often social workers who motivate migrants to get involved in resistance through attending meetings and taking part in activities.[168] In fact, a common entry point for many members of migrant solidarity organizations is through social networks (Lindley 2019, 10), indicating further analysis of motivations through social movement studies of networks which motivate action (Giugni 2001; Goodwin 2004; McAdam 1988; Passy 2009; Peace 2015). For Jenny from ARM, she described fondness for the approach of trying to "accompany people who are navigating complex bureaucracies and who maybe in theory, have certain rights and entitlements, but in reality have a lot of difficulty accessing them or defending themselves."[169] Other members felt motivated due to their passion for community organizations,[170] or even started studying sociology as a way to, "put the studies, let's say, at the service of, let's say, the fight."[171]

[167] Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020; Jeanes, interview, April 2020; Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020
[168] Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020; Medina, interview June 8 2020
[169] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[170] Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020
[171] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020

Almost all members had some past experience in community organizations or NGOs, often working with migrants. In fact, this is not unique to the case of Laval, as the majority of members of detention visiting groups in the UK had "prior or concurrent experience in human rights, migration, anti-racism, community or faith-related volunteering/activism" (Lindley 2019,10). For those with a migrant background, volunteer experiences often started in their home countries, and then increased once in Canada. These experiences ranged from participating in marches or demonstrations, to helping organizations such as local Red-Cross chapters, to volunteering in forums, local governance NGOs, or acting as immigration officers.[172] For those engaging in Canada, experiences varied from working in shelters for newly arrived refugee claimants, assisting those denied refugee status, to volunteering in the Catholic diocese, youth organizations, or even participating in student strikes.[173] For some, awareness gained on issues facing migrants through these experiences, described by Abdou and Rosenberger (2019, 113) as "getting to know the refugees and their plight" motivated further action. For example, as one interviewee described: "I saw the plight they [refugees] go through. So I decided to stand up for their rights."[174]

Moreover, continuous reference was made to the fact that migrants, who in the Arendtian sense, are normally denied human rights because of their exclusion from a political community, should still be entitled to rights. Hence, resisting practices of exclusion and discrimination were a way that migrant solidarity organizations or members could exercise "political practices positioning migrants as subjects entitled to equal rights, manifesting a political community beyond the restrictions imposed by territorial borders" (Gundogdu 2015, 24). For migrants themselves, asserting their rights from as migrants "was already a revolutionary act".[175] Themes emerged in relation to an underlying wish to improve the rights of migrants, motivated by concerns such as injustice, equality, human dignity, and structural aspects of domination (colonialism, racism).

The data ultimately revealed a much stronger emphasis on racism and colonialism as motivator than expected, especially these terms' intersection with immigration detention and resistance. As Walia (2013, 7) describes of the NOII movement in Canada, "colonial anxieties about identity and inclusion *within* Western borders are linked to the racist justifications for

[172] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020; Medina, interview June 8 2020
[173] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020; Jeanes, interview, April 2020; Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020; Medina, interview June 8 2020
[174] Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020
[175] Medina, interview, June 8 2020

imperialist missions *beyond* Western borders that generate cycles of mass displacement." In the case of Laval, anarchists opposing the construction of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre similarly asserted, "the investment of millions of dollars into the construction of a new migrant prison is not haphazard but exclusively economic necessity and is the result of decades of racist, xenophobic and colonial policies. Our opposition to the detention of migrants is part of a broader fight against imperialism and colonialism" (Montreal Counter-Information 2019h). For anarchists, discourse on the new detention centre strongly intertwined with rhetoric on structural injustice, such as the disproportionate incarceration of indigenous peoples or blacks (Montreal Counter-Information 2018b). As Sigona (2014, 371) illustrates, migrants may "unsettle given truths on the colonial footings of the humanitarian regime and its moral order" (Stierl 2012, 426). One of SAB's key organizing principles is specifically the recognition of indigenous displacement and colonial wars, which established the Canadian border and connects to wider global displacement—central to their rejection of borders and immigration detention (Solidarity Across Borders 2018c).[176]

In a similar vein, concerns for the injustice and harms migrant detainees experience within immigration detention centres also inspires resistance. Much seemed to stem from the fact that migrant detainees, were, "liable to jail sentences without ever committing a crime" (Arendt 1973, 286). Excluded from the state and positioned as a threat to the state and its borders, "migrants become prisoners of passage; their unauthorized migration is considered a trespass, and their very existence is criminalized" (Walia 2013, 54). As Muhamed expressed:

> No one wishes to be a refugee, it just becomes ... we tried to save our lives. And then we come here, they put us in jail. They treat us like warehouse workers, you know? Just to feed the companies. And it's totally an exploitation, imagine in 2020. The constitution of Geneva, which stipulated to respect the human right ... they say that everyone who signed the convention should respect the human right. And Canada is not respecting human rights.

Hence, to Muhamed, the "rightlessness" of migrants which subject them to criminal proceedings is unjust and drives the majority of his resistance. Essentially, all migrant solidarity organizations engaged with language on rights, injustice, or equality in their mission statement. For example, ARM states on its website that, "we seek justice for asylum-seekers and refugeed people" and "our vision of compassion and justice for refugees guides our work through our three programs" (Action Réfugiés Montréal n.d., n.d.). CPJ works to "speak out against policies that disregard the rights and pre-migration experiences of refugees and newcomers to Canada" (Citizens for Public Justice

[176] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020

2020) and the IWC "defends the rights of immigrants in their places of work and fights for dignity, respect, and justice" (Immigrant Workers Centre 2010). SAB is as even more explicit, stating that "we support open borders and the free movement of people seeking justice and dignity, meaning freedom to move, freedom to return, and the freedom to stay" (Solidarity Across Borders 2018c).

Interviews similarly expressed concerns with rights, injustice, and inequality. Motivations stemmed from feelings of inadequate equity and rights for migrants, concerned about the unfairness of the refugee system, the effects of detention on children, or the potential unfairness of IRB hearings.[177] In resisting, interviewees hoped to "root for the underdog" or to "fight until everyone gets his right."[178] For migrants experiencing first-hand forms of injustice, exclusion, and inequality, they felt particularly passioned to take action: "it was like unacceptable the things I've been through, and I said 'no.' You have to do something about it, you have to get organized."[179] Some migrant interviewees felt it was a necessity to resist, explaining: "I didn't have the luxury, saying, to choose which fight, to resist. It was situations of injustice that brought me here."[180]

While Arendt (1973, 297) would place human rights and human dignity on different levels, writing that, "Man, it turns out, can lose all so-called Rights of Man without losing his essential quality as man, his human dignity", resistance rather emphasized the recognition of both human rights and dignity for all migrants, regardless of status within a political community. In Arendt's (1998, 179) writings, she distinguishes between "what" and "who" a person is, whereby the stateless can be judged based on their political belonging, rather than their *humanity*, and therefore "denied entry to the public sphere as an initiating and equal person" (Fiske 2016, 20). Comparably, detention violates migrants' human dignity and their legitimacy as political actors, resulting in feelings of humiliation, embarrassment, and criminality (Jeanes and Goettl 2015). As Muhamed describes transportation to IRB hearings, "in the back [of the van], it's kind of like animal, where you just put your luggage and doesn't matter what is there, whether they die or not, suffer or not, they're not human beings." For those resisting, detention was inherently dehumanizing, with "human costs" and "a number of processes of humiliation, in all its stages."[181]

In fact, one of SAB's main organizing principles revolved around the recognition of

[177] Jeanes, interview, April 2020; Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020; Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020
[178] Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020; Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020
[179] Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[180] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020
[181] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020; Muhamed, interview, March 30 2020

migrants as deserving of status, irrespective of immigration background, declaring: "we struggle and organize so that all residents, regardless of their origins, can have full dignity as human beings" (Solidarity Across Borders 2011). Asserting the rights of migrants thereby worked as a form of recognition, a central aspect which Arendt (1998, 190) emphasizes within plurality, whereby "speech and action become meaningful only when they are recognised by others, and this recognition of our words and deeds conveys and constitutes our equality and our membership of a polis" (Fiske 2016, 28). In one video created by the SAB Non-Status Women's Collective, slogans centred around calls for, "I want freedom, I want dignity. I would like to have rights like everyone who lives here" as well as, "we want to live in freedom, security and peace!" (Solidarity Across Borders 2016). As Nyers (2015, 29) writes, "indeed, the aim of migrant social movements has been to achieve various forms of visibility: e.g. to 'come out of the shadows' and into public life; to have rights and personhood recognized in law and by society; to have a political voice and say in civic and daily life; to be included, accepted, and integrated."

Notably, resistance itself represented a form of human dignity. Somewhat extending into Arendt's (1998, 8) notions of plurality, whereby equality is grounded in being human, resistance itself suggested a way to acknowledge the common humanity of migrants. For some members, they specifically defined resistance as "a matter of dignity above all else".[182] Or, as SAB emphasized, "we continue to work towards building a more equitable world, where all of us can live with dignity and without fear".[183] Strategies of resistance themselves emphasized human dignity, where one interviewee indicated: "for me, I think the strategies that have worked the most is to humanize the situation ... even if we disagree, but at certain moments with certain realizations, there is respect."[184] Strategies of listening to other precarious migrants tell their stories caused some migrant activists to re-experience emotions of frustration, sadness and pain, describing these moments as "really human" in building common ground between activists.[185] Other strategies of resistance used human stories of detention or migration to motivate action and counter negative representations of migrants, using Twitter hashtags such as #withtherefugees or #welcomerefugees.[186] Interestingly "NGOs have long been keen to project through social media

[182] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020
[183] Solidarity Across Borders, email communication, August 1 2020
[184] Ibid.
[185] Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[186] Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020; Jeanes, interview, April 2020

the 'human stories' of detainees as part of their campaigns" (Lindley 2019, 14) or foster compassion to increase sympathy for the situation of migrant detainees (Gill 2016a, 159). As Jenny from ARM explained: "human stories do make a difference, and I know so many people who've been in detention over the years, but if they felt comfortable to come forward and tell their stories, I think it would have an impact."[187]

A second key motivator for resistance related to the wish to be part of a larger community and to help others altruistically. As an extension of Arendt's (1998, 198) notions on human dignity, helping others may also require seeing the common humanity in others (through "plurality", or equal standing despite difference). Events at ARM, SAB and the IWC often coalesced around fostering a familial or community space by including children, sharing meals, storytelling, making personal introductions, and ensuring accessibility for a variety of backgrounds.[188] Having an open exchange with other members by sharing personal stories or struggles of migration built relationships between members and reinforced emotional and human connections.[189]

Other members indicated a desire to help others, despite one's own precarity. At times, this motivated participation even when organizations could not raise enough funds to pay a member's salary.[190] Rather, helping others, succeeding in a particular migrant's case, or believing deeply in the cause generated satisfaction.[191] As one member of the IWC expressed: "we work more for a sense of love".[192] For migrants facing precarity, feelings of helping others were particularly acute:

> What is good for me in the activism, even if it's those who help me, personally, but it is helping others. Because of my fight, a lot of people are saved from injustice. You know? ... It is helping other people, even if it is not myself. I'm fighting to be regularized, I'm not yet, but some people are regularized, maybe, because of that ... that's why I am motivated.[193]

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[187] Jeanes, interview, April 2020
[188] Action Réfugiés Montréal, observation at "Refugee Rights Day Event", April 4 2020; Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Immigrant Workers Centre, observation at meeting "Changements auxnormes du travail", February 6 2020;Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "No Borders, No Prisons: opposing the New Detention Centre for Migrants in Laval", February 18 2020; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "Abolishing migrant detention, abolishing detention!", March 9 2020
[189] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "No Borders, No Prisons: opposing the New Detention Centre for Migrants in Laval", February 18 2020; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "Abolishing migrant detention, abolishing detention!", March 9 2020; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "HungerStrike - Grèvefaim by/par Migrants Zoomsolidarity party", March 26 2020; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "#HungerStrikeLaval Teach in - The Struggle Continues", April 11 2020
[190] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020; Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020
[191] Medina, interview, June 8 2020; Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020
[192] Medina, interview, June 8 2020
[193] Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020

Relatedly, helping others in accessing justice and navigating immigration procedures also motivated non-migrants resisting.[194] As Lindley (2019, 9) describes in the UK, many of those involved in detention visiting groups report that their motivation for their work is a "desire to help people in a difficult situation."

On the whole, members of migrant solidarity organizations were motivated by past experiences of work or volunteering, or concerned themselves with issues such as structural domination (racism, colonialism), injustice, to feelings of common humanity, community, or a wish to help others, with further involvement showing sentiments of political community. While past experiences were more practical in nature and reflected social movement themes on networks, Arendt's notion of political agency helped explain underlying wishes to improve the rights of the "rightless" through notions such as equality, human dignity, community and helping others.

Rethinking Political Agency and Action through Solidarity

Ultimately, this thesis aimed to determine the ways in which resistance by migrants and non-migrants acting in solidarity can create new understandings of political agency and action. While not all scholars read Arendt's notions of political agency and rightlessness as sitting in tension with each other, challenging the implications of her work on political agency and rightlessness in the case of resistance to immigration detention in Laval is central to this research. The central dilemma Arendt's work raises centers on the idea that because migrants are not members of a political community, they cannot engage in political action and are *de facto* devoid of political agency (speech and action). As observed, migrants experienced substantial barriers because of their immigration status, which created fear, mistrust, and power dynamics between migrants and non-migrants. Nonetheless, as findings revealed, many migrants were active in resistance despite not attaining full Canadian citizenship (some remained unregulated, permanent residents, or refugees), with migrant solidarity organizations acting as a central "bridge over the split" (Desai as cited in Walia 2013, 10).

Particularly, as the results will describe, acts of solidarity which crossed lines of citizenship to include migrants within a political community were crucial in opening up channels for those normally excluded from political action to engage despite their inherent "rightlessness". As

[194] Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020; Jeanes, interview, April 2020

Johnson (2012, 118) suggests in her discussion of migrant solidarity, "the citizen becomes a necessary partner – indeed, a central partner – for change to be effective, for action to be seen as 'activist'. Without the citizen to sustain and interpret the discourse, non-citizen activism is not 'political' in its mobilisation of agency and voice." Specifically in the context of immigration detention which "serves to individualize one's experiences, the process of coming together is crucial in and of itself" (Walia 2013, 106). Hence, while resistance may still require *engagement* with a political community (e.g. participation in migrant solidarity organizations), it may not be contingent on *membership* (e.g. citizenship) in this community, indicating a need to rethink Arendt's theory. Employing Foucault's notion of counter-conducts, which specifically challenges the state's notions of borders and citizenship, can also fill in the gaps in Arendt's theory by demonstrating how solidarity movements deconstruct citizenship divisions and reconstitute new understandings of political belonging through resistance. In line with Scott, it is sometimes only though the involvement of outsiders who support the subjugated that barriers are overcome and migrants become political actors resisting these very structures of oppression.

Across all organizations, solidarity between migrants and non-migrants remain central to their mission or principles. While definitions of the meaning of solidarity differed slightly, central goals coalesced around creating connections in collaboration with others across communities in order to better understand the needs of migrants and to facilitate the participation of those normally excluded from resistance "to lead their own struggle" (Walia 2013, 110). For instance, ARM uses solidarity in a broad sense, as support for "partnerships among people in refugee and faith communities and society at large for mutual empowerment," and exemplifies the ways that working together can benefit both sides (Action Réfugiés Montréal n.d.). As explained earlier, organizations such as ARM, SAB and the IWC are essential in overcoming fear experienced by precarious migrants and building trust to facilitate migrants' empowerment. In effect, as Arendt (1970, 44) describes, "power corresponds to the human ability not just to act, but to act in concert. Power is never the property of an individual: *it belongs to a group* [emphasis added] and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together". Hence, the strength of migrant solidarity organizations was specifically the ability to act together alongside migrants, especially across borders. For migrants such as Viviana, resistance was much more powerful when acting in solidarity with the wider Canadian society, not solely carried out by organizations.[195]

[195] Medina, interview, June 8 2020

Furthermore, in line with Arendt's notion on plurality, an overarching understanding amongst all migrant solidarity organizations emerged, emphasizing that, "we are all the same, that is, human in such a way that nobody is ever the same as anyone else who ever lived, lives, or will live" (Arendt 1998, 8), allowing for both equality and distinction with others at the same time and overcoming feelings of isolation and mistrust. For example, one of the key demands of SAB was for status for all migrants and overcoming immigration status barriers:

> By demanding Status for All we want to break the fear and isolation associated with the reality of being a non-status person. A Status for All demand rejects the divide-and-rule tactics used by the state to classify migrants as "deserving" versus "undeserving", or "good" versus "bad" immigrants. We aim to create genuine solidarity and support between all migrants, whether they are new immigrants, undocumented workers, refugees, or temporary workers (Solidarity Across Borders 2011).

Originally founded from migrants facing deportation, SAB embodied a network of migrants and allies resisting together, through the idea that together they would be more powerful.[196] Solidarity within groups also formed strong commonality and a realization that migrants and non-migrants could successfully carry out resistance together and find common ground despite coming from different backgrounds or holding different political opinions.[197] Through resistance, members of many organizations felt inclusion and equality for all, against injustice, division, and exclusion.[198] Overcoming divisions also manifested within organization hierarchy, whereby organizers expressed: "It stops being like me the organizer, and them the woman who comes to look for help, no, we're the same."[199] All organizations studied had a diverse membership and allied with NGOs.

At times, those migrants assisted by migrant solidarity organizations later became strong members of these organizations, providing testimonial to their struggle and exemplifying how solidarity opened up channels of resistance for migrants.[200] For example Arash, a migrant detainee who received help from SAB during his hunger strike in Laval became a "dedicated member of

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[196] Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "No Borders, No Prisons: opposing the New Detention Centre for Migrants in Laval", February 18 2020

[197] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020

[198] Ibid.; Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020; Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020

[199] Medina, interview, June 8 2020

[200] Action Réfugiés Montréal, observation at "Refugee Rights Day Event", April 4 2020; Immigrant Workers Centre, observation at meeting "Changements aux normes du travail", February 6 2020; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "No Borders, No Prisons: opposing the New Detention Centre for Migrants in Laval", February 18 2020; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "Abolishing migrant detention, abolishing detention!", March 9 2020; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "HungerStrike - Grèvefaim by/par Migrants Zoom solidarity party", March 26 2020; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "#HungerStrikeLaval Teach in - The Struggle Continues", April 11 2020

the busy support work committee, working directly with individuals and families facing deportation, detention, double punishment and other forms of precarity, as well as speaking out publicly about migrant justice struggles" (Solidarity Across Borders 2017a). The majority of IWC members with an immigration background began their wider engagement in resistance because of the support IWC offered in the first place (Henaway as cited in Walia 2013, 167-169).[201] Solidarity from Canadians can be very valuable for migrants, expressing: "I find it impressive to realize or to become aware or conscious of this reality, and to put time into it."[202] Mutual solidarity between non-migrants and migrants likewise benefitted the broader Canadian community in turn, by countering negative stereotypes and enriching society.[203]

Essentially, resisting together overcame barriers of exclusion or isolation faced by migrants acting alone and fostered a safe public space within organizations.[204] As Walia (2013, 108) writes of the NOII movement in Canada, resistance works "to break isolation and shame, and instead affirm dignity and choice." In reflecting on his participation, Muhamed explained how mobilizing with others allowed him to see that there were others like him and reduced feelings of isolation:

> I was fighting alone many years ago, I was trying my best to go to see politicians, but I didn't know about some organizations like Solidarity Across Borders, IWC, and so on ... and then I started to participate in meetings .... I was wondering if I am alone, with victims I was thinking about only myself. But I see others, those who are living the same sad story as me, and then I said okay, I calmed down, and still I have to fight, I'm not alone. It was comfortable for me to fight with others, and to see that I'm not alone in the battle.[205]

Similarly, Viviana described that when she first came to the IWC she met a variety of others in comparable situations, and this helped overcome her loneliness and feel connected: "when I began to find others like me, I found it allowed me to 'civilize' my isolation, to have a sense of belonging. At the same time it allowed me to really create my own network. Because when I came here ... I didn't really know many people. ... So my other friends who also survived it, we're like, this is the family I have here, we're a family, right?"[206] As anarchists describe, "across the country, migrants organize solidarity networks to ensure that no one needs to face the serious challenges of accessing services without status and confronting a racist immigration system alone." (Montreal Counter-

[201] Medina, interview, June 8 2020; Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020
[202] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020
[203] Kaduuli, interview, May 4 2020
[204] Medina, interview, June 8 2020; Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020
[205] Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020
[206] Medina, interview, June 8 2020

Information 2019f). Specifically, "social integration and participation in community also contribute to refugeed people feeling secure and protected" (Action Réfugiés Montréal 2018). Attending events together featured as a strong strategy for a number of organizations, especially when precarious migrants were more hesitant to get involved: "We tell them, it might be hard sometimes with the employer, but if we go all together we can make a difference."[207]

As Arendt (1998, 198) highlights, political action specifically requires this *acting in concert* and *creating a public space*, whereby, "the public realm rises directly out of acting together" or involves the "sharing of words and deeds." By remaining inclusive to migrants and non-migrants, organizations create spaces of togetherness, building solidarity, friendship, and trust. For the IWC, "providing a safe place for immigrant workers to receive information, resources, and referrals" (Immigrant Workers Centre 2010) is central to organizing, whereby "creating the relationships of trust and an open space are critical steps toward building mass movements and more long-term change" (Henaway as cited in Walia 2013, 169). As one interviewee described, she appreciated this sense of "conviviality" in resistance: "what I like about SAB's actions, because there were actions for women without status, are the small ones, like moments. It's not the moments we talk about politics, but rather convivial moments to create social moments between us.[208] Particularly after Lucy's deportation, SAB members expressed a unique closeness, instructing each other to, "tell Lucy that we remember her name, that we love and respect her as the friend, courageous mother, and caring neighbour that she is. Insist that her immigration status has nothing to do with her membership in our community, and that we reject the attempts of the CBSA to strip her of her humanity" (Solidarity Across Borders 2017d). Meetings held by both SAB and the IWC displayed strong dynamics of friendship between resisters, gathering to share ideas over a cup of coffee or tea.[209] IWC organizers tell migrants who come for help, that even if the fight for justice will be long, "you will find a place where you can go, with other women, who have also suffered the same things, and together the pain is much better. We can cry together, for example. So, you just found a family."[210]

Ultimately, engaging in political action and plurality fostered a sense of collective identity,

[207] Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020
[208] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020
[209] Immigrant Workers Centre, observation at meeting "Changements aux normes du travail", February 6 2020; Immigrant Workers Centre, observation at "Volunteer outreach", January 28 2020
[210] Medina, interview, June 8 2020

political community, and belonging, beyond the borders of citizenship. Members of SAB expressed common identities as part of the "Global South" in reference to the effects of colonialism on both migrants and indigenous peoples in Canada.[211] In fact, as d'Entreves (2019, n.p.) would understand from Arendt, "it is only by means of direct political participation, that is, by engaging in common action and collective deliberation, that citizenship can be reaffirmed and political agency effectively exercised." However, when applied to situations of resistance in the context of immigration control "political paradoxes" emerge "when people constitute themselves as political subjects, citizens, prior to being legally or discursively recognized as such by state authorities" (Nyers 2015, 25). If, as Scott (1989, 57, 52-53) acknowledges, collective public action "is confined largely to the literate middle class and the intelligentsia," and the subordinate are seen as a "political nullity" (2008, xv) unless they have the support of outsiders, then solidarity across citizenship can open up new spaces of political action for migrants in challenge to Arendt's theory.

Migrant solidarity movements strongly encouraged resistance from migrants themselves, encouraging "self-determination" and emphasizing a sensitivity to the degree of actions led by outsiders. As Walia (2013, 103) similarly characterizes the NOII movement, "support is mobilized *alongside* [emphasis added] rather than on behalf of people". Organizers ensured that motivation emerged from migrants themselves, where one interviewee clarified: "I said that we organize the people, but we help them organize, we are not organizing them. Because we really want to start from the people we meet. And we want them to get more leadership, we want them to have leadership."[212] For many organizations, this involves strategies of listening to the needs of migrants, exemplified in strategies described earlier such as popular education. As Stierl (2012, 434) writes of the NOII movement, "activists attempt to resist 'by listening' and by 'enabling themselves to listen.'" Case work carried out by the IWC strongly exemplified this dynamic with social workers stressing the need "to listen to people and really go with their needs. Start with their problems, with what they want to work. I think it's really important to listen to them and not to impose your way of thinking and just go."[213] SAB similarly underlines the importance of self-determination in resistance, aiming "to center our struggle in the realities and demands of people directly affected by the injustices of deportations, detentions, double punishment and borders,

[211] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020
[212] Gagnon, interview, May 4 2020
[213] Ibid.

consistent with our demands and organizing principles" (Solidarity Across Borders 2013, 2018c).

Self-determination facilitated empowerment from migrants themselves. As described earlier, organizations like SAB draw strongly from testimonials of former detainees to educate the public, and the IWC also features testimonials from temporary agency workers to share their challenges of abuse, exploitation, and insecurity (Solidarity Across Borders 2019e; Immigrant Workers Centre 2013, 2019).[214] Essentially, "this is not a form of protest where the oppressed are given a voice, but one where *they take their voice and make it be heard* [emphasis added]" (Butler and Spivak as cited in King 2016, 12). Acting together and opening up a space for migrants to raise their own concerns reinforced voice within resistance for those normally excluded from the political community, contributing to a sense of *legitimacy* and *recognition* for their acts (Arendt 1998, 190).[215]

As described earlier, migrant solidarity movements posed a direct challenge through the use of Foucault's idea of counter-conducts which called into question the exclusion that citizenship and borders create for migrants' political action and agency. As Bradley (2014, 117) explains, migrants often engage in "challenging the state's prerogative in deciding which citizens can participate in the political community of the state." Hence, in demonstrating the limits of Arendt's views of rightlessness and political action, while resistance may still require *engagement* with a political community, it not necessarily contingent on *membership* in a community. As the results revealed, barriers of immigration status which would normally prevent action within a political community, were overcome specifically through the use of solidarity movements to bridge the divides between migrant and non-migrant and thereby usher in new understandings of political agency and resistance in a context of "rightlessness". Findings emphasized the importance of solidarity in fostering a sense of common humanity, equality, and empowerment, whereby the non-migrant community provides a platform for migrants to speak of the harms experienced within detention centres, oppose binaries such as borders and citizenship, and ultimately call for wider structural change within immigration control. As a number of dynamics of political action and agency arose irrespective of immigration status, this calls for future applications of Arendt's ideas on political action and agency to migrant solidarity movements.

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[214] Medina, interview, June 8 2020; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "No Borders, No Prisons: opposing the New Detention Centre for Migrants in Laval", February 18 2020; Solidarity Across Borders, observation at event "Abolishing migrant detention, abolishing detention!", March 9 2020

[215] Chebbi, interview, April 23 2020; Medina, interview, June 8 2020; Muhamed, interview, April 1 2020

Part III: Conclusion

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis aimed to understand how immigration control is resisted and the dynamics of political agency this can show, through an in-depth multi-method qualitative analysis of the case of migrant solidarity groups resisting immigration detention in Laval and the construction of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre. This chapter will first give an overview of the conclusions arising from the empirical findings in light of the original theoretical and methodological assumptions of the inquiry. Specifically, it will aim to highlight those findings which particularly challenged the original assumptions and situate this in light of the implications for future research, especially in the field of social movement and forced migration studies. It will then follow with an exploration of the limits of the research in regards to methods and theory, and conclude with a reflection on the implications this thesis has for future research, immigration policy, and migrant solidarity movements themselves.

Reflections on the Findings of the Case Study

While not all acts of resistance took place in direct response to the construction of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre, the case study acted as a space where acts of resistance coalesced around broader concerns on immigration detention and control, and thereby revealed a number of dynamics of resistance and political agency. This investigation aimed to answer three overarching questions: 1) how projects of immigration control such as immigration detention are resisted, 2) what dynamics of political agency (action) these acts of resistance showed, and 3) which theoretical frameworks can best help to understand these dynamics of resistance. The first part of the discussion revealed the various strategies, barriers, and meanings of resistance which emerged. The second part of the discussion focused on understanding the meanings and perceptions of political agency and action. Across all of the findings, clear congruencies with all three theoretical approaches emerged, along with a disconfirmation of some of their assumptions. This thesis determined that resistance needs to be seen on a continuum, take into account power structures and dynamics of control, and that migrants can importantly contest notions of rightlessness through resistance and solidarity and thereby display strong forms of political agency and action instead of representation as passive actors.

Moreover, this research met the objectives set out from the beginning, in regards to: 1) determining the important dynamics and strategies of migrant resistance to immigration control, 2) exposing the perceptions of activists engaging in resistance, 3) understanding how acts of solidarity can help facilitate migrant resistance for those detained, 4) and demonstrating the significance of how acts of solidarity give voice to both migrants and non-migrants. Methodologically and theoretically, this thesis revealed the strengths of using a combination of approaches to develop a coherent picture of the dynamics taking place, and reconfigured mainstream understandings to recognize that resistance is not necessarily contingent on citizenship and can be expressed in diverse ways, not only through traditional forms of political action

Part I: Strategies of Resistance

First, migrant solidarity organizations engaged in a variety of strategies of resistance, displaying differences in relation to those on the inside, the outside, and the in-between space of immigration detention centres, as well as in relation to the intensity of resistance (reformist to radical forms). Key strategies which emerged were the use of in-person visits to the Laval Immigration Holding Centre providing material and emotional support to migrant detainees, strategies across the walls of detention such as phone calls from the outside to obtain information from the inside, publicizing interior conditions to the wider Canadian community, facilitating the direct release of detainees, mobilization outside such as protests or sit-ins which connected to those on the inside, the use of popular education, NGO networks, lobbying, and more contentious forms such as blockades, pickets, caravans, and acts of sabotage.

Strategies of resistance resonated with some of Scott's ideas of resistance in everyday and publicly declared forms, and underlined the need to understand the legitimacy of resistance as stemming from the intention and recognition of these acts rather than from the outcome itself. There was also an indication that much of the invisibility of these acts was the result of the Canadian state moderating public debate on immigration resistance, a form of "repression" in Scott's views. A large portion of the data revealed that meanings of resistance varied, showed persistence despite challenges, and reinforced the notion that resistance embodies diversity and may not clearly fit into traditional social movement theory understandings.

However, three aspects worked to challenge Scott's notions of resistance. First, both everyday acts and publicly declared resistance emerged in tandem and overlapped in complex

ways, in contrast to his work which sees a strong separation between the two. For example, Scott's notions of "hidden transcripts" did not resonate as well with the intention of migrant solidarity organizations to publicize their resistance, and small individual acts were more exceptional than "everyday" in their nature. In addition, traditionally "everyday" acts such as sabotage and arson were not entirely "hidden" in their message although they were invisible in identity. Third, there was much more contention surrounding the meaning of resistance itself, something which neither his theory nor social movement literature may be able to fully account for, calling for further research. Moreover, Arendt as well as Foucault's theory more clearly described resistance which challenged the division between the "inside" and the "outside".

Along with strategies to resistance, barriers emerged along themes in relation to the restrictiveness of government structures such as the CBSA's level of unaccountably and lack of transparency, the negative rhetoric this creates towards immigration detention, the impact of immigration status on participation and relationships with solidarity movements due to a sense of fear and mistrust because of the control of the CBSA, the slow and frustrating sense of resistance, and barriers related to fundraising. While there were strong intersections between these barriers and Foucault's ideas on surveillance and power structures, Scott's understanding of state repression and secrecy, and Arendt's theory on the limits placed by citizenship, all three theories were unable to apply to barriers in relation to fundraising because of their more abstract theoretical nature. Hence, this indicated that while the three theories could strongly explain dynamics in relation to power, control, or political belonging, more practical constraints were outside of their scope, and indicate a need to engage more in social movement literature such as resource mobilization theory which can better explain how dynamics of resources (labour, money, facilities) affect the success of social movements (Jenkins 1983; McCarthy and Zald 1977).

Analyzing these strategies also produced results in relation to resistance occurring on a continuum from more reformist to more radical actions (in line with Scott), as well as a strong wish to contest forms of power and control taking place through immigration detention and policy. For example, organizations described differences and tensions in terms of radicality of views towards the construction of the Laval Immigration Detention Centre, and overall described an awareness of or questioning of these structures of control, expressing a wish to contest them in some way (some more radical than others). On the whole, reformist acts of resistance tried to work within the system, whereas radical acts tried to uproot the system as a whole.

These findings connected both to Scott's ideas on publicly declared acts of resistance in direct confrontation with the dominant order as well as Foucault's arguments on counter-conducts revealing the underlying dynamics of opposition to power structures. However, Foucault's theory seemed to be more able to account for dynamics of resistance to power and control than Scott's, specifically because of his ability to both theorize the mechanisms of control which pose barriers to resistance, and his understanding of how groups work within an awareness of these barriers to specifically contest and question these structures.

Part II: Dynamics of Political Agency and Action

Secondly, empirical evidence revealed a number of strong parallels with all three theories by contesting Arendt's ideas of political agency and action, agreeing with Foucault's ideas on challenging state control through counter-conducts across citizenship lines, and resonating with Scott's insights into the necessity of outsiders to overcome oppression for the subordinate trying to resist. For instance, motivations for resistance revealed themes such as an underlying wish to improve the rights of the "rightless" and contest dynamics of injustice as well as a reassertion of notions such as equality, human dignity, or structural injustice (colonialism or racism). These directly contested Arendt's notions on the rightless as inherently excluded from rights and the political community especially within immigration detention centres, but confirmed with Arendt's ideas on the intersection of rightlessness and criminal justice (e.g. immigration detention) as well as her ideas on human dignity. Other motivations related to belonging in a larger community and a wish to help others (altruism) related well to Arendt's notions on plurality, political belonging, collective identity, and political community, yet in contrast, emerged from migrants themselves through solidarity movements which opened up opportunities for resistance.

Ultimately, motives relating to past experiences in work, volunteering or education did not relate as well to Arendt's theory which focuses on more abstract ideas of political action and agency spurring resistance. Similar to previous limits discussed in regards to all three theories inability to account for more practical aspects of resistance, this may also indicate a need to look to social movement literature on attitudinal or cognitive inclinations, or networks which help sustain and motivate action (Giugni 2001; Goodwin 2004; McAdam 1988; Passy 2009; Peace 2015). However, many of these past experiences intersected with themes on rights, solidarity, justice, and equality, well suited to Arendt's theory. Moreover, it is questionable how well one can

apply Arendt's work to understanding motives of altruism within solidarity or injustice in relation to immigration detention. Further work on Arendt's notions of humanity, as well as an engagement with the wider literature on social movements such as Giugni (2001) on political altruism as motivator, especially Passy's (2001) work on altruism in the context of migrant solidarity organizations, could provide future spaces of inquiry. Moreover, Young's (2011) work on how concerns of structural injustice can motivate those not directly affected by injustice, could be an additional area to explore. Both Scott and Foucault remained rather limited compared to Arendt in theorizing motivations for resistance relating to concerns for rights, injustice, altruism, or plurality.

Political agency and action was then theorized in light of the empirical findings on solidarity. Specifically, in contrasting perceptions of resistance across both migrant and non-migrants with Arendt's understandings of the rightless, a clear demonstration of migrant solidarity movements' ability to overcome barriers of immigration status and constitute new understandings of political agency, rights and citizenship, emerged. Moreover, Foucault's ideas on counter-conducts, specifically across citizenship lines, as well as Scott's insights on the position of outsiders to act as bridges of solidarity for the subjugated, filled in Arendt's limits on solidarity.

In effect, despite migrants' experiences of political exclusion, through acts of solidarity which crossed lines of citizenship and included migrants within a political community, channels of resistance opened up to assert political action and agency. Hence, this concludes that while resistance may require *engagement* with a political community (e.g. solidarity organizations), it may not be contingent on *membership* in a community, indicating a need to rethink Arendt's theory and remain inclusive to the active construction of new forms of belonging, borders, and agency. Future work could be given to other contradictions within Arendt's theories in the case of migrant solidarity resistance, especially given the pre-existing disagreement within the literature. Findings relating to non-migrant privilege were more difficult to theorize within Arendt's notions, given that they would be theorized to hold a position of speech, freedom, and action, yet faced challenges for resistance. Hence, this bridge between migrants and non-migrants seemed to complicate her clear divisions of a political community and its effect on political action and agency.

Limits to the Research

Limits to the research related both to the methodological and theoretical underpinnings of the thesis as well as events happening outside of the control of the research. As an overarching

barrier, the COVID-19 pandemic affected the content and recruitment of interviews, and the ability to carry out participant observation. Due to the health concerns, all of the interviews were conducted over Zoom, potentially affecting their ease in opening up and the spontaneity in their replies. A number of times, interviews were interrupted because of technical difficulties or unstable internet connections. Moreover, a number of interviews spoke of the impact of COVID-19 on their work, and online events and campaigns were similarly taken up by discussions on COVID-19, rather than resistance to broader concerns on immigration detention. This also worked to decrease the quantity of data for analysis. Moreover, an inability to attend events in-person and carry out extended snowball sampling reduced the sample size of interviews. The movement of events from in-person to online also reduced the number of events for analysis. This may have potentially undermined the breadth of the study, however, complementing methods helped to fill these gaps.

Other methodological concerns relate to the position of interviewees within organizations, where the majority (five out of six) held relatively higher positions of power or had more secure immigration status, which may have biased results towards more powerful voices and excluded the experiences of those more marginalized. In the future, increasing the sample size of interviews would help to overcome this barrier. Positionality as a researcher also created challenges for obtaining interviews as well as engagement within the organizations studied. I often experienced difficulties in terms of organizations wanting to know the particular benefit of collaborating in the research or I felt torn between as both a researcher and volunteer. However, for the most part, I tried to remain as transparent as possible and interviewees were generally happy to engage.

There were additional limits posed in regards to the theoretical breadth of the research. While the use of multiple theories helped to provide insights to both resistance and political agency and revealed new strengths or weaknesses of each theory, this complicated the grounded coding process, in attempting to relate a large amount of codes to a variety of theories, potentially resulting in omitting some theoretical applications. As explained previously, all theories were rather limited in accounting for the practical realities of resistance movements such as attainment of resources, motivation for joining related to personal experiences, and motivations related to altruism. This calls for a more thorough investigation into the application of alternative frames, such as social movement theories, to cases of migrant solidarity resistance.

Lastly, there were challenges related to the socially constructed nature of resistance as a term itself. For example, significant contention and confusion surrounding the meanings of

resistance, advocacy, and activism emerged. Hence, due to the subjective nature of resistance itself, deciding to categorize these acts as resistance may have unintentionally elevated some forms of resistance over others. As Hollander and Einwohner (2004, 547-548, 551) write, defining resistance depends not only on the perceptions of the individual resisting and the target of this resistance, but also on "the scholar who interprets this act and may 'give legitimacy to otherwise marginal work'." However, as this thesis aimed to disrupt common notions such as resistance, it thereby begins a wider conversation in the field of social movement studies and scholarship on meanings of resistance, specifically, *migrant resistance* as a term itself.

Implications for Future Research and Policy

The case of resistance carried out by solidarity movements in response to immigration detention in Laval demonstrates an opportunity to theorize meanings of resistance and political agency for both migrants and non-migrants and shows the need to view migrants not as passive, but as active political agents in their own right. Theoretically, it revealed the useful application of Scott's work, rarely theorized in the field of migrant resistance, as well as Arendt who is commonly theorized only for her work on the rightless but not as much for the intersection of rightlessness and political agency / action. While Foucault is heavily theorized in the field of migrant resistance and immigration detention, this thesis reinforced his insights and extended an analysis to the Canadian context. More generally, this thesis demonstrated the ability to analyze similar dynamics of immigration detention and the resistance and solidarity this engenders in contexts outside of the US, the UK, Europe, and Australia. This thesis nonetheless calls for further research on the Canadian context, emphasizing the importance of not viewing Canada as an exception, but rather the norm in an increasingly restrictive environment of immigration. Moreover, given that there is still a "thin body of analysis on the resistance of 'outsiders'" (Lindley 2019, 15) this thesis contributed to strengthening research on the role of migrant solidarity organizations in resistance.

Questioning notions of political agency, citizenship, borders, and resistance calls for a similar need to extend analyses to other cases of marginalized groups resisting in constrained conditions. Social movement studies need to be widened to include broader acts of resistance as legitimate despite taking place at the margins, to give voice to those creating change at the sidelines and within significant constraints. This project suggested that acts of resistance taking place irrespective of the outcome can provide rich ground for analysis, especially in mainstream social

movement literature which may overemphasize success over failure. Sometimes the absence of resistance is more indicative of barriers to resistance or change happening cumulatively, yet it is nonetheless just as important. In effect, it is unknown whether or not the Laval migrant detention centre will be built, but in the meantime resistance is building new notions of cross-community dialogue, solidarity, and contesting the structures Canadians (and scholars) take for granted.

Canadian immigration policy, if it is to become more effective, needs to pay attention to local dynamics of resistance happening in the domestic space to remain more inclusive of the voices of those most affected by immigration control, especially given that government bodies such as the CBSA continue to have no oversight and accountability for their abuse of authority. For Canadians, wider awareness of immigration detention needs to be fostered, against media portrayals of migrants as 'illegal' and negative presumptions of more contentious acts of migrant resistance as illegitimate (compared to victimized and passive portrayals), in order to counter the sense of exclusivity vis-à-vis our neighbour to the South. As local organizations are most closely aware of the gaps in immigration detention policy, strengthening their ability to assist migrants and including their views within policy decisions can contribute to stronger evidence-based immigration policy. For local organizations themselves, paying attention to the importance of persistence within resistance, the need to see failures not as set-backs but as embodiments of wider structures of control which can create new strategies, and the importance of listening to the voices of those most affected should remain central.

On a global level, knowledge of the importance of solidarity and the agency of migrants themselves can be translated into rethinking global discussions on the topic of immigration with bilateral partners (US) or in multilateral forums such the UN Global Compact for Migration. In a context of ever-increasing social volatility associated with climate change, civil conflict, rising extremism – and the ensuing displacement this generates – Canada faces a need to respond to intensifying migration in an inclusive, just, and transparent way to demonstrate itself as a leading example on the global stage, and not as an example of "politics as usual". Understanding how and why migrants in contexts of immigration detention become activists to confront these policies, and how non-migrants act in solidarity can highlight the unaddressed needs, incredible agency and resilience of those most vulnerable, inform ways for more effective evidence-based policy, and strengthen diverse partnerships across communities—ultimately rethinking what it means to live within a world of borders and to imagine one without.

Appendix A

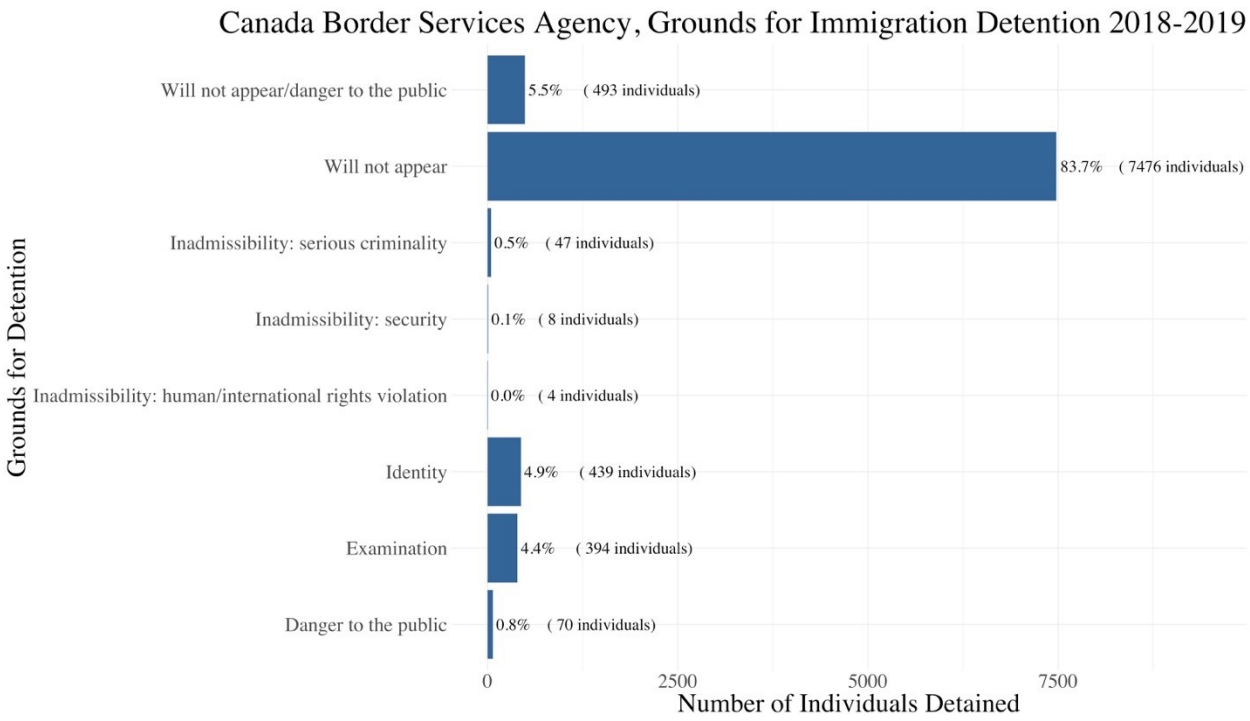

Figure 1: The graph above shows the number of individuals detained by grounds of immigration detention by the CBSA (for the period of 2018-2019). To note, the second bar from the top represents concerns related to not appearing for a hearing, representing approximately 83.7% of all grounds for detention. Data sourced from the CBSA (Government of Canada 2019b).

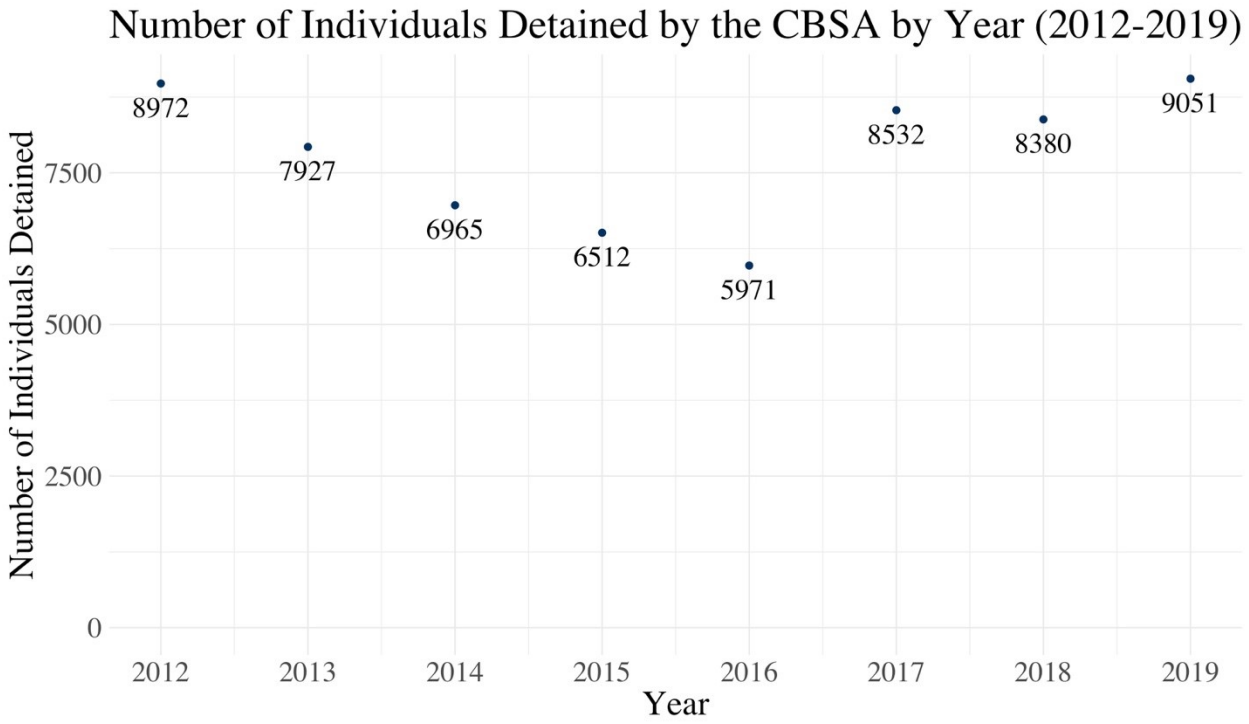

Figure 2: This graph shows the number of individuals detained in immigration detention centres by the CBSA by year (2012-2019). Note, the large drop in 2016 was most likely due to the implementation of the National Immigration Detention Framework which aimed to reduce the numbers of those held in immigration detention centres. The increase from 2017-2019 may also reflect the large increase in migration from Mexico, with Mexican citizenship disproportionately represented in immigration detention during these years (Canada Border Services Agency & Access to Information and Chief Privacy Office, 2020). It should be noted that numbers in this graph are different (e.g. higher) from those reported publicly on the CBSA website, given that data may have been collected at different periods during the year (Government of Canada 2019b). Data sourced from an Access to Information Request to the CBSA (Canada Border Services Agency & Access to Information and Chief Privacy Office, 2020).

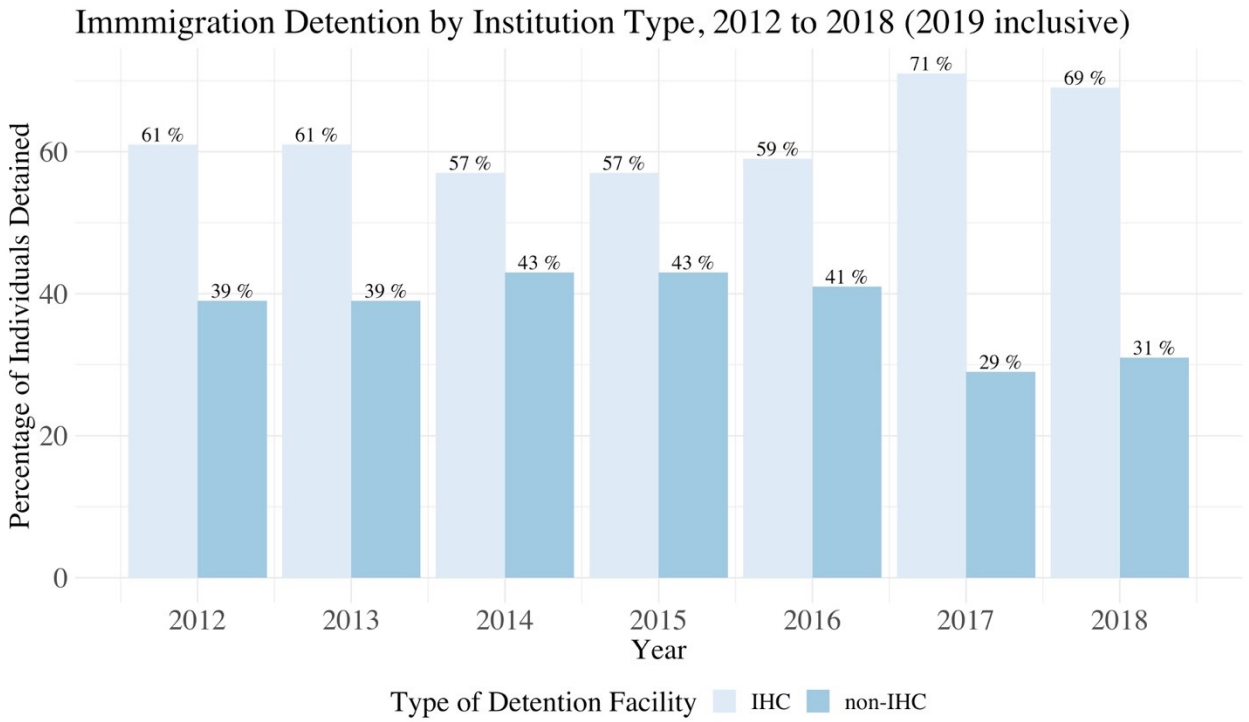

Figure 3: This graph shows the percentage of individuals detained in immigration detention centres from 2012-2019 according to type of detention facility. On average, about 30-40% of migrants are detained in non-IHCs (Immigration Holding Centres), while about 60-70% are detained in IHCs. Over time, the percentage of those held in non-IHCs has decreased, much as a result of the National Immigration Detention Framework which aimed to reduce the numbers of those held in non-immigration specific facilities. Data sourced from the CBSA (Government of Canada 2019b).

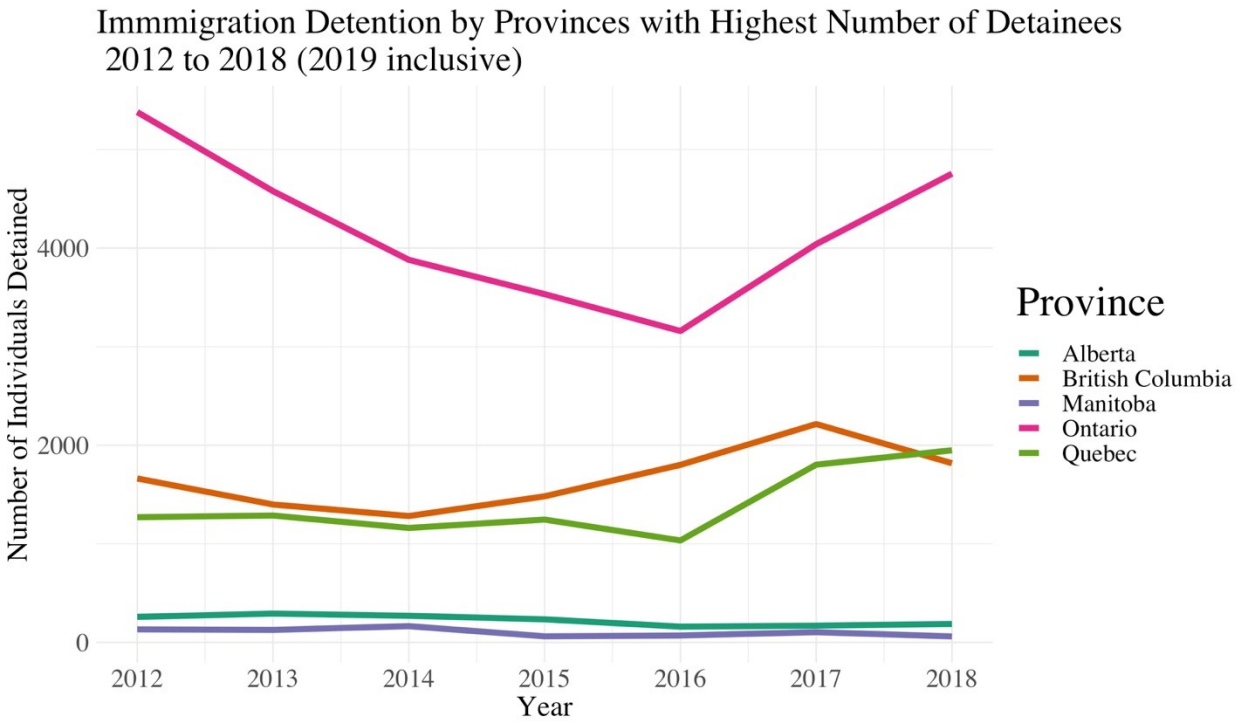

Figure 4: This graph shows the number of individuals detained in immigration detention centres by the CBSA by province from 2012-2018 (2019 inclusive). Although there are at least some individuals detained in each province, those which have the most significant numbers (top 5) are shown (e.g. greater than 100 individuals). Ontario has by far the largest number of individuals held in immigration detention centres, with British Columbia having the second highest and Quebec the third highest. The three main IHCs are the current IHC in Laval, Quebec (currently houses 109 detainees, and would be increased to 158 individuals with the new IHC under construction), the IHC in Toronto, Ontario (holds up to 183 detainees), and the new IHC in Surrey, British Columbia (houses up to 70 detainees). Statistics were not publicly available for a breakdown of numbers of individuals detained within provinces, differentiated by those held in IHCs compared to non-IHCs. For information on the number of total detainees held in non-IHCs compared to IHCs see Figure 3 in Appendix A. Data sourced from the CBSA (Government of Canada 2019b)

Appendix B

To respond to ethics concerns, throughout the process, I provided consent forms, debriefing, and privacy for all interviewees. This included verbal and written consent regarding which information they wished to be kept confidential, relating mainly to identifiers. The interviewee was allowed to skip questions, or to stop at any time to terminate the interview if the questions triggered unpleasant memories or were emotionally difficult for the participant. In the case that this did result in psychological and emotional triggers for the interviewee, they were offered to pause or terminate the interview or to skip questions and guided to the appropriate support services (immigrant services, counseling services).

Audio recordings, transcripts, and notes were kept confidential and separate from the code-key to ensure confidentiality (if requested). Recordings were destroyed after transcription. This code-key was stored in a password-protected folder on my computer, and to ensure anonymity the code key was destroyed after submission of the thesis (December 2020). Besides myself, no one had access to this information. Up to the point at which the code-key was destroyed, if the interviewee wished at any point to have access to this transcript, the de-identified transcript was sent as an encrypted file to their email to protect the privacy and confidentiality of the interviewee. Some interviewees were provided with rough drafts of sections before the submission of the thesis, to ensure that their views were being represented in the way they wished. The release of findings only included the information in which previous consent from the participants was obtained, and the research will be shared with participants to ensure they are debriefed on their contributions to the research after the submission of this thesis. Interviewees were free to withdraw from the research study at any time and to have their information removed from the study if they wished, up until the publication of the thesis (December 2020). After the thesis is published, the data will be kept for 7 years as per McGill University's policies.

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