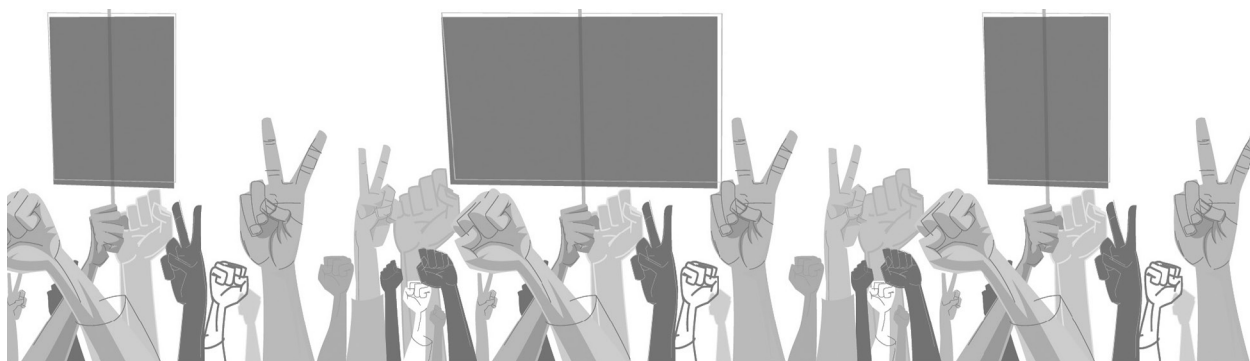


The SAGE Handbook of Resistance



Edited by
David Courpasson
and Steven Vallas

 **SAGE** reference

Los Angeles | London | New Delhi | Singapore | Washington DC | Melbourne



Los Angeles | London | New Delhi
Singapore | Washington DC | Melbourne

SAGE Publications Ltd
1 Oliver's Yard
55 City Road
London EC1Y 1SP

SAGE Publications Inc.
2455 Teller Road
Thousand Oaks, California 91320

SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd
B 1/I 1 Mohan Cooperative Industrial Area
Mathura Road
New Delhi 110 044

SAGE Publications Asia-Pacific Pte Ltd
3 Church Street
#10-04 Samsung Hub
Singapore 049483

Editor: Judi Burger
Editorial Assistant: Matthew Oldfield
Production Editor: Sushant Nailwal
Copyeditor: David Hemsley
Proofreader: Sunrise Setting Ltd.
Indexer: Avril Ehrlich
Marketing Manager: Sally Ransom
Cover Design: Wendy Scott
Typeset by Cenveo Publisher Services
Printed and bound by CPI Group (UK) Ltd,
Croydon, CR0 4YY

At SAGE we take sustainability seriously. Most of our products are printed in the UK using FSC papers and boards. When we print overseas we ensure sustainable papers are used as measured by the PREPS grading system. We undertake an annual audit to monitor our sustainability.

Introduction and editorial arrangement © David Courpasson & Steven Vallas 2016

Chapter 1 © Jeffrey Juris and Marina Sitrin 2016	Chapter 14 © Marianne Maeckelbergh 2016
Chapter 2 © Bob Kurik 2016	Chapter 15 © Daniel Hjorth 2016
Chapter 3 © Valentine M. Moghadam 2016	Chapter 16 © Ryan Moore 2016
Chapter 4 © David Knights 2016	Chapter 17 © Guillaume Marche 2016
Chapter 5 © André Spicer and Peter Fleming 2016	Chapter 18 © Gay Seidman 2016
Chapter 6 © Erynn Masi de Casanova and Afshan Jafar 2016	Chapter 19 © Adam Reich 2016
Chapter 7 © Amanda M. Gengler 2016	Chapter 20 © Sierk Ybema, Robyn Thomas and Cynthia Hardy 2016
Chapter 8 © Jillian Crocker 2016	Chapter 21 © Giuseppe Caruso 2016
Chapter 9 © Linda Blum and Shelley Kimelberg 2016	Chapter 22 © Pablo Fernández 2016
Chapter 10 © Anniina Rantakari and Eero Vaara 2016	Chapter 23 © Xueguang Zhou and Yun Ai 2016
Chapter 11 © Tammi Arford 2016	Chapter 24 © Lamia Karim 2016
Chapter 12 © Felipe G. Massa 2016	Chapter 25 © Sandrine Baudry and Emeline Eudes 2016
Chapter 13 © Edward T. Walker 2016	

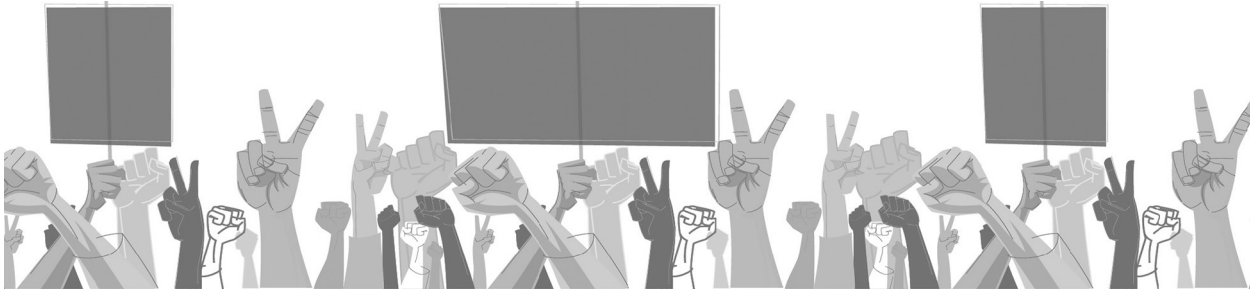
Apart from any fair dealing for the purposes of research or private study, or criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, this publication may be reproduced, stored or transmitted in any form, or by any means, only with the prior permission in writing of the publishers, or in the case of reprographic reproduction, in accordance with the terms of licences issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside those terms should be sent to the publishers.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016933075

British Library Cataloguing in Publication data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-4739-0643-3



Resistance Studies: A Critical Introduction

David Courpasson and Steven Vallas

Occupy. *Indignados*. The Tea Party. Anonymous. Black Lives Matter. Pussy Riot. Golden Dawn. Fight for Fifteen. These and other terms have become part of an emerging lexicon in recent years, signs of an important development that has gripped many parts of the world. Social, economic and political conditions have so inflamed social boundaries as to generate increasing levels of contention, often of a highly confrontational sort, throughout the advanced capitalist world. There is an ironic side to this development, since so much contemporary social theory – including Antonio Gramsci, the Frankfurt School and Pierre Bourdieu, among many others – has been devoted to the phenomenon of cultural domination. In spite of this presumed background of passivity and consent, the social and political landscape has taken an entirely different form. The center, put simply, no longer holds, or at least not to the extent that it once could.

There are many reasons why this should not have taken us by surprise. Perhaps the

most important is that neo-liberal practices have eroded the regulative capacities of the advanced nation states. Fordist economic institutions have been dismantled, financial regulations unraveled, and the welfare state sharply curtailed. Global processes have only further complicated already troubled domestic institutions, as trade politics, migration, war and terrorism have provoked indignation on both the left and the right, with ever-more virulent forms of ethno-nationalism arising in both Europe and the USA. It is not hard to see that civil society has become contentious and unruly. The difficulty is that theoretical conceptions of this ‘turn toward contention’ have lagged far behind the reality, and our conceptual toolkit is in a state of disarray. On offer is a welter of important yet partial insights that overlap and conflict with one another: some have spoken of a socio-political shift from redistribution to “recognition” as a logic of resistance under contemporary capitalism (Fraser 1996; Fraser and Honneth 2003). Others have drawn a picture of ongoing

contests over “life politics” (Giddens 1991), or of the rise of “explosive communities” and even the “deregulation of violence” (Bauman 2000: 194–6; Appadurai 2006). More recently (and ambiguously) there are frameworks conceived in terms of struggles emanating from the “multitude” (Hardt and Negri 2000). Given the rise of contestation on so many levels, and in light of the conceptual uncertainties that have limited the field, the point seems beyond dispute: that the question of resistance as a social, organizational and political phenomenon needs to be placed at center stage.

This volume is but one humble effort in that direction. We do so in full knowledge of the difficulty of the tasks involved. The concept of resistance has attracted the interest of academic specialists in any number of disparate fields. The Rashoman effect has not been absent, as scholars in history, anthropology, cultural studies, and various other fields have invoked a fractured assemblage of concepts and perspectives, each operating in abstraction from the others. Only occasionally have these separate currents of thought and debate flowed together. The result has lent an episodic character to the discussion, which has moved in fits and starts. Even basic questions have remained unclear. What is meant by “resistance”? What forms does it take, and how have these shifted in accordance with the rise of neo-liberalism? In what spaces does resistance grow, and what logics govern its development? And what effects does it exert on the structures it confronts, whether these involve transformation or reproduction? Much of this terrain remains uncharted, or worse: a scholarly no-man’s land that exists as a kind of liminal space.

This need not be –and it should not be, at least in view of the rich theoretical legacy on which scholars in resistance studies might conceivably draw. During the first three decades following World War II, for example, landmark studies appeared that held boundless potential for the field’s development. This is nowhere more apparent than in the case of British scholars working in

history and cultural studies. The former witnessed the appearance of major works as E. P. Thompson’s 1964 *Making of the English Working Class* and Eric Hobsbawm’s *Primitive Rebels* (1965). For its part, the field of cultural studies broke with the conservative tradition of social anthropology to form analyses of the ways in which working-class and youth subcultures appropriated consumer products, infusing them with oppositional elements their designers did not intend (Hall and Jefferson 1976; Hebdige 1979; Moore, this volume). The classic work of Paul Willis (1977; cf. Julie Bettie 2005) reminded scholars of the discursive creativity of subordinate classes and groups, who exhibit subversive practices that – however tragic their ultimate consequences – cannot easily be squared with accounts informed by theories of hegemony or consent. In spite of this rich legacy, and perhaps reflecting the triumph of Thatcherism, by the early 1990s, scholars had by and large come to cast resistance in supportive and often tragic roles, at best.

American scholars have rushed into this vacuum, especially in the field of social movements, which has spent decades scrutinizing the ebb and flow of social and political protest. From early post-war studies in the tradition of resource mobilization (Tilly, 1978) to theories premised on the structure of political opportunity, frame alignment, and theories of emotions (see Morris 1992; Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2009), scholars have sought to identify the conditions that account for the rise of protest movements. Scholars in this tradition have begun to speak of the seeming pervasiveness of protest in Western democracies, and in more oppressive regimes as well (Soule & Earl 2005). Some have even spoken of the rise of “social movement societies” (Rucht 1998). One scholar (Putnam 2000: 165), even talked about protest becoming “standard operating procedure,” precisely because of the weaknesses exhibited in electoral political systems. “New” and even “newer” social movements are said to arise, new political causes and

identities are constructed, and new alliances all emerge with regularity, leading Rucht to contend that “protest has become a part of everyday politics” (1998: 52).

But what happens outside of or “underneath” such outwardly visible movements and protests? When subaltern groups lack the organizational resources needed to mobilize on their own behalf – whether in workplaces, hospitals, schools or cities – how do they resist the claims their overseers make? In what spaces, and with which skills, can subaltern groups share oppositional sentiments and identities? Do such stores of symbolic meanings serve as repositories, pools of emotional energy, from which fuller mobilizations tend to draw? In what ways do elites, through ‘their’ structure(s) of domination, shape the forms that resistance takes? And in what ways does resistance return the favor, reshaping the forms that domination assumes? These questions imply the belief that organized forms of protest are but surface manifestations of a deeper and more ubiquitous yet often elusive phenomenon that warrants much more attention and theorization than it receives. Put differently, it is likely that in a society marked by fragmentation and growing indifference (Courpasson 2016), and in which electoral systems provide few vehicles for meaningful participation, dissenting efforts will be more likely to assume forms that are spontaneous, anonymous and episodic but no less real. Understanding them, and the conditions under which they become consequential, are no trivial matters – certainly not these days.

Amidst the welter of contending traditions, the single most influential source of theoretical insight into the everyday resistance of subaltern groups has surely stemmed from the work of James Scott, the political scientist and East Asian scholar whose work focused initially on peasant societies. In his *Weapons of the Weak* (1985), a nuanced study of struggles between Malay peasants and powerful landowners, Scott’s research led him to conclude that the traditional scholarly “emphasis on peasant rebellion

was misplaced”. In place of such spectacular confrontations, Scott focused attention on the less dramatic struggles that arise between peasants and landowners, which he termed “*everyday forms*” of resistance. By this term he meant the prosaic but constant struggle between subordinates and their overseers. He therefore scrutinized “the ordinary weapons of relatively powerless groups: foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so forth’ (Scott 1985: 29). In a subsequent work, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990), he expanded his analysis into historical and cross-cultural terrain, posing a question that constituted a direct challenge to theories premised on ideological incorporation or hegemony: ‘How do we study power relations when the powerless are often obliged to adopt a strategic pose in the presence of the powerful?’ (Scott 1990: xii). His answer, which stresses the performative nature of much public behavior, centers on the existence of what he called “infrapolitics,” by which he meant ‘a wide variety of low-profile forms of resistance that dare not speak in their own name’ (1990: 19), whose very existence betrays “a critique of power while hiding behind anonymity or behind innocuous understandings of their conduct” (xiii).

Drawing on the work of Erving Goffman, Scott argued that the seeming acquiescence of subordinate groups is often performative, or staged. Using the “hidden transcripts” they fashion amongst their own ranks, members of subordinate groups have a vested interest in concealing their defiant beliefs and actions from the powerful, acting on these beliefs as social and political conditions allow. Put differently, subaltern groups are constrained to engage in “command performances of consent,” even as they struggle to limit the demands that powerful classes and groups can impose on either their labor or their dignity. Because of the disproportionate power that elites enjoyed over the local Malay economy, they were also able to

largely control public ritual life – that is, the ‘onstage’ conduct of most of the poor in the community. Only ‘backstage’, where gossip, tales, slander, and anonymous sabotage mocks and negates the public ritual order, does elite control fall away ... it is only here that the terrain is *relatively* favorable to the meager arsenal of the disadvantaged (1985: 27).

In shifting the focus to “infrapolitics” and to everyday forms of resistance, Scott is not denying the importance of peasant rebellions or insurgent movements, rare though these may be. Rather, he is directing our attention toward the hidden, less dramatic but equally real forms of resistance that nourish such spectacular eruptions against power for decades before they come to the surface. As he puts it, such latent currents ‘are the stubborn bedrock upon which other forms of resistance may grow, and they are likely to persist after such other forms have failed or produced, in turn, a new pattern of inequity’ (1985: 273).

Scott’s work has been much discussed, debated, and critiqued. Anthropologists in particular accused him of numerous sins. Its broad theoretical impact may stem from its effort to provide an alternative to Gramscian conceptions of hegemony and to theories of cultural domination more generally. Its weaknesses, in the view of critics, were manifold: Scott had fixated single-mindedly on resistance, thus generating a ‘thinning’ of its ethnographic accounts (Ortner 1995; Gal 1995; Brown 1996). Scott tended to romanticize resistance, and to find it wherever he looked (e.g., in a smirk or a raised eyebrow), inflating its ideological content beyond what was due. Or, Scott unwisely generalized from peasant to post-modern societies, thereby misconstruing the workings of liberal democratic nation-states. In spite of these doubts, Scott’s argument has provoked an outpouring of theory and research on power, domination, and resistance under many institutional and organizational contexts (as the chapters in this volume attest).

But theories do not proliferate in a vacuum. At least part of the reason for the impact

of Scott’s work, and for the growth in resistance studies more generally, can be traced to historical events. For the 1990s proved hospitable to a widening circle of oppositional movements, many of which were marked by novel organizational forms. Transnational solidarity movements arose (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Klein 1999) that reconfigured the prominence of brand-name products, now viewed as an Achilles’ heel (Seidman 2007). The Chiapas movement of the middle 1990s signified a macro-level demand for autonomy from the state rather than continued reliance on its patronage (Graeber 2002). The Seattle demonstrations against the World Trade Organization in 1999, which highlighted the ambitions of the World Social Forum (Juris 2008; Juris and Sitrin, this volume), served to legitimate analysis of resistance as an object of study, infusing Scott’s work with an urgency and a relevance that spread throughout many academic domains.

In seeking to codify the ensuing work, we do so on the basis of several assumptions. We begin with the baseline assumption that domination can never be total. As Simmel observed, ‘Even in the most oppressive and cruel cases of subordination, there is still a considerable measure of personal freedom’ (Simmel 1950: 182; O’Hearn 2010). Second, we assume that consent is real, and at times even the predominant logic informing both discourse and practices. But consent – and with it, the legitimacy of domination, in Weber’s sense – is often more contingent or unstable than it appears (or even claims). Consent and resistance are often on intimate terms – recall Gramsci’s notion of ‘contradictory consciousness’ – and their manner of combination can drive the nature of social and political action. Consent can at times mutate into resistance, as when established institutions frustrate or repress the deeply held aspirations of once-privileged groups. The result can lead to what Bourdieu once termed a ‘total refusal’, which involved a ‘denunciation of the tacit assumptions of the

social order, a practical suspension of *doxic* adherence to the prizes it offers and the values it professes' (1984: 144). Here Bourdieu has in mind the events of May 1968, which for a moment disrupted the reproduction processes that 'normally' keep the social order intact.

Third, we reject any inclination to 'sanitize the internal politics of the dominated', as the anthropologist Sherry Ortner puts it (1995: 179). We acknowledge that resistance is never as pure or pristine a phenomenon as generations of Marxist theorists have hoped. When subordinate groups or classes defy their overseers, they often do so in ways that exercise power over groups and classes even more powerless than themselves – and they often do so in ways that are inflected with racial, gender, religious and ethnic hierarchies. Only rarely can we expect resistance to be free of particularistic or parochial biases, identity politics and other variants of tribal discourse. Least pristine are what might be called "negative" or "reactive" resistance – backward-looking movements that, though they engage in behavioral defiance of the state or the established order, do so in ways that invoke primordial forms of solidarity that essentialize the "others" whom they wish to exclude from social citizenship. Instances abound: ethno-nationalist movements arrayed against immigrants and refugees; Islamist groups aiming to restore 8th century conditions by stripping women of their rights; Christian fundamentalisms of varying sorts. Similarities among these instances are surely not accidental.

To speak of negative resistance is to beg the question: What are the conceptual boundaries of resistance? How can we conceive of the varying forms it can take? As to the latter question: Resistance studies scholars have engaged in an extended taxonomical debate, resolution of which has, not surprisingly, remained elusive. One marked tendency has been to stress the presence of a defiant or contentious intent on the part of the resisters. The clearest statement of this position is that of Leblanc (1999), who reserves the concept

for deliberate acts that symbolize a rejection of established conventions based on class and cultural hierarchies (see also Lowney 1995; Haenfler 2004). Leblanc's research, focusing on female punks, sought to highlight the subculture's emic properties. She defines resistance in very specific terms, which required a conscious experience of oppression, a subjective intention to oppose this oppression, and a willingness to act (whether via behavior or discourse) against it as well. She concludes that:

It is crucial that the first two conditions [consciousness and intent] hold before any observational account can be deemed resistant. That is, the person engaging in resistant acts must do so consciously and be able to relate that consciousness and intent (Leblanc 1999: 18).

A broader, more inclusive and conceptually flexible framework has been advanced by Williams's analysis of youth subcultures (2009; see also Juris and Sitrin, this volume). In this approach, resistance can be conceived in terms of three overlapping dimensions: openness, scale, and intent. That is, different forms of resistance can be placed on a continuum from overt to covert; pitched at a micro or macro level; and relatively passive or active in outlook. In a similar vein is the typology developed by Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 544), which overlays three dimensions: an oppositional intention by the resister, a recognition of this intent by the action's target, as well as recognition of the intent by bystanders (see also Prasad and Prasad 1998). The latter approach generates a seven-fold typology with which scholars might disentangle the conditions that promote each type.

Though such approaches are useful at their best, at their worst they begin to resemble exercises at botanical classification. The position we have taken here expressly seeks to avoid imposing restrictive conditions on the object of our analysis. For example, to exclude forms of resistance that remain hidden from or unrecognized by their target

seems both arbitrary and naïve. For as Scott has shown, resisters often have good, survival-based reasons to conceal the existence of their defiant feelings and beliefs. This is why the powerful are often sincerely stunned to discover that the command performances they have witnessed have not actually been what they seemed all along. Likewise, we have adopted a wary view regarding the question of motive or intent, since in our view conscious awareness is often a fleeting and elusive feature of resisters' lives. At times the consciousness only emerges from and following the actions at hand.

This point is well illustrated in Aihwa Ong's study of women workers in a Malaysian electronics factory (1987, ch. 9). The harsh and abusive conditions of employment these women suffered imposed on them an extraordinarily painful transition from the relative autonomy of rural village life they had previously known. Inserted within the disciplined and demanding nature of factory life, these women experienced a painful 'violation, chaos, and draining of one's essence' that was at times intolerable. In response to these circumstances, the factory girls throughout many towns and villages exhibited pronounced episodes of spirit possession, in which apparitions seemed to gain control over the women's bodies, generating outbursts of collective panic and disorder that brought production down for days at a time (see also Lewis 1971). Ong sees these behaviors as reflecting, in a particularly dramatic form, 'the contradictions between Malay and capitalist ways of apprehending the human condition' (Ong 1987: 207). More to the point, she finds in them the onset of "an idiom of protest against labor discipline and male control," even in the absence of any explicit intention to resist. Such events, which decenter the individual actor and lodge resistance in the actions of the group, begin to demonstrate the limits of the Cartesian cogito.

Ong's analysis is important for an additional reason, in that it stands as an early

expression of the Foucauldian approach toward resistance. The Foucauldian turn that eventually ensued is important, not least because it has shifted the analysis beyond the framework that Scott had initially advanced (see McNay 1997; Burchell 1996; Ong 2003; Lilja and Vinthagen 2014; Knights, this volume). Two such changes seem especially important. First, where Scott was largely concerned with the material trappings of domination (with some allowance for the "symbolic taxes" that subalterns are made to pay) Foucauldian analysis has defined domination in much broader terms, i.e., as a process that subjugates actors to 'continuous and uninterrupted processes which subject our bodies, govern our gestures, dictate our behaviors' (Foucault, in Lukes 1986: 233; see Fleming 2014). In this view, modernity has changed the locus of power within the body politic, pressing it downward, more deeply into the sinews of civil society and thus relying much less fully on the state or property ownership as a source of control. Foucauldian scholars have therefore viewed the exercise of power as lying in the normative apparatuses that underlie and make possible state authority and economic power—apparatuses that are typically inscribed on the surface of individual subjectivity (see Foucault 1976, 2007; see also the chapters by Kurik and by Knights, in this volume).

Second and crucially, Foucault insists that the face of power has often shed its negative or repressive guise, and now works by affirming, fostering, and enhancing the capacity for agency and human choice (Vallas and Cummins 2015). This last point is especially important, in that it raises questions about the criteria we use to identify resistance as such. The example that Foucault himself gives is one in which actors speak out against the specter of sexual repression (1976: 3–13), but in so doing are in fact only operating on the very terrain of power itself (cf. Butler 1990). Here again, we find reason to conclude that an oppositional intention can by no means suffice as a valid indicator of resistance. The

culture of complaint which Weeks (2005) identified at a British bank seemed on its surface to provide a web of oppositional sentiments and disdain toward management. In fact, however, this culture locked employees into a conservative system of meanings that all but ensured that the status quo at work would never change.

For our purposes, resistance constitutes a dynamic phenomenon that can occur at multiple levels and can take multiple forms. It may or may not reflect conscious intent. It may or may not succeed in renegotiating the claims that elites can make on their subordinates. It may or may not harbor a conception of an alternative order, in however inchoate or fantastic a state. Such a broad approach comports with the view advanced by de Certeau (1984), for whom resistance – the ‘art of the weak’ – often relies on reactive forms of *bricolage*, in which subalterns creatively re-deploy existing discourses, yet without necessarily modifying the order of things (though such change remains conceivable). At a minimum, the presence of such oppositional impulses marks the limits of power’s domain. It is precisely this point Goffman has in mind when he observed that ‘every religious ceremony creates the possibility of a black mass’ (1967: 86).

These orienting remarks are meant to open up the field of study that we and our contributors have in mind. In the remainder of this introduction, we seek to chart in more detail some of the theoretical moorings on which the field might draw. Rather than offering a singular perspective on resistance, we have sought to include competing interpretations of this multifaceted phenomenon. Perhaps inevitably, the very complexity of the resisting phenomenon – a dynamic, unstable, and often unpredictable feature of social life – precludes any possibility of being exhaustive. In no sense can this Handbook claim to produce something resembling a representative survey of the field. Our effort instead (fittingly enough) has sought to offer the maximum degree of liberty to authors to propose,

develop, and defend specific accounts of resistance in a wide array of domains. In many ways, the selected texts and the logic that underlies the volume’s contents reflects our own assumptions about how the field can best advance in the years to come.

DOMINATION AND RESISTANCE: BEYOND THE BINARY

We begin by outlining a series of propositions that can be gleaned from the last quarter century’s worth of theory, research and practical struggle involving the nature of domination and resistance. A first point, alluded to above, is that paradoxical: that in a sense, domination owes its very existence to the fact of resistance, however implicit the latter may be. As Simmel observed nearly a century ago, ‘the desire for domination is designed to break the internal resistance of the subjugated’ (1950, in Lukes 1986: 203). Thus the very condition of domination lies in the ever-present desire of the subjugated to escape power’s grasp. In other words, domination presupposes a certain level of ‘freedom on the part of the person subjected to [its] authority’ (Simmel 1950: 183). In this sense, then, resistance can be said to cause power. Second, while it is true that power returns the favor, generating resistance on its own account, it is vital that we avoid reifying the concept of domination, which is seldom shaped in terms of a single centralized node or nexus – Power with an uppercase P. Rather, domination is almost always a fractured phenomenon, riddled with complex and intersecting forms, much as intersectionality theorists insist (Crenshaw 1991; Collins 2000, 2015; McCall 2005). The very existence of multiple roles and axes of inequality, each conflicting with the others, is one major reason why resistance tends to be unstable and can seldom conform to universalistic ideals (Vallas 2016).

Third, individuals and groups do not exhibit fixed, pre fabricated characteristics,

but instead continually constitute and reconstitute themselves as subjects, often as a result of their resistance itself. Resistance, in other words, is a process through which identities and subjects are produced (Thomas 2009; Ybema, Thomas and Hardy, this volume). Because domination, in spite of its haughty appearance, is a contingent and always uncertain project, we see resisting efforts as equally uncertain counter-projects whose effects are not confined to their environments. We therefore break with arguments such as those developed by Bourdieu (1977, 1984), for whom the *habitus* constitutes an enduring, conservative force that always already favors the status quo (Wade 2011). We see resistance as having productive capacities, then (Courpasson, Dany, and Clegg 2012), not least since it leaves its mark on the resisters themselves. Indeed, the fact of resistance reflects the capacity of individual and collective subjects to generate alternative forms of power, distinct from and opposed to those which seek to naturalize themselves over time.

A fourth point concerns the context-specific or situational character of resistant acts. Our point here stresses the need for a relational (as opposed to a substantialist) view of resistance. After all, the “same” act – women’s choice to wear the veil, or to put on make-up, or for that matter to have a nose job – can mean diametrically opposite things, depending on the social context in which the act is lodged. Wearing the veil under the Shah was an act of resistance; wearing make-up and Western clothing (or receiving rhinoplasty) under the Islamic Republic, too, is an act of defiance (see Casanova and Jafar, this volume). ‘The particular social structure provides the grid of intelligibility for making sense of the actions as conforming to or dissenting from the given power configuration’ (Hoy 2004: 3). One goal of this Handbook is its effort to stress the contextual dimension of the practice of resistance, in spite of the urge to view or define it in terms of such abstract universals such as injustice, poverty, exploitation, or empowerment.

One such abstract universal, however, must be singled out for particular attention: the notion of freedom. Contemporary theorists have often assumed an agnostic stance on the question of freedom and emancipation, largely owing to critiques of the Enlightenment generally. A more hopeful view, which was prevalent in France following the political events of the 1960s, and for a time flourished in the heyday of the Arab Spring, sees resistance as a nascent process of emancipation. Focusing our attention on the concrete conditions, backgrounds, and contexts in which resistance grows, and to which it responds, we invite scholars to ask: What is the emancipatory potential of a given social situation? Where are the unmanaged spaces within which actors can claim the possibility of agency and intervention on their own behalf? How does the intersection of distinct institutional logics open up spaces in which projects of emancipation can grow, however limited their scope or inflected with rearguard elements? From this point of view, resistance becomes a practical work with and for other individuals in order to develop practical and concrete freedom where it does not yet exist (Schaffer 2004). However this assertion always involves a practice of responsibility: following Sartre, “... even in the ethical act, we are not pure; we have committed ourselves to a sequence of events that, once started, are no longer under our control but for which we are fully responsible (...)’ (in Schaffer 2004: 257).

Adopting this view toward freedom requires that we acknowledge forms of resistance that rebel *against* emancipation (Hoy 2004). Indeed, it may often be true that resistance is marked by both moments simultaneously, and vary only in accordance with the relative proportion each influence enjoys over the behavior at hand. We cannot avoid, merely through definitional fiat, the above-mentioned importance of negative resistance. Rather, the task is to account for them, and for the path which their participants choose. Such instances may reflect ‘pathologies of

the life world” (Habermas 1984), occurring when “discourse-free” steering mechanisms, emanating from the market or the state, actively disrupt the structures that underpin civil society. In a privatized, individualized world that often lacks the basis for community and that fosters a culture of fear (of immigrants, terrorists, minorities, etc.), negative resistance may have greater gravitational pull than its broader, forward-looking cousins. Whether and under which conditions this result obtains, and how it might be counter-acted by movements of a more universalistic sort, remains a central task for theorists and activists alike (see Moghadam, this volume). So pressing are these questions that discussion of them has begun to dominate our daily newspapers.

SPACES OF RESISTANCE

The importance of spaces to account for resisting activities is obvious: Relating space and resistance is not new because it rests upon an ontology of resistance as a largely situated social practice (Polletta 1999). *Where* resistance is achieved matters (Courpasson et al. 2016). Resistance is a lived experience that supposes the appropriation, occupation or temporary use of spaces whose meaningfulness for individuals is crucial to the act of resistance itself (Shortt 2015; Courpasson & et al. 2016). Resistant spaces are usually thought either as “free”, permitting opposition because they would be physically and structurally remote from power (Evans and Boyte 1986), or as “liminal” (Turner 1974), that is to say, “in-between” controlled and uncontrolled spaces like corridors, backstage regions where “anything can happen” (Turner 1974). A third, “spectacular” use of space has emerged that reflects our media-saturated condition: public occupations of space, which has been seized or usurped, in effect redeployed as symbols of the need to challenge the social order writ large. Resistant spaces are sometimes ‘dwelled’ by people during the

time of their resistance; they are places like the Tahrir Square, or walls used by street artists (see Marche in this volume), or small gardens reappropriated by citizens to transform the urban landscape (Baudry & Eudes this volume). Resisters can walk through intersecting places so as to avoid control, or to achieve different things in different places. Spaces offer protection, but also substantial reasons to act from there: their meaningfulness is a condition of their efficacy and propagation (Rao and Dutta 2012).

Space has often been thought as a neutral setting (Taylor and Spicer 2007). We suggest, by contrast, that it rather has a strong political inflection, especially in organizations (although not exclusively). We hold this view for at least two reasons. First, organizational spaces are embedded with power but they are also places where corporate power can be contested (Taylor and Spicer 2007). Factories have long been considered as spaces where industrial workers are concentrated to ensure better surveillance and control by entrepreneurs. Scholars have also argued that the construction of specific spatial arrangements around factories such as company towns (Andrew 1999) are means to ensure absolute control over the workforce, extending company reach beyond the work sphere. The most well-known spatial arrangements within organizational boundaries are the Fordist assembly line and Bentham’s Panopticon, both of which materialize the relations of power embedded in spaces and places. Therefore, place is connected to the managerial ability to locate the employee spatially (Jacques 1996). Yet the sheer fact of assembling workers as a body itself opens up the possibility of a broader struggle that was possible in an era in which the putting out system predominated. Moreover, as the labor of surveillance develops, so too do workers skills in identifying spaces that lie beyond the reach of the CCTV cameras.

Scott himself was alive to this factor, which was fundamental to his notion of the “hidden transcript,” which could only survive within

unpatrolled spaces to which only subordinates could gain admittance. Scott's point is important: spaces permitting resistance are not merely discovered, but are often won, or even produced. Westwood (1984) found that women factory workers carved out cultural spaces of autonomy by invoking feminized rituals involving baby showers and wedding albums that excluded their male overseers. Even privileged groups such as surgeons find that unpatrolled spaces can provide a critical resource for contesting organizational practices that might redefine their ability to exercise power over their subordinates (Kellogg 2009). Inhabitants of organizational spaces often use them in deviant ways, as they move around in trajectories that do not necessarily match the prescribed paths (De Certeau 1984). They also use transitory places to give sense to their everyday life at work (Shortt 2015). The place/resistance nexus is therefore fundamental to account for practices that are elaborated to escape usual controls and expectations; but it is also a way to understand the role of space in shaping specific meaningful initiatives in direct relationship with the very place where they are taken.

VIRTUAL RESISTANCE?

To ask the question, "Where do current struggles over the meanings of political appropriation take place?" is to confront the supposed de-territorialization that the internet has wrought. Immediately we see contradictions at work. Tahrir Square symbolized the importance of seizing a *physical* public space as the basis for an oppositional movement, yet it was itself inconceivable without the de-territorializing media (texting, Instagram, Twitter, blog posts) that resisters used to mobilize and protect themselves. Where do new avenues and means for social mobilization gain momentum? Do social media indeed exert significant influence over the practices and

outcomes of mobilizations? The results seem to defy simple, one-dimensional accounts. Digital means of communication empower internet trolls to disseminate hate speech and a culture of intimidation – yet they also enable thousands of users to share images and indignation about unjust practices, such as police brutality or the desperate condition of refugees trying to cross European borders. How do online "friends" and followers align with "real" relationships? What is the relation between virtual and "real" communities? In other words, the link between the power of the street and the power of the tweet has yet to be understood (Gerbaudo 2012).

Institutionalized politics is often routine, even boring; an effective resisting movement has to engage people's hearts and minds (Marche 2012: 104). When politics become drudgery, a mere obligation, it ceases to be effective. Politics is much more enticing when it brings an element of desire, of play, and of a social eros that can approximate the Durkheimian notion of collective effervescence. To broach these questions is to ask not only how cultures of resistance arise, but also how they sustain themselves over time. What research we have along these lines suggests that movement persistence depends crucially on the existence of the elements of a moral community – rituals that foster activist identities, and emotional and practical supports that reinforce movement beliefs – that stands at odds with the wider polity (Nepstad 2004; Hjorth 2005; Contu 2014).

Long term sustainability of resisting processes presupposes, it seems, the presence of enduring forms of interpersonal attachment and care that do not come out of the blue: 'the do-it-yourself approach is where we create our own counter-power' (Marche 2012: 105). In-person friendships and commitments create the social fabric that movements need if they are to build themselves and create counter-power (Simmel 1950): because we are accountable to each other, we feel a collective responsibility to achieve something together. Because we experience everyday

intimacy, with friends, families, neighbors engaging the same social problems, we feel the need to achieve something together, be it truly political or rather intended “for the children” (Eliasoph 1998).

Can virtual or online communities provide a semblance of such ties? Alternatively, can the accumulation of digital “friends” and “followers” via FaceBook and Twitter serve as a force multiplier, reinforcing or complementing “real” social ties by amplifying a given moral community? Moments of heightened solidarity and emotional entrainment can certainly occur in the absence of physical encounters (R. Collins 2004). This is precisely the point of Courpasson’s (2017) study of a movement among French sales managers who felt gravely wronged by their employer. Though they had never met in person, participants formed a blog that served as a platform for their shared interests. Their movement quickly spilled over any instrumental concerns, however, and eventually fostered a widely reported hunger strike that transformed the lives and the identities of the participants in the struggle. But such stories may well be exceptional. More common may be the story of the poor Syrian boy, face down in the sand, whose photograph went viral as a symbol of the human toll of the refugee crisis. While the photograph provided a flash point of global solidarity, only a couple of weeks later the pragmatics of national politics prevailed, the borders were closed, and refugees were drowning in the Mediterranean Sea once again. Given the “thin” nature of online solidarity, this may indeed be the more prevalent outcome of virtual forms of resistance. The embodied/disembodied element in mobilization takes on a greater importance these days, precisely because of the growing impact of social media.

Some have claimed that social media have begun to promote new logics of aggregation (Juris 2008) that foster more horizontal forms of assembly, thus stressing direct action and the prefigurative nature of activist organization (Sitrin 2007; Earl and Kimport 2011; see

Kurik, in this volume). Is this conclusion warranted by the evidence? And precisely how do new media exercise this effect? Though there is a rich history of studies by social psychologists seeking to understand the conditions that foster a sense of solidarity and group commitment (Coleman 1968; Drury and Reicher 2005), much remains unknown about the nature of ties formed or mediated by new communication technologies. Whether online and offline modes of assemblage are more or less productive, and how they might either complement or compete with one another, remains to be explored. It seems reasonable to expect that Durkheim’s (1967) reasoning has retained much of its validity: Collective empowerment occurs when there is amplification, precipitation of a sense of shared identity, waves of emotional and corporeal effervescence, and rituals that reproduce the sense of community on which the group relies.

REFUSING RESISTANCE

A Handbook of resistance cannot avoid admitting that many people today would not get involved in doing something about an issue that they might otherwise consider problematic, or unjust, or even cruel. Some people experience politics as an inert and distant world that they do not want to touch. That may be because this issue is “not close to home” (Eliasoph 1998: 1). Being touched by a problem combined with a feeling of powerlessness often leads people to simply “avoid politics”. It is impossible to study resistance without accounting for the many reasons why people often do *not* resist, that is to say, why [many] people prefer separating life and politics, and that it is actually fine for them. Political silence is often simply produced by the feeling that nothing can be done about certain issues, a mere recognition of ignorance or powerlessness. We do not talk here about the invisible complicity of people

to their own subjugation, largely studied by hegemony theorists (Gramsci 1957; Burawoy 1979). Gramscian thinking highlights the meanings that people attribute to their specific circumstances, thus offering a way to understand how powerless groups are capable of transforming their situation, or simply accepting it as an obdurate social fact. But there is also a way to talk about the conscious evaporation of claims, the everyday construction of resistance avoidance that is a marker of many contexts, including of course in the workplace (Fleming 2013). People could prefer exiting, devoting energies and creativity in extra-work worlds remote from politics, because they consider resisting as a lost game. They are discouraged from even envisaging that they could change or challenge the status quo of control regimes in excessively powerful surrounding institutions (Hall 1977). Of course, the experience of acceptance and political disengagement is not that simple; real experiences of powerlessness are complex, as Gaventa (1980) has demonstrated, showing that the creation of a culture of political silence does actually not equate with political acquiescence: silence could be turned into challenge at every corner when opposing the mining company was considered possible. Disengagement is not systematically synonymous with political or civilized indifference (Courpasson 2016): it can evolve sometimes because of the “contradictory consciousness” evoked by Gramsci. The culture of silence is a patient autonomous production of people, a cultural knowledge, and not always an external sign of pure complicity or consent.

We often consider indeed that resisting initiatives require an explanation while political passivity or consent would be the normal state of affairs. However, apathy also “takes work to produce” (Eliasoph 1998: 6). Indeed, resistance requires that discontent that can be expressed in a “backstage” region (Goffman 1959) connects with the wider world and thereby avoids political evaporation due to everyday life pressures and constraints.

Whispers then turn into dissent; ideas and claims, wherever expressed, establish circuits that make them audible when this connection is established. Resistance requires that political ideas can circulate in everyday life; studying resistance necessitates understanding the bridges that can be established between everyday discussions, feelings, emotions, encounters, and the challenges of the wider world. When this connection is nowhere to be seen, it is difficult to hope for engagement, risk-taking, sacrifice and work that is required for resistance to become consequential. Resistance requires the contexts, selfhood, friendships and kinship connections, possibilities of empowerment and relations to the world, as well as a sense of community through which people care more and think more about what they can do together to feel better or simply to survive. In other words, to follow again Eliasoph (1998), resistance may well require a sense of attachment to a wider world, in complement to the ‘obvious’ attachment to the mere local context to which we belong. But it also requires making meaning of the very space in which we live, physically vigorous gatherings embroiling people in each other’s lives, as ‘laughing bodies with tastes, passions, manners’ (Eliasoph 1998: 12). It is when we affirm voluntary connections to particular people that spaces become meaningful and can turn sociable apolitical grounds for common life into preconditions for some kinds of engagement into dissident acts, based on belonging, companionship, and the capacity to craft a sense of what connects us to broader challenges. On this basis, people may discover and think about wider political forces that produce their problems, locally experienced. Resistance is also the result of a “quality of mind” (Wright Mills 1959) that help people to understand the relationship and interplay between their lived experiences and the wider forces around them. Resisting is a process through which, as Pitkin puts it, people begin a conversation from “I want” and finish by “I am entitled to”, thereby shaping a claim that becomes

then debatable and negotiable in its own right (Pitkin 1981: 347).

THE “ENDS” OF ACTIVISM

Many of the more emancipatory views that scholars have adopted toward the internet depend, in one way or another, on the possible emergence of a public sphere capable of posing a challenge, whether discursive or otherwise, to concentrated sites of economic or political power. In the terms of Jurgen Habermas (1984), the hope has been that systemic differentiation of the life world might enable citizens to invoke their powers of communicative rationality, using them to generate alternative meaning systems that insist on subjecting the workings of the market or the state to discursive legitimation. At this juncture, however, two potential threats come into view. One is that markets have so fully colonized the life world as to envelop the very logic that governs activism. Symptoms of this trend can be found in the increasingly prevalent notion of the “consumer-citizen,” in which agency can only find expression through the purchase of commodities. Here can be found in such kindred notions as ethical consumption, shopping for social change, celebrity activists and brand name support or sponsorship for particular social justice themes. These are so many instances of what Mukherjee and Banet-Weiser (2012) have called “commodity activism,” in which actors pursue social change ever more completely through the circuits of consumer capitalism. Doing so may assuage the moral sensibilities of the affluent, and even seem to insert counter-hegemonic norms into commercial activity. Yet the danger is that activism increasingly comes to bear a family resemblance to the very action systems it protests. Anti-sweatshop movements may, for example, begin to locate agency only within the act of consumption, and even “use” sweated labor, as when they

ask workers from the developing world to participate in solidarity campaigns, often in ways that objectify them or trap them in the victim role (Brooks 2007; Vallas, Judge and Cummins 2015; Seidman 2007 and this volume).

A second, related threat to public activism stems from the growth of “astro-turf” movements – campaigns that claim to represent the lived experience and needs of grass roots populations, but are in fact initiated, funded, or guided by an array of corporate or political entities and the consulting firms they engage. Indeed, an entire industry of consulting firms has emerged since the 1970s, which enable client firms to benefit from the rise of seemingly populist upsurges of concerned citizens, whose mobilization is in fact driven by the interests of industry associations, large corporations, and lobbyists (Walker 2009). Examples abound in which consultants and large foundations have mobilized national citizen campaigns around issues of interest to health care corporations, pharmaceutical companies, energy associations, or firearms manufacturers, to name but a few. Here, participation becomes “a mechanism for the reproduction of institutionalized authority; it is a counter-pressure to citizen power that seeks to root elite institutions more deeply in public life” (Walker, McQuarrie and Lee 2015: 17). Indeed, new-media based companies such as Uber can utilize their software directly, mobilizing their own customers and members to engage in forms of activism that fuse the interests of consumer and the corporation, now without the need for consulting firms as intermediaries (Walker, this volume).

In a sense, these twin threats draw out the full and challenging implications of Foucault’s famous dictum that ‘resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power’ (1976: 95). Yet it is one thing to say that power *shapes* resistance (and vice versa). But what happens when power infuses itself *into* resistance and begins to supply its voice, or even its soul? That Foucault wrestled with the question of authenticity through much of

his intellectual life provides a sign that the issue cannot be quickly dismissed. Is such a hope merely a naïve relic of a simpler time? If astro-turf movements, commodity activism, and what Fleming (2014) has begun to call “biocracy” have begun to manufacture resistance in a prefabricated form, how can the “real” thing survive?

Our nineteenth century counterparts had the advantage of confronting power in a centralized, overarching form. We enjoy no such luxury. Partly because of what Giddens (1991) called the “sequestration of experience,” the various domains of the social order often seem to be governed in a loosely coupled way, with each institutional subsystem generating its own terrain of struggle. This fracturing of the life world is only exacerbated by the complex overlay of religious fundamentalism and militarization that the “war on terrorism” has produced. Still, the question must be asked: Does our age foster forms of “counter-conduct” of the sort that Foucault identified in opposition to the Lutheran Reformation (Foucault 2007)? Even as the Great Recession has seemed only to strengthen the grip that neo-liberalism enjoys, several counter-tendencies can be identified. One is rooted in what Saskia Sassen (2014) has termed a “logic of expulsion,” in which the poor are excluded from state support, millions of households have lost their homes to foreclosures, and global mining and energy concerns expand into the environment, leaving “dead zones” in their wake (see also Desmond 2016). In this context, identity movements (Rao 2003) engage in what might be called symbolic tribalism: a political-cultural game in which life-styles and collective identities struggle for predominance, with none able to succeed. In short, “hegemony” is increasingly contested in all directions, and little if anything retains its *doxic* character (Bourdieu 1977). The question, which the late Ulrich Beck asked but could not answer (1992), is whether the “reactivation of civil society” is at hand, and whether it might somehow succeed in spite of

the wider trend toward individualization. Our hope is that the chapters in this Handbook will bring us closer to an answer.

WHAT IS TO FOLLOW

Both the theory and the practice of resistance have changed rapidly and substantially in recent years. This has led to more fluidity and more diversity both in the object we hope to grasp and in the approaches we might take toward it. As academics, we must be cautious in our assumptions regarding the validity of our claims, if only because today there are so many ways through which resistance can be expressed. Resistance is a moving target, in other words, or better: a liquid, dynamic form of social and political action that is not easily captured by inherited theoretical categories. This is the context in which the authors prepared their contributions for this Handbook.

To address or capture this shifting landscape, we have made choices concerning both the subjects and the authors we wished to include in this project. Ultimately the Handbook surely represents *our* vision of the terrain. The contributions express diverse aspects of the chosen terrain; obviously other editors would have made different choices, and we have surely omitted many regions of the landscape. This is our only certainty. Notably, we have not included a chapter devoted to the ethics of resistance as a discrete subject in its own right: We see it rather as a matter for analysis within all discourse about resistance. The Handbook is structured in terms of an array of subthemes that in our view represent the emerging body of knowledge in the field. Authors were invited to do more than simply codify existing knowledge (important a task though that is), but in addition to explore possible ways of extending our knowledge in a given realm. Many of the papers therefore highlight peculiar sites, novel forms of action, new uses of resources,

and actors not previously seen on the political stage. We also wanted the chapters to share diverse explanations of why resistance is an effective and consequential process, contrary to the oligarchical vulgate that is still prevalent today.

The Handbook is organized into five distinct but overlapping sections. Contributions in the Foundations section begin by engaging the theoretical and conceptual frameworks on which resistance studies scholars have relied. The four substantive sections that follow are each devoted to a particular theme: to institutional *sites* of resistance, the *technologies* on which resistance relies, the *languages* in which resistance finds its expression, and the *geography* of resistance (its distribution in space) as well. Our logic is outlined below.

Foundations

The first section addresses key conceptual questions in the field, and represents several analytic traditions in the field. These chapters register the signal contributions that have been made most prominently by anthropologist, feminists, and (surprisingly to some) by scholars in organization studies. Juris and Sitrin's chapter highlights the distinctive value of "resistance" as an analytic tool, in that it provides access to a broader and more inclusive set of phenomena than can be glimpsed using such concepts as social movements, protests, or political contention. They note, however, that, following Scott too religiously, scholars have tended to fixate unduly on *everyday* forms of resistance, thereby favoring more localized or micro-level processes rather than struggles that assume a more macro-structurally oriented form. Their chapter redresses this imbalance by explicating anti-corporate resistance movements distributed across multiple sites, including Prague and Occupy Boston, Thessaloniki (Greece) and urban-based struggles across Argentina. The substantive story that emerges is one in which prefigurative forms of assemblage emerge

among movement participants, in spite of their heterogeneous backgrounds (see Juris 2012). Equally important are two methodological themes implied in the Juris and Sitrin paper. First, precisely by conjoining ethnographies that were conducted separately, these scholars have multiplied the breadth of their analysis, making possible linkages and comparisons that would otherwise elude their grasp. And second, these authors engage in a refusal of the objectivist trap which cordons scholars off from involvement in the very movements they would understand.¹

The contributions that anthropological theory makes to the study of resistance are also manifest in Robert Kurik's overview of three decades of thinking about the question of power, subjectivity, and human agency. Kurik's analysis begins, logically enough, with James Scott and the multiple critiques of his work. He then disentangles the many twists and turns (many provoked by the flow of historical events) which the study of resistance has taken since the 1990s, prominently featuring Foucauldian and post-Foucauldian work. Key here is the struggle to develop a theoretically insightful analysis of resistance that does not sacrifice its ethnographic sensibilities. Achieving this task has periodically required the introduction of new conceptual devices, such as Deleuze and Guattari's "rhizome," Crossley's "radical habitus" and Kurik's own "revolutionary amoebas." The latter concept, based on Kurik's remarkable fieldwork with radical European communities, begins to show the complex interplay that exists between underground resistance movements and new forms of subjectivity – mostly notably, one that allows subjects to split themselves into conventional and heretical selves.

Val Moghadam's chapter on the Arab Spring is an especially timely contribution that operates at both theoretical and empirical levels simultaneously. The chapter draws on feminist theory to unpack some of the ways in which the struggle between Islamism and Western powers has been gendered in both

directions. Moghadam's analysis goes further, showing how gender (and the relative strength of feminist and women's organizations) drives so much of the ferment that has roiled the Middle East – a fact that was palpably evident in the Arab Spring. Only in Tunisia – a nation in which women's organizations had long been able to shape family law and policy – did mobilization result in an expansion of freedom for the people involved. Feminist theory, as the author shows, thus makes a double contribution: it provides a critical analysis of Islamism as a key variant of patriarchal thinking, while also tracing the consequences that gender and family law have for the outcome of popular upheavals.

The section closes with two papers authored by leading figures operating with the tradition of organization studies. The paper by David Knights surveys the field, tracing the uses of the resistance concept within a welter of traditions that have gained currency in this field: industrial sociology, labor process theory, critical realism, post-humanist feminism, and Foucauldian analysis. Knights is particularly concerned to address the accusation, launched by many critics, that Foucauldian analysis harbors an accommodative nature that leads only to political paralysis (see Zamora and Behrent 2016). Knights expresses his strong disagreement on this score. Relying on what some have called the “final Foucault,” he sees the various technologies of the self as working to conjure identities and subjectivities that align with the demands of the social and political order. Yet, immanent within theoretical and philosophical literatures can be found alternative ways of defining one's self. Here post-humanist feminism and Foucauldian analysis converge in their call for an ethics that makes possible a refusal “to be what one has become through so many procedures, regulations, and exercises of power”. The irony of course is that Foucault, who *began* his intellectual journey by rejecting any humanist concern for individuality, *ended* it with a view that hinged on the centrality of the self as a fulcrum point for social change.

The last chapter in this section is by Spicer and Fleming, who explore the dilemmas that 24/7 capitalism has engendered. Much of the creative power of this chapter stems from its ability to mine popular culture for insights that can be conjoined with social scientific analysis of work organizations (see also Cederstrom and Fleming 2012). Asking why active resistance seems so rare within “absorptive” or high commitment occupations, the authors propose that 24/7 capitalism has reconfigured the very possibility of resistance. When paid employment is no longer what we *do*, but instead becomes what we *are*, life itself has been colonized. Where does one run when one's very self has been enveloped by the forces one might oppose? Foreswearing easy answers, Spicer and Fleming nonetheless propose that the notion of “exit,” initially theorized in Hirschman's *Exit, Voice and Loyalty* nearly a half century ago, assumes newfound significance. Escapism, absenteeism, “presenteeism” all warrant greater attention in an era when “voice” seems only to deepen the malaise from which we now suffer.

Sites

The chapters in section II start from the mundane idea that resistance happens *somewhere* and that this somewhere does matter. The contributions in this section – which again reveal the central contributions of feminist theory and practice – suggest that resisting in prisons, in organizations or in schools entails different configurations, motives, actions and outcomes. This is first because those places themselves have specific physical and material dimensions that both constrain and enable the crafting and development of resisting efforts. This is also because these sites are governed by distinctive institutional logics or forms of control, whose density and magnitude are different – and differently interpreted and subverted – by individuals. Here again, disparate traditions are evident in these contributions,

which encompass a wide array of sites but that accord gender a central place, often in combination with other axes of inequality.

The chapter by Erynn Masi de Casanova and Afshan Jafar draws on a longstanding tradition within feminist studies that views the body as a site at which power and resistance are conjoined. The authors extract an important cautionary lesson that guards against the assumption that the use of the body – from dress or make-up to body modification – must *either* reinforce *or* contest established forms of power. The politics of the body typically exhibits a far more complex and over-determined quality, mixing resistance with accommodation in ways that cannot be reduced to the intentions that drive the act. These matters are sharply debated among feminist and gay rights communities, as is evident in both the “slut-walk” and the “Pink Underwear” movement in India, both of which have provoked sharp controversy. Key, these authors insist, are two points that should be axiomatic: the contextual nature of bodily representations (which are always already “situated”), and the view of the body as the site at which analytically distinct dimensions of inequality intersect.

Amanda Gengler’s chapter also uses an intersectional-feminist lens to address the question of agency and resistance. Studying social relations at a shelter for victims of intimate partner violence, Gengler shows how such residential institutions – many of which were established as outposts of the women’s movement – have by and large come to exercise tight and often coercive forms of control over the women they would help, often using an individualizing, psycho-therapeutic discourse. A rhetoric of “empowerment” is everywhere, Gengler notes. Yet, as her fieldwork reveals, such controls exhibit a dual nature: they not only establish limits over the movements and activities of the women at issue; in addition, they provide resources with which women can act back on their overseers. Hers is an ennobling message, indicating how seemingly poor and powerless women can act back on the structures that challenge their

human dignity. Gengler’s work can be read as an important extension of previous work linking structure, agency and dignity, such as the late Randy Hodson’s (2001) *Dignity at Work* and, more recently, the comparative study by Michele Lamont and her colleagues (2016), *Getting Respect* (see also Fernandez, this volume).

The chapter by Jillian Crocker provides an interesting counterpoint to that of Gengler. Crocker’s study examines the working lives of lower-income women employed at a nursing home in the Northeastern United States. Again using an intersectional lens, she shows how gender, race, and class combine in ways that establish a grid that can seem coercive and unforgiving: These women have little autonomy in their work and dare not risk insubordination, given their need to support their families. Yet that very fact, it turns out, provides a source of solidarity and mutual support: Since virtually all of the women in Crocker’s study are mothers of young children (and occupy much the same status as workers of color), gender, race and class combine to establish a bond – a willingness to defend one another – that proves indispensable in their dealings with their managers. Crocker’s point serves as a challenge to those who assume either that family life is irrelevant to workplace life, or that it acts to limit worker autonomy and resistance. Quite the opposite can be true.

Blum and Kimelberg develop a distinctive approach toward schooling as a site of resistance, again showing the interwoven nature of paid employment and family life. Serendipitously, and much as Juris and Sitrin have done (this volume), they have knitted together two separate studies in which parents (largely mothers) must struggle to ensure the well-being of their children within public schools. The shared context is one in which neo-liberal policies have coercively framed public schooling as a matter of individual choice. Yet social relations continually betray this framing by exposing the normative complexities involved in the exercise of “choice.”

On the one hand, mothers – especially those whose children have special needs – must engage in years-long struggles against the stigmatizing categories which schools impose on their children, some of whom must take prescription medications as a condition of their continuation in school. Yet how hard can a mother fight before she jeopardizes the child's treatment at the hands of teachers and administrators? On the other hand, parents who refuse to conform to the middle-class strategy of choosing “safe” (read: white) suburban schools must *also* struggle with normative dilemmas – in this case, whether they themselves have endangered their children by choosing an “urban” school. What Blum and Kimelberg bring home is the fact that “resistance” is not limited to the external world, but instead passes through the internal emotional lives of parents and especially mothers who must fight for the well-being of their children. Resistance involves not only behavioral defiance but also deeply emotional conflicts as well.

The last two chapters in this section focus on the specifically organizational processes that characterize power and resistance. The chapter by Rantakari and Vaara, which again showcases the work of scholars in organization studies, is concerned with the ways in which resistance makes itself felt in the formulation and implementation of corporate strategy. They therefore hope to connect resistance studies to the most prominent economic institutions in advanced capitalist society – not an idle concern, especially in the light of the massive scandals and crises (Enron, Goldman Sachs, Volkswagen, etc.) that have characterized corporate strategy in recent years. It will no longer do, these authors note, to view resistance as either an irrelevant or obstructionist force within the corporate world (as functionalist and managerial approaches have done). Rather, the authors contend that critical (interpretative or post-structural) approaches hold great value here, in that they sensitize us to the inevitable presence and even centrality of resistance as a part of the strategy making process. Failure

to acknowledge this fact, they imply, will only compound the follies in which corporations engage while also wasting huge proportions of the knowledge that corporations have amassed. Implied here is the need for analysis of managerial structures to acknowledge the inherently political character of strategy formulation (see Thomas 1994). Doing so can be enormously productive, in fact (Courpasson, Dany and Clegg 2012).

Finally, the chapter by Arford explores the single most coercive site of power and resistance imaginable: the prison. Following a version of Foucauldian theory, she notes that such sharply coercive settings should provoke resistance virtually everywhere. This is a reasonable assumption, abundantly supported by existing research and Arford's own analysis of the imposition of censorship regimes within the carceral setting. Interestingly, though the prison figured prominently in the development of Foucault's own work, Arford finds reason to challenge conventional formulations derived from his work. Casting her net wide so as to encompass forms of resistance not only by prisoners but also by prison workers, she points out that the the prison's elaborate layers of authority relations introduce pronounced complexities into the nature of resistance. For example, when prison workers evade or subvert the institution's rules, we would ordinarily view this as resistance. Yet such acts may well imply the exertion of power over prisoners. In such cases, rule breaking is simultaneously power *and* resistance. Arford calls these acts of “power/resistance,” and expects them to exist wherever complex organizational authority is found. This concept warrants much further application – as does analysis of the repressive nature of carceral institutions and efforts (whether within or beyond prison walls) to overcome their effects.

Technologies

Section III fastens on the diversity of technologies at work in resisting processes, be

they tools or forms of control. Resisting work requires certain forms of expertise because it is a project, often conducted in groups that demand a careful work of coordination and organization. But that work also requires the use and mastering of tools. Like the craft worker who uses a hammer, the resister uses a microphone, a screen, a smartphone, a hood and all manner of costumes, all of which are part of the tools of the trade. We also use the term technology in the broader, Foucauldian sense, referring to the deployment of discourses which, in this case, serve to incite social and political action as well. Resistance today bears the mark of technology in both these senses. Of course, workers in manufacturing plants could often use “their” machines as resisting devices, because they knew these machines and their caprices better than did management (Halle 1984; Vallas 2006). In a similar vein, resisters today must learn to appropriate or re-deploy the technologies of control they confront in their everyday lives. At the micro-social level, citizens are now armed with smartphones that can record the actions of police as they brutalize people of color, bringing public pressure to bear on the criminal justice system in the quest for social justice. At a more macro- or even global level, the expansion of the internet has made it possible for groups like Anonymous (or for rebel technicians like Edward Snowden) to bend algorithmic regimes to a different purpose, enabling the world to peer into the secret practices of state surveillance agencies, thus exposing political hypocrisy on the grandest of scales.

Felipe Massa’s chapter builds on a long-standing tradition of research to show how internet-supported communities (such as Anonymous) are instantiated differently from the face-to-face interaction, thus in turn affecting the way through which individuals engage in resisting work. He offers a redefinition of the notion of community to better understand how resisting work takes place and develops in online settings. Massa offers an analysis that shows not only what

it means to “be communitarian” online, but also the culturally rich forms that interpersonal ties assume even in the absence of bodily co-presence. The chapter nicely illustrates the power of the internet as a social technology in shaping new organizing practices and structures that can sustain movements against diverse types of oppression. Internet-based communities are generative of norms and values. A sense of trust that does not require a physical co-presence is generated by the expectation that members share common purposes and a similar way of “seeing the world.” The question remains whether online interactions, often ephemeral, allow the necessary depth to build the connections for people to truly engage in significant and enduring resisting processes. The internet can speed up action, but this action can be short-lived.

Marianne Maeckelbergh offers a fascinating and creative analysis of the complex ties between social media and the simultaneous production of alternative political values in social movements. She uses cases that are perfect examples of the tight relationships between the uses of social media and physical space: she shows that technologies of resistance are cables and wires, but also meetings, spaces and places, physical encounters, and political values. Social media are embedded in physical spaces because they are the very sites where political values challenge the orientations of dominant classes and elites. By highlighting these complex dynamics, Maeckelbergh not only shows that social media have the power to effect change, at least when they are part of a wider political project. In addition, her chapter reveals how physical spaces are technologies of resistance, providing a new understanding of “infrastructure” as well. She goes therefore a step further than social media studies usually do, by identifying a key process (“resignification”) that intervenes between social media and resistance work. A symbolic and practical inversion of meaning is produced when technologies are used in ways that differ from their intended use.

Hjorth's chapter adopts a very different stance to engage in the broad question of the technologies of resistance. He offers a shift in the approach to resistance, reflecting upon resistance 'from above'. For him, entrepreneurship creates a dilemma for top management because, although integral to the current post-bureaucratic workings and discourses, it also threatens the managerial order and the very efficacy of managerial control. Hjorth shows, by using the concept of 'co-optation', how this tension can be resolved by a creative resistance from above: resistance is theorized here as both an object of negation and of agreement. Co-optative management is therefore a particular technology of control *and* resistance to creative efforts from below. The chapter is an interesting and creative move toward understanding top management resistance as a creative process because, in a sense, going against its very enterprise and autonomy-driven rhetoric obliges management to invent subtle forms of political technologies like co-optation.

Edward Walker's (Chapter 13, this Handbook) builds on his earlier work on "astro-turf" movements (2009; Walker, McQuarrie and Lee, 2015) – campaigns in which firms mobilize what *seem* to be grassroots movements, but are in fact corporate-led campaigns with no real popular base (at least, not at their point of inception). Many have suggested that this category includes the Tea Party movement in the United States, to take but one important example. Walker's chapter brings to our attention two more recent cases of such "grassroots for hire" movements: First, Uber's deployment of its customer base, in which it sought to mobilize users and drivers via its own communication system, the better to shape its regulatory environment; and second, the beverage industry's campaign to defeat the highly restrictive dietary regulations that public health authorities had proposed in New York. Though there are important differences between these two campaigns – ironically, Uber's intervention was at least partially transparent – the broader lesson here concerns the rise of what

might be termed "manufactured" or "prefabricated" resistance. Involved here is a kind of corporate ventriloquism, in which profit-oriented firms and other organizations emulate the public's "voice." The result blurs the line between power and resistance in highly problematic ways. The difficulty here is that even bringing to light such phenomena runs the risk of fostering cynicism and resignation among the very publics that more authentic forms of resistance need as their actual base.

Languages

Section IV takes seriously the discourse on which resistance relies. Premised on the notion that discourse, morality, and cultural meanings are all part and parcel of struggles (or the lack thereof), the chapters in this section explore the possibility of cultural resistance, the role of music in fostering defiant subcultures, and the deployment of the arts and collective identities as ingredients that are necessary conditions for the production of resistance itself. The importance of these themes has been registered in many historical events, from the content of slave songs in the Southern United States (Levine 1993), the use of "style warfare" in the Zoot Suit phenomenon during World War II (Cosgrove 1984), and (more recently) the stylized manner of the Mods and Teddy Boys during the 1970s (Hebdige 1979). By its very nature, resisting requires that actors articulate their claims, explaining and expressing what one contests, and on what grounds. Resisting is *saying* something, expressing one's voice. At times it can also entail saying *nothing* and through this silence, expressing one's refusal. Resistance therefore requires a language, be it musical, loud and joyful, or put as words and signs on a wall or a building, or channeled through specific organizational and institutional vocabularies and motives. Although literature on the cultural media of resistance has progressed through fits and starts, a number of gaps persist in this field.

Notably, few have explored the enduring significance of religious doctrines and beliefs in the contemporary world (this is an enduring absence in contemporary theory generally). Likewise, the conceptual frameworks with which to graph “identity” as a phenomenon have remained uncertain, in spite of the proliferation of theories of identity (Brubaker and Cooper 2000).

In this context, Ryan Moore’s chapter is especially welcome for its rich discussion of the role that music has played in the shaping of youth subculture. Ironically, though it is an arm of the culture industry, music has undeniably helped sustain subversive styles of life among generations of youth. Much as the tradition of cultural studies would expect, such symbolic expressions as music may be subjected to the logic of commodity production, but can never be fully encapsulated by the market; a good example is hip hop music and style, which have become the basis for a language of resistance with global reach in spite (or actually as the result of) of its commercial success. This mobilizing role, Moore notes, has continued up into the present, as punk sensibilities, hip hop, and indie performers have brought their influence to bear on the WTO protests in Seattle, the Occupy movements, and (most recently) the Black Lives Matter movement. Just as the coming of radio at times helped to foster counter-hegemonic forms of political action (Roscigno and Danaher 2001), so too does popular music provide an ongoing source of discursive resources from which oppositional thinking can draw.

The importance of moral discourse for social movements is addressed by Gay Seidman’s chapter, which discusses the normative tactics adopted by global human rights movements since the 1980s. Growing initially out of the anti-apartheid movements of the 1980s, activist scholars began to argue that the ‘Achilles heel’ of consumer capitalism lay in the very brand culture it employed to circulate its goods (Klein 1999). By mobilizing “name and shame” campaigns against

such commodities as Nike running shoes and Gap apparel, activists hoped to attack the most unsavory of corporate practices (child labor, sweating tactics, or violent intimidation), which were publicly defined as repugnant. Seidman’s analysis shows that the use of shame as a moral lever in fact has a long history, reaching back into the late eighteenth century, when anti-slavery activists organized campaigns against the consumption of sugar, framing its use in tea as constituting a “blood sweetened beverage” (a reference to slave-based production methods). As Seidman notes, latter day name and shame movements adopt moral discourse ‘not simply to punish bad actors, but as a step toward strengthening, and perhaps institutionalizing, new rules for behavior in the global community’. This use of shame follows an essentially Foucauldian path, in that it seeks to institute new norms by publicly identifying immoral or transgressive behavior as an object lesson of what societies ought not to be.

The chapter by Adam Reich provides a fascinating account of the role of morality as a mechanism that can be used either to subvert or to legitimate market-based economic activity. The case at hand is one in which a Catholic order of nuns brought a spiritual framework to bear on the performance of hospital work, thus defining poor pay and working conditions as moral sacrifices that were necessary if the hospital’s mission were to be achieved. Here, morality informed and protected market-based transactions. Yet, as the nuns’ hospital system increasingly adopted a profit-oriented logic, the old morality lost much of its credibility, opening the door to a union campaign. Yet the success of the union efforts required workers and their representatives to appropriate the moral doctrines their overseers had previously used – a process that entailed painstaking efforts to build trust with the religious community in which the hospital was embedded. Reich’s analysis is especially interesting in that it addresses the complex link between resistance and religion – an area that obviously needs much more

attention than it has received (see Moghadam, this volume). It also insists that morality cannot be viewed as a mere reflection of material influences, as economic doctrines have commonly assumed.

In their contribution on identities, Ybema, Thomas and Hardy offer a framework to understand the relationship between identities and resistance; identity is seen as a source and a basis of resistance, thus extending our understanding of the role of subjectivity in resistance. A focus is therefore operated on forms of micro-political resistance defined as ‘resistance to the dominant at the level of the individual subject’ (Weedon 1987: 111, in Thomas 2009: 173). Studies of how individuals draw on understandings of the self as resources from which to resist dominant attempts to define their work ethics and identities are numerous, but they lack an account of how the micro-politics of identity can give rise to a specific language that creates meaning and strength. Ybema et al. show how identities are both sources of oppression and of emancipation (in line with feminist theories) and how organizations can be analyzed as sites of political contestation thanks to languages of identity creation.

Guillaume Marche (Chapter 17, this Handbook) provides another perspective on language through his detailed study of graffiti in San Francisco, and how they help raising crucial consciousness in an area where the definition of urban citizenship is constantly contested. He shows that the specificity of graffiti as a language of protest is that it generates indeterminate messages, where meaning is not fixed, but rather left to the viewers’ interpretation and appropriation. Graffiti are a peculiar language of resistance because they are confrontational expressions of dissent while at the same time not overtly political. They therefore lead beyond the usual political/non-political divide in resistance studies. Marche also convincingly suggests how graffiti are powerful vehicles of resistance because of their very cryptic, uncertain and ambiguous content. They foster a sort of creative indeterminacy,

thus triggering invisible interactions among artists, viewers and even authorities, which are themselves in turn generative of significant oppositional practices that could not have happened otherwise, in the open political realm.

Geographies

The fifth subsection moves to the spatial and cultural backdrop of all instances of resistance. Resisting processes are complex entanglements of spaces, places, cultures and institutional constraints, histories and power relationships. Geographies of resistance also remind us that resisting processes never escape from the endless circulations of power, because of the deep ‘spatiality’ of the interrelationship between patterns of domination and patterns of resistance. The innumerable knots that connect power and resistance efforts are to be found in the networks, spaces and places that people invest and occupy, or subvert and bypass, thereby showing the spatially situated workings of power and resistance within and across the globe (see Sharp & et al. 2000).

The chapters in this section evoke a number of themes that stretch across continents – including both the developing and the developed world – and that often center on the meanings that come to be attached to particular places within the social landscape. Often, the organizational and ideological capacity of political actors seems to hinge on their ability to secure or to defend communal spaces for participants, be they Bengali activists defending sacred land against multinational energy companies (as in Lamia Karim’s account), activists engaged in urban gardening in radical communities in the global north (as in the chapter by Sandrine Baudry and Emeline Eudes), or poor, unemployed members of a cooperative in Buenos Aires, Argentina (in the chapter by Pablo Fernandez). Of course, the rootedness of political subjects in local spaces poses an enormous challenge for efforts to establish a global polity, as in

the World Social Forum (here studied by Giuseppe Caruso).

The section begins with Karim's rich account of NGOs engaging in political struggles in Bangladesh. Karim explores the liminal spaces that two NGOs occupied between the Bengali state and civil society. One NGO (GSS) drew on the tradition of leftist political thought in Bangladesh (a tradition heavily influenced by Western radical thought), and mobilized local activists to run for political office. This strategy seemed promising – but perhaps too much so, in that it posed a direct threat to the ruling party, which identified GSS as an “anti-state” organization, eventually leading to its demise. The second NGO Karim studied (the National Committee) adopted a more flexible, locally oriented, place-based strategy that proved conducive to villagers facing development initiatives that would have polluted their soil and water, dispossessed upwards of 250,000 residents, and disrupted their sacred cultural traditions. Narrating dramatic events leading up to violent clashes between villagers and police, Karim extracts a lesson from the contrasting paths these two NGOs pursued, nicely encapsulated in the experience of one tribal group (the Santals), who are aware that “the ashes of their ancestors have mixed with the soil that in turn has nurtured generations,” producing a powerful bond in which “land and identity are inextricably linked.” The deeply symbolic meanings of space, land, and power here powerfully converge.

The chapter by Fernandez reminds us that workers from all sorts of backgrounds are forging new alternatives from cooperatives and new social movements to abstaining from work: he points to how workers forge various forms of “freedom” within the confines of the contemporary organization – but also freedom from the wage labor relation itself (Fleming and Mandarini 2009: 340). The issue of emancipation, observed in his chapter through the crafting of alternatives to the current configuration of a “job,” is studied through the entanglement between issues

of dignity, posed as clear political stake in Argentina, and work as a social form used by jobless people to repair their dignity in a peculiar creative place. Resistance seen as “attempts to regain dignity in the face of organizations at work that violate workers' interests, limit their prerogatives and undermine their autonomy” (Hodson 1995: 80) has been documented in a long tradition that studies the informal rituals and cultures at work. But this tradition has largely taken the coordinates of paid employment for granted. In his contribution, Fernandez shows that when conditions demand, even people without resources of any sort can become active producers of workplace relations as they remake themselves and their surroundings through mutual support and solidarity. He offers a way to understand how individuals digest imperatives from the social structures, how they stick to the strict limits of their social positions or manage to transform their destinies through peculiar creations of alternative forms of work and cooperation. He also provides a fine attempt to situate these political efforts in a Latin American context that is particularly congenial to this type of creative production of alternatives.

China is another fascinating context in which to study resistance. One could consider, if the past is any guide, that repressive forces are always able to control and severely punish contestation in this huge and complex institutional context. Zhou and Ai's chapter demonstrates that the issue of resistance in China is far from being that simple, if only because China is a fast changing context, where multiple and competing institutions and regimes of power coexist, making resistance itself a heterogeneous and not overdetermined case. The chapter highlights how resisting activities in rural China, at the level of local villages, have been able progressively to transform in a fundamental way the bases of governance in rural China. The state is not capable of exerting control over every aspect of social life; there are therefore manifold patterns of resistance that are mobilized

to voice grievances and resist injustice in the villagers' everyday life as well as the abuse of power by village cadres. Overall the chapter shows that resistance need not necessarily be hidden to produce considerable effects on power regimes, despite the highly constraining institutions throughout which micro-events and local interactions develop.

Baudry and Eudes's chapter concentrates on another geographical aspect of resistance: urban gardening as a tool of rebellion against the capitalist order presiding over the making of our current urban landscapes. They show that the power of this practice comes from the fact that it largely coincides with current political agenda related to environmental issues such as sustainable development, local food production or citizens' volunteer work. They highlight the reasons why it thus runs the risk of perpetuating existing relationships in the cities instead of actually disrupting dominant logics. The chapter interrogates the mutual relations between gardening initiatives and public policies, and helps us understand the motives that inform the work of urban gardeners, in particular their relation to the social order. Their analysis is fascinating as it highlights important mechanisms that lead to the co-optation or distortion of the subversive potential of urban gardening (Hjorth, this volume). It provides illuminating examples that show the ambiguities that are inherent to most practices of resistance, as well as their always possible absorption by authorities and official transcripts. A genuine engagement in a practice like urban gardening can lead to the replication of existing patterns of domination, because it can be appropriated by different actors and lead to the legitimization of official uses of public space.

Caruso's contribution (Chapter 21, this Handbook), finally addresses an often neglected dimension of the resisting work in large instances of collective resistance: the very places and organizational 'designs' within which resistance is accomplished. He takes the example of the open space 'structure' of the World Social Forum to show the

direct impact that certain types of organizational geographies can have on the creativity of resisting efforts. The open space is an arena where diverse and alternative conversations can be engaged, thus increasing the political scope of activists, and their chance to build more creative outcomes. The WSF provides a particularly relevant instance of an innovative organizational design, as it is thought as "an unmanaged space of self-organization so as activists work together, share knowledge in an enjoying atmosphere." The chapter therefore shows that a geographical configuration has an influence over the very political project of resisters: it generates an idea of a possible prefiguration of what a just civil global society could be. It highlights why the scale of a given political purpose and plan necessitates the construction of an innovative space for dialogue, where openness opposes to the closure of the very neo-liberal space that is criticized by activists. The space of action and dialogue becomes the very heart of the strategic approach of the movement. The organizational form is consubstantial to the very content of issues that are at the center of activist work: both are constructed and established in tandem.

It seems appropriate to close this introduction by speculating on the emergence of the institutional forms that resistance studies will need to fashion if it is to gather strength in the coming years. Magazines, journals, international networks and a formal presence within scholarly and activist discourse may seem on their face to constitute vehicles that are too conventional to support the substance of oppositional ideas. And of course, there must inevitably be a tension between the *doxic* world of higher education and the heterodox ideas on which resistance is based. Still, to foster a theoretical and conceptual understanding of resistance – its emerging forms and its latent possibilities – requires the invention of conduits that are equal to the task. And indeed, there is evidence of precisely such conduits springing up. As this volume goes to press, we note the emergence of the Resistance Studies

Network, housed at the University of Sussex, Gothenburg University and the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. The *Journal of Resistance Studies* has begun to publish key works of precisely the sort this volume includes (Vinthagen and Johanssen, 2013). Research initiatives are being proposed that can strengthen these links to one another, and conceivably to fields and subfields within established scholarly disciplines. Hopefully, as these efforts are conjoined, volumes such as the current Handbook will soon enough be surpassed, their function having been served. That at least is our hope.

NOTE

- 1 Elsewhere, Juris has coined the term "militant ethnography" to capture the tasks in which scholar-activists can fruitfully engage. See Juris 2007.

REFERENCES

- Appadurai, Arjun. 2006. *Fear of Small Numbers: Essay on the Geography of Anger*. Durham NC: Duke University Press.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. 2000. 'Social Issues of Law and Order'. *The British Journal of Sociology* 40: 205–21.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Toward a New Modernity*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage [transl. (1986). *Risikogesellschaft: Auf dem Weg in eine andere Moderne*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Suhrkamp Verlag].
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Brooks, Ethel. 2007. *Unraveling the Garment Industry*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Brown, Michael F. .1996. 'On resisting resistance', *American Anthropologist*, 98(4): 729–735.
- Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Burawoy, M. 1979. *Manufacturing Consent: Changes in the Labour Process under Monopoly Capitalism*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
- Brubaker, Rogers and Frederick Cooper. 2000. "Beyond "Identity." *Theory and Society*, 29, 1 (Feb.): 1–47.
- Cederstrom, Carl and Peter Fleming. 2012. *Dead Man Working*. London: Zero Books.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 2000. *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 2015. "Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas." *Annual Review of Sociology* 41: 1–20.
- Cosgrove, Stuart. 1984. "The Zoot Suit and Style Warfare." *History Workshop Journal* 18 (Autumn): 77–90.
- Courpasson, David, Françoise Dany, and Stewart Clegg. 2012. "Resisters at Work: Generating Productive Resistance in the Workplace." *Organization Science* 23(3): 801–819.
- Courpasson, David. 2016. Looking Away? Civilized Indifference and the Carnal Relationships of the Contemporary Workplace. *Journal of Management Studies*, published online 25 January. DOI: 10.1111/joms.12175
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé W. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6):1241–99.
- De Certeau, Michel. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: The University of California Press.
- Earl, Jennifer and Katrina Kimport. 2011. *Digitally Enabled Social Change: Activism in the Internet Age*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Eliasoph, Nina. 1998. *Avoiding Politics: How Americans Produce Apathy in Everyday Life*. UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Fleming, Peter. 2013. "'Down with Big Brother!' The End of 'Corporate Culturalism'?" *Journal of Management Studies*, 50(3): 474–495.
- Fleming, Peter. 2014. "When 'Life Itself' Goes to Work: Reviewing Shifts in Organizational Life Through the Lens of Biopower." *Human Relations* 67(7): 875–901.

- Foucault, Michel 2007. *Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the Collège France, 1977–1978*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Fraser, Nancy 1996. *Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition, and Participation*. Paper presented at the Tanner lectures on human values, Stanford University, April 30 to May 2. Available at http://tannerlectures.utah.edu/_documents/a-to-z/f/Fraser98.pdf
- Fraser, Nancy and Axel Honneth. 2003. *Redistribution or Recognition: A Political-Philosophical Exchange*. London: Verso.
- Gal, Susan (1995) 'Language and the "arts of resistance"', *Cultural Anthropology*, 10(3): 407–424.
- Gaventa, John. 1980. *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Gerbaudo, Paolo. 2012. *Tweets and the Streets. Social Media and Contemporary Activism*. London: Pluto.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Random House.
- Goffman, Erving. 1967, 'The Nature of Deference and Demeanor', in: *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behaviour*, Doubleday, Garden City, New York, pp 47–95.
- Goodwin, Jeff, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta. 2001. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Graeber, David 2002. 'The New Anarchists'. *New Left Review* 13: 61–73.
- Gramsci, Antonio. 1957. *The Modern Prince and Other Writings*. New York: International Publishers.
- Haenfler, Ross. 2004. "Rethinking Subcultural Resistance: Core Values of the Straightedge Movement." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 33(4): 406–436.
- Hall, Stuart and Tony Jefferson (eds) 1976. *Resistance Through Rituals: Subcultures in Post-War Britain*. New York: Routledge.
- Hardt, M. and Negri, A. 2000. *Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hebdige, Dick 1979. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. New York: Routledge.
- Hjorth, Daniel. 2005. "Organizational entrepreneurship with Michel de Certeau on Creating Heterotopias (or Spaces of Play)." *Journal of Management Inquiry* 14(4): 386–398.
- Hodson, Randy. 1995. "Worker Resistance: An Underdeveloped Concept in the Sociology of Work." *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 16(1): 79–110.
- Hodson, Randy. 2001. *Dignity at Work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hollander, Jocelyn A. and Rachel L., Einwohner. 2004. "Conceptualizing Resistance." *Sociological Forum* 19(4): 533–554.
- Hoy, David Couzens. 2004. *Critical Resistance: From Poststructuralism to Post-Critique*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Jacques, Roy. 1996. *Manufacturing the Employee: Management Knowledge from the 19th to the 21st Centuries*. London: Sage.
- Juris, Jeffrey. 2007. "Practicing Militant Ethnography with the Movement for Global Resistance in Barcelona." Pp. 164–78 *Constituent Imagination: Militant Investigations, Collective Theorization*, edited by S. Shukaits, D. Graeber and E. Biddle. Edinburgh: AK Press.
- Juris, Jeffrey. 2008. *Networking Futures: The Movements against Corporate Globalization*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Juris, Jeffrey. 2012. "Reflections on #Occupy Everywhere: Social Media, Public Space, and Emerging Logics of Aggregation." *American Ethnologist*, 39(2): 259–279.
- Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Kellogg, Katherine. 2009. Operating Room: Relational Spaces and Microinstitutional Change in Surgery. *American Journal of Sociology* 115(3): 657–711.
- Klein, Naomi, 1999. *No Logo*. New York: MacMillan.
- Lamont, Michele, et al. 2016. *Getting Respect: Responding to Stigma and Discrimination in the United States, Brazil and Israel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Leblanc, Lauraine. 1999. *Pretty in Punk: Girls' Gender Resistance in a Boys' Subculture*. New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers University Press.

- Levine, Lawrence. 1993. *The Unpredictable Past*. NY: Oxford.
- Lewis, I. M. 1971. *Ecstatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin.
- Lilja, Mona and Stellan Vinthagen. 2014. "Sovereign Power, Disciplinary Power and Bio-Power: Resisting What Power with What Resistance?" *Journal of Political Power* 7, 1: 107–126.
- Lowney, Kathleen S. 1995. "Teenage Satanism as Oppositional Youth Subculture." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 23(4): 453–484.
- Lukes, Steven. 1986. *Power*. New York: NYU Press.
- Marche, Guillaume. 2012. "Expressivism and Resistance: Graffiti as an Infrapolitical Form of Protest against the War on Terror." *Revue Française d'Etudes Américaines* 131: 78–96.
- Mills, C. Wright. 1959. "The Promise[of Sociology]." Pp. 3–24 in *The Sociological Imagination*. New York: Grove Press.
- O'Hearn, Dennis. 2010. "Repression and Solidary Cultures of Resistance: Irish Political Prisoners on Protest." *American Journal of Sociology* 115(2): 491–526.
- Ong, Aihwa. 1987. *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Ortner, Sherry B. 1995. "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37(1): 173–193.
- Pitkin, Hanna Fenichel. 1981. "Justice: On Relating Public and Private." *Political Theory* 9(3): 327–352.
- Polletta, Francesca. 1999. "'Free Spaces' in Collective Action." *Theory and Society* 28:1–38.
- Prasad, A., P. Prasad. 1998. Everyday struggles at the workplace: The nature and implications of routine resistance in contemporary organizations. *Research in The Sociology of Organizations*, Vol. 16. JAI Press, Greenwich, CT. 225–257.
- Putnam, Robert D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Rao, Hayagreeva and Sunasir Dutta. 2012. "Free Spaces as Organizational Weapons of the Weak: Religious Festivals and Regimental Mutinies in the 1857 Bengal Native Army." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 57(4): 625–668.
- Roscigno, Vincent J. and William F. Danaher. 2001. "Media and Mobilization: The Case of Radio and Southern Textile Worker Insurgency, 1929 to 1934." *American Sociological Review* 66, 1 (Feb.): 21–48.
- Rucht, Dieter 1998. The Structure and Culture of Collective protest in Germany since 1950. In: D. Meyer and S. Tarrow (eds.), *The Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century*. Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, pp 29–57.
- Sassen, Saskia 2014. *Expulsions. Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy*. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Seidman, Gay. 2007. *Beyond the Boycott: Labor Rights, Human Rights and Transnational Activism*. New York: Russell Sage Press.
- Schaffer, Scott. 2004. *Resisting Ethics*. New York: Palgrave Mc Millan.
- Scott, James. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Scott, James. 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Sharp, Joanne P., Paul Routledge, Chris Philo, and Ronan Paddison, eds. 2000. *Entanglements of Power*. New York: Routledge.
- Shortt, Harriet. 2015. "Liminality, Space and the Importance of "Transitory Dwelling Places" at Work." *Human Relations* 68(4): 633–658.
- Simmel, Georg. 1950. *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. Glencoe (IL): The Free Press.
- Sitrin, Marina. 2007. "Ruptures in imagination: Horizontalism, Autogestion and Affective Politics in Argentina." *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review* 5: 43–53.
- Soule, Sarah A. and Jennifer Earl. 2005. A Movement Society Evaluated: Collective Protest in the United States, 1960-1986. *Mobilization* 10(3): 345–364.
- Taylor, Scott and Andre Spicer. 2007. "Time for Space: A Narrative Review of Research on Organizational Space." *International Journal of Management Reviews* 9(4): 325–346.
- Thomas, Robert J. 1994. *What Machines Can't Do: Politics and Technology in the Industrial*

- Enterprise*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Thomas, Robyn. 2009. "Critical Management Studies on Identity: Mapping the Terrain." Pp. 166–186 in *The Oxford Handbook of Critical Management Studies*, edited by M. Alvesson, T. Bridgman, and H. Willmott. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Turner, Victor. 1974. *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Vallas, Steven P. 2006. "Empowerment Redux: Structure, Agency, and the Re-Making of Managerial Authority." *American Journal of Sociology* 111, 6 (May): 1677–1717.
- Vallas, Steven P. 2016. Working Class Heroes or Working Stiffs? Domination and Resistance within Business Organizations." *Research in the Sociology of Work*, 28: 101–26.
- Vallas, Steven P. and Emily R Cummins. 2015. "Personal Branding and Identity Norms in the Popular Business Press: Enterprise Culture in an Age of Precarity." *Organization Studies* 36, 3 (March): 293–319.
- Vallas, Steven P., Matthew Judge, and Emily R. Cummins*. 2015. "Workers' Rights as Human Rights: Solidarity Campaigns and the Anti-Sweatshop Movement." In Caroline W. Lee, Michael McQuarrie and Edward T. Walker, eds., *Democratizing Inequalities: Pitfalls and Unrealized Promises of the New Public Participation*. New York: NYU Press.
- Wade, Lisa 2011. 'Emancipatory promise of the habitus: Lindy hop, the body, and social change', *Ethnography*, 12(2): 224–246.
- Walker, Edward T. 2009. "Privatizing Participation: Civic Change and the Organizational Dynamics of Grassroots Lobbying Firms." *American Sociological Review* 74(1): 83–105.
- Walker, Edward T., Michael McQuarrie, and Caroline W. Lee. 2015. "Rising Participation and Declining Democracy." Pp. 3–23 in *Democratizing Inequalities: Dilemmas of the New Public Participation*, edited by C. W. Lee, M. McQuarrie, E. Walker. New York: NYU Press.
- Williams, J. Patrick. 2009. "The Multidimensionality of Resistance in Youth-Subcultural Studies." *Resistance Studies Magazine* 2(1): 20–33.
- Willis, Paul. 1977. *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. Farnborough, UK: Saxon House.