Thinking communicatively and relationally about practices of resistances[1]

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Abstract

By reviewing the literature on practices of resistances in social sciences, organization studies, and communication, this essay aims to show how a communicative relationality perspective anchored in the constitutive communication approach (CCO) is relevant to exploring the large phenomenon of resistances. We define resistances as a set of relational and communicative practices that seek individual and/or collective liberation against/through/within diverse hegemonic powers perceived as constraining by one or several individuals. This set of relational practices enacts (and are enacted by) various degrees of organizationality that a communicative approach helps highlight. Our conceptualization of practices of resistances inspired by emergent definitions of both communication and organizations opens avenues to create original and engaged empirical studies.

Introduction

The phenomenon of resistances is mostly associated with historical and large-scale events, such as the French Resistance during the Second World War, the Zapatista insurgency in Chiapas, the Arab Spring, the Yellow Vests movement in France, the demonstrations in Iran, or the #metoo movement. With the growing mobilization that has surged around the world in the last decades stemming from various (and conflictual) ideologies, scholars

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have even begun to speak of an 'era of riots' (Bertho, 2009). While these occurrences are often put forward as acts of resistance, they regularly fail to consider what Scott (1992) qualified as hidden transcripts produced by individuals to resist against various oppressions in subtler and more silent ways. Indeed, daily, and surreptitious actions also have the potential to create breaches in contexts of exploitation such as, but not limited to, slavery, coloniality, and capitalism (Murru & Polese, 2020).

Given the complex nature of what we call practices of resistances—we use the plural to highlight the multiple ways the acts of resisting are incarnated—many scholars have put efforts into making sense of and defining the complexities underlying the act(s) of resisting. Resistances have been studied in disciplines ranging from history (e.g., Tilly, 2004), literature (e.g., Harlow, 1987), sociology/anthropology (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004; Kelley, 1992; Scott, 1992), labor studies (e.g., Dinerstein, 2001; 2003; Graeber, 2006; Lundström & Sartoretto, 2021; Polak, Wagner, Świątkiewicz-Mośny, 2020; Weinstein, 1979), and philosophy (Badiou, 1976; Butler et al., 2016; Deleuze & Guattari, 1980). However, in the two disciplines at the intersection of which we are situated, organizational studies and communication, studying resistances is still marginal although increasingly discussed (e.g., Ashcraft, 2005; Courpasson & Vallas, 2016; Ganesh et al., 2005; Mease, 2020; Mumby & Plotnikof, 2019; Obregón & Tufte, 2017; Wilhoit & Kisselburgh, 2019). In this essay, we aim to bring together different disciplines in order to think communicatively and relationally about practices of resistances. We dialog with resistance studies while contributing to organizational and communication studies.

Even if the focus and level of analysis of studies on resistances often differ (e.g., macro studies vs. microanalysis), resistance is conceived as a complex, multifaceted, and multilayered phenomenon. It encompasses a wide variety of actions and behaviors that are anchored in several different settings, and that highlights a plethora of struggles against various forms of injustice and inequalities provoked by hegemonic, oppressive, and unjust powers (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004). In addition, several core elements such as actions, interactions, oppositions, and powers—which hold a central role in resistance practices—have been identified as constitutive of the phenomenon (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004; Lilja et al., 2017; Mumby, 2005). In short, studying resistances results in highlighting the multiple, various, and heterogenous expressions of opposition(s) towards one (or several) power(s) through individual, collective, or institutional actions.

Powers refer to the different systems of oppression that limit individuals' capacity to lead a 'good [and ethical] life' (Butler, 2012) in one or more spheres of their lives (personal, professional, political, community, etc.).

In the last few decades, critical organizational communication (hereafter, OC) scholars who address resistances in their work have mostly put emphasis on 'power's dialectical relationship with resistances' (Zoller, 2014, p. 810). Yet Zoller (ibid.) suggests that we need more studies that take into consideration, from a critical point of view, the constitutive role of communication 'regarding power in organizational life' (ibid., p. 826)—and consequently resistances to these powers. Here, we build on Zoller's important argument, and we wish to explore how research that falls into the communication as constitutive of organization (CCO) perspective can contribute to the understanding of practices of resistances in various organizational settings. To achieve this goal, we will build on the following definition of practices of resistances, seen as *a set of relational and communicative practices that seek individual and/or collective liberation against/through/within diverse hegemonic powers perceived as constraining by one or several individuals.*

We will 1) critically review the literature on resistances in social sciences, organization studies (OS), and organizational communication (OC), and 2) propose a relational constitutive approach by exploring and building on the existing research on relationality (Cooren, 2020; Kuhn, 2021; Wilhoit & Kisselburgh, 2019).

A multidisciplinary and critical literature review

Let's first acknowledge where we stand individually and as a writing team, composed of four women, including two professors and two master's students/research assistants.

I, Sophie Del Fa, am a cisgender, heterosexual white female university professor. I acknowledge how these traits give me a privileged position in our society. Nevertheless, I use these privileges to advocate for a feminist socio-ecological transition. I consider research *as* resistance which materializes itself through engaged and critical methods and education as the practice of freedom (bell hooks, 1994).

I, Geneviève Boivin, am also a cisgender, heterosexual white female university professor. I am aware that these identity traits give me a privileged position in our society. I have always considered myself a feminist and in

the last few years gender equality has been at the center of my academic and personal preoccupations.

I, Ann-Sophie Boily, am a cisgender women with Pekuakamiulnuatsh and European-Canadian roots. I situate myself in research as 'epistemologically settler,' while currently in a long-term process of decolonizing my perspectives and practices, both in my personal and academic life. I also hold a privileged position in society, being a PhD student.

I, Ève Leclair, am a cisgender, heterosexual white woman with a master's degree in communication and, therefore, hold a privileged position. Being a feminist, I choose to align myself with projects and organizations with feminist values. Similarly, I try to critically consume content and products that correspond to my values whether feminist, ecological, or antiracist.

All four of us share the values of social justice, equality, and ethics. This relationship to the world inspires how we value certain forms of resistance (feminist, antiracists, ecological, decolonial, etc.) and reject others (groups or individuals who claim to be fascist, extremists, misogynists/antifeminists, racists, and so on). So, when we talk about practices of resistances, we naturally (and obviously) choose to highlight resistances from a progressive perspective. However, we do not deny that a whole range of resistance practices are being increasingly organized to resist these progressive paths. We are particularly affected by the rise of the far right in Europe and the continued presence of dictatorships in 57 countries around the world[2] (*The Global State of Democracy Initiative*, s. d.). We are therefore motivated by the desire to make sense of the tensions and contradictions that emerge from practices of conflicting resistances. From these standpoints, we first acknowledge that the use of the concept of resistance remains ambiguous in academia (e.g., some scholars do not formally name resistance practices as such).

To proceed to the literature review, we first identified keywords that allowed us to collect relevant academic work: *resistance, social movements, power/counter power, alternative, counter-hegemony, activism, political protests, protest movements*. We searched for these keywords on three social science and communication databases (Academic Search Complete, America: History and Life, and PsycInfo) as well as in 36 major journals (e.g., *Antipode, Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization, M@n@gement, Management*

[2] Acording to *The Global State of Democracy Initiative* (s. d.)

Communication Quarterly, Organization Studies, Resistance Studies, Social Movements Studies). We also collected much-cited handbooks such as *The SAGE Handbook of Resistance* (Courpasson and Vallas, 2016), *The Social Movements Reader* (Goodwin & Jasper, 2014), the *Routledge Handbook of Radical Politics* (Kinna & Gordon, 2019), and *Resistances, Between Theories and the Field* (Murru & Polese, 2020). We selected founding texts on social movement studies published in the 1980s and we extended the search to texts published until the first half of 2022. In doing so, we obtained a representative overview of the work published over forty years.

Because the literature on resistance is particularly rich, and since our aim was not to be exhaustive or to conduct a systematic review, we focused on texts that were cited abundantly or recent literature mobilizing relevant theoretical foundations for OC. In addition, we chose to differentiate the work written in social sciences (sociology, anthropology, history, and philosophy, among others), and the work published in OS, OC, and communication. This was useful for making a distinction between our own field of research (which is at the intersection of OS and OC) and studies from other fields that are central for scholars in OS and OC. We collected 80 documents (articles and books) in social sciences, including seven special issues. In OS, OC, and communication studies, we gathered 77 documents including 56 articles, two special issues, and 21 books. In total, there are 157 documents in our collection.

The selected texts were systematically stored in Zotero and notes were transferred on standardized reading sheets. Questions were formulated in advance to uniformize and guide the readings:

- How is resistance defined?
- What is the source of resistance? Against what or who is resistance directed?
- What is the status of the concept of power?
- How are powers addressed?

This set of questions was formulated with prior knowledge of the OS and OC literature on resistances. We were aware that questions of power were central in the latter literature. We therefore wanted to confront these elements with the literature in social sciences to see how the argument could be refined. For the OS and OC literature, a set of more specific questions regarding the status of 'organization' and 'communication' was added. Since

we propose a communicative relationality approach of resistance, we needed to understand the status of both communication and organization.

We will begin by reviewing the literature in social sciences from social movements to Scott's hidden transcripts. Then we will focus on resistances in and around organization, a section that will allow us to propose our communicative relationality perspective anchored in the constitutive approach of communication (CCO).

The acts of resisting: social movements, hidden texts, and radical practices

Multifaceted resistances

In social sciences, the notion of resistance has been studied in a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, queer studies, social movement studies, sociology, and more (see Table 1).

Table 1: Main social sciences disciplines where resistances are studied

Disciplines	Main authors
Anthropology	Abu-Lughod, 1990; 2020; Aparicio & Blaser, 2008; Barmeyer, 2008; Bergstrand & Whitham, 2021; Casas-Cortes, Osterweil, & Powell, 2008; Gal, 1995; Graeber, 2006; Holland, Fox, & Daro, 2008; Kunnath, 2021; Kurzman, 2008; Laszczkowski 2019; Murru & Polese, 2020; Price, Fox, & Tree, 2008; Scott, 1990; 1992; Urla & Helepololei, 2014
Education and pedagogy	Côté, Day, & de Peuter, 2007; Pérez, 2019
English literature and language	Gasaway Hill, 2018; Youssef & Golson, 2017
Geography and urban studies	Asher & Wainwright, 2019; Bain & Podmore, 2021; Benjamin, Cosaque, & Lapointe, 2019; Dufour, 2021; Fois, 2019; Wolfe, 2021
Indigenous studies	Ricci, 2016
Linguistics and discourse analysis	Retzlaff, 2006; Wu, 2018
Philosophy	Altanian & Kassar, 2021; Butler, Gambetti, & Sabsay, 2016; Hartman, 2003; Medina, 2021
Political economics	Gibson-Graham, 2014; Mancur Olson, 1965

Political science and political sociology	Böhm, Dinerstein, & Spicer, 2010; Dinerstein, 2001, 2003; Dufour, 2021; Foucault, 1978; Fraser, 2021; Mathieu, 2007; Raynauld, Richez, & Wojcik, 2020; Skocpol, 1979; 2013; Tarrow, 1998
Queer studies	Adeyemi, 2017; Chávez, 2017; LeMaster, 2017
Social movement studies and political activism studies	Ancelovici, 2021; Bargain-Darrigues, 2021; Bennett & Sgerberg, 2012; Bereni, 2021; Dufour, 2021; Galis & Summerton, 2018; Harris & Jones, 2018; Jerne, 2018; Kennedy, 2020; Kioupkiolis, 2018; Latour, Milstein, Marrero-Guillamón, & Rodríguez-Giralt, 2018; Lundström & Sartoretto, 2021; Morselli, Passini, & McGarty, 2020; Polak, Wagner, & Świątkiewicz-Mośny, 2020; Rajão & Jarke, 2018; Reger, 2018; Rone, 2019; Sepúlveda-Luque, 2018; Martín Sainz de los Terreros, 2018
Social work	Khan, Mulé & Nick, 2021
Sociology	Bair & Palpacuer, 2012; Bergstrand & Whitham, 2021; Burawoy, 1979; Butler, 2013; Castells, 2015; de los Reyes, & Lundström, 2020; Diani 1992; Federici, 2012; Forno & Weiner, 2020; Goodwin & Jasper, 2014; Hall & Jefferson, 2006; Hofman, 2021; Hollander & Einwohner, 2004; Jenkins, 1983; Jenkins and Perrow, 1977; Katju, 2020 [book review]; Kreichauf, 2020; Mathieu, 2007; McAdam, 1982; 1999; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Melucci, 1980; 1996; Motta, 2021; Peterie, 2018; Polak, Wagner, & Świątkiewicz-Mośny, 2020; Rajão & Jarke, 2018; Rodríguez-Giralt, Marrero-Guillamón, & Milstein, 2018; Sepúlveda-Luque, 2018; Skocpol, 1979; 2013; Snow, 2004; Tarrow, 1998; Terreros, 2018; Tilly, 1991; Tindall, 2003; Touraine, 1977; Touraine, Azcárate, de Margerie, & Wouters, 1982; Williams, 2020
Youth studies	Raby, 2005

Resistances in social sciences have been studied as collective, overt, and contentious actions (e.g., marches and protests), as well as individual covert behaviors (e.g., through humor, songs, dress), group organization (e.g., citizens' assembly), and work-related (see Murru & Polese, 2020, for an overview of the various occurrences of resistances). In addition, the literature shows great variety in the types of resistances studied, including social media activism, dances and performances, lingerie wearing, weekly citizens' meetings, and poetry, to name a few. Resistances also appear to vary in whether they be socially progressive or not (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004), for or against change.[3] In fact, the concept of resistance carries various,

[3] Resistances may be organized *for* decolonization (Asher & Wainwright, 2019), change in the education system (Barmeyer, 2008), alternative worlds

often seemingly contradictory, meanings across disciplines (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004).

The seemingly ambiguous nature of resistances points to a plethora of understandings and conceptualizations, more often than not implicitly debated, since scholars scarcely even define resistances in their work (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004). Moreover, many have worked on what we consider to be resistances (social movements, collective action, anticapitalism, violence, and power relations) without naming them as such (Ancelovici, 2021; Bair & Palpacuer, 2012; Diani, 1992; Federici, 2012; Gibson-Graham, 2014; Graeber, 2006; Hollander & Einwohner, 2004; Latour et al., 2018; Mathieu, 2012; Peterie, 2018; Rajão & Jarke, 2018; Reger, 2018; Martín Sainz de los Terreros, 2018)[4]. In the same vein, labor studies have much to say about workers' resistance in empirically observing how workers struggle against institutional power and bureaucracy, for better wages and working conditions (e.g., Brookes & McCallum, 2017; Dinerstein, 2001; 2003; Graeber, 2006; Lundström & Sartoretto, 2021; Polak, Wagner, Świątkiewicz-Mośny, 2020; Weinstein, 1979).

Most social researchers agree that resistances involve forms of actions and behaviors, carried out by one or many agents whether individuals, groups, organizations, or collectives. Also, most if not all resistance studies scholars take into consideration the interactional and oppositional nature of resistances, targeting one or many sources of power. Traditional perspectives view those targets as potentially multiple and multi-scaled yet separated; targets may thus include individuals (e.g., political figures), groups and organizations (e.g., extractive corporations), institutions (e.g., a government's immigration system), or social structures (e.g., capitalism, colonialism,

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(Casas-Cortés et al., 2008; Gibson-Graham, 2014; Kioupkiolis, 2018; Price et al., 2008; Terreros, 2018), or *against* bureaucratic practices (Graeber, 2006), capitalism (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008; Gibson-Graham, 2014), colonialism (Pavithra Prasad, 2017; Rowe, 2017), or government practices (Barmeyer, 2008; Chávez, 2017; Galis & Summerton, 2018; Rajão & Jarke, 2018), for instance.

[4] Diani (1992), for instance, only explicitly mentions the verb 'to resist' once in his work on the concept of social movements, when discussing Turner and Killian's (1987 [1957]) take: '[they] define a social movement as "a collectivity acting with some continuity to promote or *resist* a change in the society or organisation of which it is part"' (Diani, 1992, p. 4).

racism). Increasingly, however, postmodernist work on resistances includes the intersecting nature of power that produces vulnerable subjects who are eager to liberate themselves (Butler et al., 2016; Graeber, 2009). Here we begin to see the need to put words on the phenomenon of resistances and to be more specific about *what* people and groups are resisting.

Collective and overt acts of resistance

Social movements are undeniably the most studied phenomena in the social science literature, broadly defined as 'networks of informal interaction between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political and/or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity' (Diani, 1992, p. 3). The social movements most studied in the selected literature include local-to-global political movements like the Zapatista movement in Chiapas (Barmeyer, 2008; Kioupkiolis, 2018), the global social justice movement (Dufour, 2021; Holland et al., 2008; Price et al., 2008), environmental activism (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008; Rajão & Jarke, 2018; Sepúlveda-Luque, 2018), and various forms of identity-based movements (e.g., the western women's liberation movement in the 1960s [Federici, 2012] and queer resistance in the U.S. [Bain & Podmore, 2021])[5]. The literature that we read is mostly interested in movements and resistance practices of the Americas and Europe (exceptions include the resistance of Nepali women [Holland, Fox, & Daro, 2008], the resistance of Bedouin women in Egypt [Abu-Lughod, 1990], and the study of trans identity in Iran [Azadi, 2020]).

[5] See Table 2 below for a summary of the main social movements studied in social sciences, and Table 3 for the approaches mobilized in the literature covered.

Table 2: Main themes studied in social sciences

Themes	Main cited examples	Resistance for, or against	Main authors
Academia	Stockholm Riots in 2013, the 'Lettered City' in Latin America, campus activism in the U.S.	**Against** current research practices, the neoliberalization of academia, institutional oppression, and marginalization of minoritized faculty members.	Asher & Wainright, 2019; Benjamin, Cosaque, & Lapointe, 2019; Boudreau, 2019; Côté, Day, & de Peuter, 2007; de los Reyes & Lundström, 2020; Pérez, 2019; Reger, 2018; Urla & Helepololei, 2014
Alternative spaces and organizations	El Campo de Cebada	**For** politics of welcoming	Terreros, 2018
	Community of Damanhur (Italy)	**Against** 'mainstream economic, cultural, and/or political institutions and discourses'	Fois, 2019
	Zapatistas	**Against** Mexican government's practices (i.e., education program); **for** alternative way of living & organizing	Barmeyer, 2008
Anti-capitalism, neoliberalism, and governments	Antifascism in post-Yugoslav space, Anti-sweatshop movement, Occupy, Indignados, Podemos, Sustainable Community Movement Organizations, Roadblocks in Argentina	**Against** fascism and neoliberal governmentality, **Against** global capitalism and neoliberal globalization, **Against** socioeconomic inequalities	Bair & Palpacuer, 2012; Bargain-Darrigues, 2021; Butler, 2013; Casa-Cortés, Osterweil & Powell, 2008; Dinerstein, 2001; Dufour, 2021; Gibson-Graham, 2014; Hofman, 2021; Kioupkiolis, 2018; Rone, 2019; Williams, 2020
Anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, decoloniality	Indigenous women's struggles; Ghost Dance movement; Maya movement in Guatemala; Epistemologies of the South	**Against** coloniality; **Against** multiple (intersecting) forms of domination, oppression; **Against** imperialist epistemologies	de Sousa Santos, 2011; Prasad, 2017; Price, Fox & Tree, 2008; Ricci, 2016
Environment and ecology	Brazilian environmental activism, Citizen-swan association in Chili, Indigenous Environmental Justice movement, No TAV movement	**Against** deforestation, **Against** Environmental disaster & law, **Against** Dominant scientific expert knowledge	Laszczkowski, 2019; Rajão & Jarke, 2018; Sepúlveda-Luque, 2018

Intersectionality[1]	Multiple food movements	**Against** food-related injustices (class, gender, race, colonial and more-than-human injustices)	Motta, 2021
	Queer resistance	**Against** alt-Right Presidency, conversion therapies, cisheteronormativity; **Against** ongoing times of crisis	LeMaster, 2017; Row, 2017; Tyburczy, 2017
	Women movements	**Against** restrictions enforced by elder men; gender power dynamics; marriages; generational power dynamics; **Against** the 'confinement to domestic labor, leading to a redefinition of this work and women's relation to capital and the state'	Abu-Lughod, 1990; Bereni, 2021; Federici, 2012; Lilja, Baaz, Schulz, & Vinthagen, 2017
Work-related resistance	Piquetero movement, Unemployed Workers' Movement in Argentina, Brazil's Landless Workers' Movement; Polish resident doctors' hunger strike	**Against** institutional power and bureaucracy; **For** access to land, land reform; **For** better wages and working conditions; **For** the patients, and the 'greater good'	Brookes & McCallum, 2017; Dinerstein, 2001; 2003; Graeber, 2006; Lundström & Sartoretto, 2021; Polak, Wagner, Świątkiewicz-Mośny, 2020; Weinstein, 1979

[1] Intersectional social movements include movements resisting multiple simultaneous sources of oppression such as racism, misogyny, colonialism, heteronormativity, governmental institutions, and neoliberal capitalism.

Table 3:

Approaches in the study of social movements in social sciences

Approaches and theoretical frameworks	Authors
Affect theory	Harris & Jones, 208; Laszczkowski, 2019; Shahin & Ng, 2021
Actor network theory (ANT)	Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Galis & Summerton, 2018; Jerne, 2018; Latour, 2006; Latour, Milstein, Marrero-Guillamón, & Rodríguez-Giralt, 2018; Rajão & Jarke, 2018; Rodríguez-Giralt, Marrero-Guillamón, & Milstein, 2018; Sepúlveda-Luque, 2018; Terreros, 2018
Contentious politics	McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 1996; 2001 (in Snow, 2004)
Critical perspective	Asher & Wainright, 2019; Benjamin, Cosaque, & Lapointe, 2019; Boudreau, 2019; de los Reyes & Lundström, 2020; Dufour, 2021; Kreichauf, 2020
Cultural approach	Melucci, 1996; Touraine, 1977
Decolonization	Asher & Wainwright, 2019; Nirmal, 2016
Dialectal approach	Côté, Day, & Peuter, 2007 (inspired by Foucault, Gramsci, and Weber)
Feminist studies	Asher & Wainwright, 2019; Federici, 2012; Nirmal, 2016; Trethewey, 1997
Critical race feminist theory	Pérez, 2019
Indigenous feminism	Ricci, 2016
Material feminism	Gibson-Graham, 2014
Poststructuralist feminism	Azadi, 2020
Field theory	Mathieu, 2012
Intersectionality	Khan, Mulé, & Nick, 2021; LeMaster, 2017; Medina, 2021; Motta, 2021; Nirmal, 2016
Marxism	Butler, 2013; Dinerstein, 2003; Federici, 2012; Gibson-Graham, 2014; Harris & Jones, 2018
New materialism	Harris & Jones, 2008
New social movements theory	Melucci, 1980; Price, Nonini, & Tree, 2008; Touraine, Azcárate, de Margerie, & Wouters, 1982
Political opportunity theory	Reger, 2018; Tarrow, 1998
Political process theory	Jenkins, 1983; Jenkins & Perrow, 1977; Mathieu, 2007; 2012; McAdam, 1982; 1999; Skocpol, 1979; 2013; Tarrow, 1998
Postcoloniality	Youssef & Golson, 2017
Posthumanism	Sepúlveda-Luque, 2018

Postmodernist	Raby, 2005
Queer theory	Adeyemi, 2017; Chávez, 2017; LeMaster, 2017; Nirmal, 2016; Rodríguez de Ruiz, 2017; Row, 2017; Tyburczy, 2017
Relational approach	Burawoy, 1979; Gibson-Graham, 2014; Grahanm 1995, Kondo, 1990; Levidow, 1991
Resource mobilization theory	Jenkins, 1983; Mancur Olson, 1965; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; 2015; Reger, 2018
Speech Act Theory	Gasaway Hill, 2018; Kennedy, 2020
Standpoint theory	Benjamin, Cosaque, & Lapointe, 2019; Boudreau, 2019
Structural approaches	Castells, 2015; Goodwin & Jasper, 2014
Subcultural studies theory	Hall & Jefferson, 2006
Subjective turn	Laszczkowski, 2019

Many authors (see Table 3) mobilize traditional approaches to study social movements, such as structural approaches (Castells, 2015; Goodwin & Jasper, 2014), Resource Mobilization Theory (Jenkins, 1983; McCarthy & Zald, 1977), Political Process Theory (Jenkins, 1983; Mathieu, 2007; McAdam, 1999; Skocpol, 2013; Tarrow, 1998), and Political Opportunity Theory (Reger, 2018; Tarrow, 1998). Social movements are seen, generally speaking, as 'contentious politics,' characterized by their episodic, public, and 'manifestly political' nature (Snow, 2004, p. 5). These approaches narrow the focus on public, overt, and government-centered resistance practices. In this sense, they have been widely criticized (Price et al., 2008; Snow, 2004; Tindall, 2003) because they 'give central priority to and take for granted the modern nation-state and capitalist markets' (Price, Fox, and Tree, 2008, p. 130). As a response to such limitations of traditional perspectives, the cultural approach and the New Social Movements Theory (Melucci, 1980; Touraine et al., 1982) provide insights into the understanding of collective action, and, increasingly, collective identity (Touraine et al., 1982). While the 'old' social movements were clearly delimited, NSM are characterized by their reticular forms and their multiple organizational structures. Such 'gathering spaces' are characterized by networks, autonomy, and countercultural struggles (Melucci, 2016, p. 14), and are thus symptomatic of post-political collective actions in disclosing modern ways of resisting various sources of power.

In the wake of the Actor Network Theory (ANT) coined by Latour (2006), the conceptualizations of social movements and resistances

broadened. Indeed, in putting relations at the center, the scope moved on how resistances deploy themselves through complex networks and relations. Moreover, scholars mobilizing ANT specifically have a 'preference for asking *how* social movements work and *what* they actually do, rather than *why*' (Rodríguez-Giralt et al., 2018, p. 261). It also brings forth what is 'more than human' in resistance practices (e.g., sounds, animals, space)[6]. As such, ANT closely touches on our own argument suggesting that resistance practices are, above all, relational (we will come back to this later).

Finally, scholars from radical perspectives, whether coming from the feminist, queer, and/or anti/post/decolonial perspectives (e.g., Azadi, 2020; LeMaster, 2017; Nirmal, 2016; Pérez, 2019) focus on indigenous and LGBTQIA+ communities, black women and transgender individuals—all first and main victims of various forms of oppression dominated by colonialism, heteronormativity, and capitalism. Common to such perspectives is an aim to study resistance practices on a very local scale. These studies encompass, among others, 'queering' as an analytical tool through which people challenge, negotiate, and transform their own identity (Azadi, 2020; Nirmal, 2016, p. 195). Moreover, scholars disclose specific practices of resistances: communities of belonging for LGBTQIA+ Muslim women (Khan, Mulé, & Nick, 2021) or trans relationality as 'a mundane, embodied, and subversive mode of resistance' (LeMaster, 2017, p. 86). Radical scholars as well as the literature on social movements disclose the importance of opening the study of collective actions, something to which Scott's work mainly contributes.

From hidden transcripts to practices of resistances

Since Scott's (1992) influential work, resistance has increasingly been recognized not only in overt, collective, and loud movements, revolutions, and protests, but also in subtle, covert, and hidden everyday practices. Scott brings forth an understanding of resistance as localized and bottom-up, effective nonetheless in inducing large-scale changes. Everyday resistances encompass a wide variety of behaviors ranging from humor to gossip, mockery, rumors, use of a particular language or language variety, mimicry, choice of clothing or hairstyles, stories, and legends, songs, poetry, and more (Abu-Lughod, 1990; Scott, 1992). These forms of more-or-less subtle

[6] Moreover, ecofeminist writings will be based on these same premises to develop their relationship to the world.

insubordination, intentionally hidden from and mostly unrecognized by the dominants, are labeled by Scott as hidden transcripts (1990). Along with other subcultural studies theorists (see Hall & Jefferson, 2006), Scott highlights the urge to resist subordination. And his approach calls for a highly contextualized and dialectical analysis, 'provid[ing] exciting opportunities for understanding people's participation in power relations at the most micro level in the deployment, reproduction and transformation of power' (Raby, 2005, p. 168). In the same vein, Abu-Lughod (1990), drawing on Foucault's sentence 'Where there is power, there is resistance' (1978, pp. 95–96), calls for a conceptualization of resistances as a diagnostic of power. Reversing the phrase as 'where there is resistance, there is power' (1990, p. 42). From a long-term ethnographic study of Bedouin women, Abu-Lughod proposes four types of everyday forms of resistance: 1) minor defiance against the restrictions enforced by male elders in their community such as secrets or silences; 2) resistance to marriage; 3) sexually irreverent discourses like making fun of men and manhood through stories, folktales, and jokes; and finally, 4) oral lyric poetry like poems and songs known as *ghinnawas* (little songs). These (more or less) subtle acts of resistance enact generational conflicts—through lingerie wearing, weddings, and Egyptian traditional songs—that 'are neither outside of nor independent from the systems of power' (1990, p. 50).

This literature has influenced our stance in two ways. First, it leads us to speak of practices of resistances, and to always have the reflex of naming the power(s) against which these practices emerge. We thus suggest defining resistances *as a set of practices that seek individual and/or collective liberation against/through/within diverse hegemonic powers perceived as constraining by one or several individuals.* Practices seem better suited to refer to the multiple (and almost infinite) possibilities of 'doing acts of resistances.' They thus encompass all the possible acts of resistance: collective, episodic, public, radical (and less radical), individual, private, etc. These practices include humans but also 'non-humans' (as the ANT approach brings to the fore). However, it is still a partial definition that we will enrich later.

Second, naming the power(s) against which these practices emerge is essential as they do not appear in a vacuum detached from the reality in which they are anchored (as the literature shows). Moreover, hegemonic powers are lived and perceived differently from one individual to another (according to their political stance, social class, etc.). A great example of these various perceptions occurred during the COVID-19 crisis. In Canada,

for instance, the Freedom Convoy took to the roads in order to manifest against public health measures and the powers that the state granted itself during the health emergency. However, as they were camped on the right and even the far right, people denounced liberticidal measures from a very individualistic conception of 'freedom.' It is certain that the processes leading to policy decisions were not always transparent or 100% supported by scientists. However, given the complexity, urgency, and suddenness of the crisis, it was very difficult to have a clear view of the situation and decision-making. This example aims to underline and remind us that demonstrations of resistance are fragmented and can come from all sides of the political spectrum, making it difficult to understand them in the moment. On the other hand, this leads researchers to position themselves regarding what they consider to be resistances that aim for an emancipatory and liberating social change against resistances that would shape an unequal world and exclude certain minorities or vulnerable people. Now that some foundations are laid thanks to the social science literature, let's move on to the literature that studies resistances in and around organizations (and communication).

Resistances in and around organizations, organizing, and communication

Overview and selected work

Communication as a discipline encompasses several fields and objects of study whose number does not make consensus. Craig (1999), for instance, divides this interdisciplinary field into six historic 'traditions' (rhetorical, phenomenological, cybernetic, psychosociological, sociocultural, critical). As mentioned previously, we stand under the banner of critical organizational communication studies, a field that is historically interested in organizations and therefore in the workplace. For this reason, OC shares many affinities with management and organizational studies. The orientations of OC range from the normative orientation that aims at developing interpersonal and management skills, to the interpretative paradigm that views an organization as a social site 'produced and maintained through ordinary talk, stories, rites, rituals, and other daily activities' (Deetz, 2001, p. 23). From the 1990s on, scholars also began to argue for critical perspectives in organizational communication. Critical researchers in OC "see organizations as social historical creations accomplished in conditions of struggle and

power relations" and as "as political sites" (Deetz, 2001, pp. 25–26). Thus, workplaces are considered *à la Marx* as entities that organize power by extracting surplus value from the alienated labor of workers (Mumby, 2015). The strategies implemented in order to achieve this goal change whether we are thinking about Fordist or post-Fordist organizing (ibid.). In this regard, Mumby (ibid.) traces the different organizational forms from Fordism to post-Fordism according to the three spirits of capitalism theorized by Boltanski and Chiapelo (2011).

As organizations appeared to be—from a critical approach—the very locus in which several powers (capitalist, bureaucratic, managerial, patriarchal, racist, etc.) express themselves, scholars began to take an interest in resistances against these restrictive and harmful powers in the workplace (Courpasson, 2017; Courpasson & Vallas, 2016; Mumby, 2005, 2015; Mumby et al., 2017; Sanson & Courpasson, 2022; Zoller, 2014). In OS, scholars such as Mumby (2005, 2015; Mumby et al., 2017), Zoller (2014), and Courpasson (Courpasson, 2017; Courpasson & Vallas, 2016; Sanson & Courpasson, 2022) have studied practices of resistances through the lens of power, authority, and identity negotiation in the workplace. As representatives of Critical Management Studies[7] (CMS), they attempt to understand how individuals resist hegemonic powers within post-Fordist work configurations marked by the increasingly pervasive character of work precarity and performance (e.g., Mumby et al., 2017). In that context, these scholars 'employ multiple theoretical perspectives to study questions of power and politics' (Zoller, 2014, p. 599) and

> [Seek] to understand the ways in which employees refuse to comply with power (Spicer & Fleming, 2003), oppression (Martí & Fernández, 2013), domination (Courpasson, 2000) and/or managerial strategies of control (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Braverman, 1974). (Zoller, 2014, pp. 1209–1210)

More specifically, interpretive, rhetorical, critical, postmodern, discursive, feminist, and postcolonial perspectives have been mobilized to study questions related to power dynamics in organizations and how to counter them through resistances. For example, Courpasson analyzes the

[7] A stream of thinking that has become institutionalized, as witnessed by the Critical Management Studies (CMS) Division of the Academy of Management.

four-and-a-half-year struggle of a group of dismissed employees against their former employer (2017). Also, Ybema and Hovers (2017) study a planned change program in the city of Amsterdam's Department of Work and Income, in order to explore how organizational actors subtly synthesize compliance and resistance *vis-à-vis* a change initiative. Barros and Michaud (2019) show how members of one of the largest Canadian consumer co-ops use social media to try to resist an attempt by the board of directors to change its governance rules. From a feminist approach, Masi de Casanova and Jafar (2016) explore the body as a site of resistance through beauty, wearing a dress, body modifications, and protests. On another note, Contu (2008) argues that resistance in the workplace could in some instances be considered 'decaf resistance,' meaning that some acts (like cynicism) neither threaten nor hurt anybody. These selected examples illustrate the diversity of resistance practices that are studied. We could add studies on alternative organizing that have also contributed to this important literature. Indeed, they disclose non-capitalist/bureaucratic organizing—and resistance against traditional ways of organizing (see Barin Cruz et al., 2017; Cheney et al., 2014; Cruz, 2017; Del Fa, 2017, 2020; Del Fa & Vásquez, 2019; Dorion, 2017; Parker et al., 2014). For instance, these studies range from the exploration of alternative universities (Del Fa & Vasquez, 2019), feminist organizations (Dorion, 2017; Linabary et al., 2021), cooperatives and community organizing (e.g., Cheney et al., 2014; Ganesh & Stohl, 2014; Paranque & Willmott, 2014), and hackerspaces (Peiro, 2019) to 'commoning' (Meyer & Hudon, 2017).

In a nutshell, critical communication scholars have studied resistances, mobilizing concepts from different subfields, such as interpersonal communication (Davis, 2015, 2018), rhetoric (Donofrio, 2020; Gittens, 2018), and dialectical approaches (Dutta & Pal, 2010; Ganesh, 2018). Marginalized settings and resistances in the Global South have been scrutinized (Dutta, 2012; Dutta & Pal, 2010) as well as activist tactics for social change through dialog (Ganesh & Zoller, 2012). Finally, with the rise of the Internet and information and communication technologies (ICTs), scholars have taken interest in the use of these technological tools (e.g., Telegram) by activists within social movement organizations (Boone et al., 2018; Dey, 2020, p. 202; Ganesh & Stohl, 2010; Idoiaga Mondragon et al., 2021; Jeppesen, 2021; Lee et al., 2021; Liu, 2021; Sinpeng, 2021;

Unuabonah & Oyebode, 2021; Wu, 2018). ICTs as tools for resistance are mostly useful for marginalized groups, such as the Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) communities and women, who do not usually and naturally occupy the public space. ICTs thus open up a new public space (Dey, 2020) for minority struggles and collective actions.

Resisting through identity construction

Individual identity is one of the cornerstones of the study of resistances within the workplace (see Harding et al., 2017; Norbäck, 2021; Symon, 2005). Bristow et al. (2017) show that, 'identity construction is both an instrument and a product of power/resistance,' as it is a 'reflexive self-narrative that is fluid, multiple, contingent and contextual, and always embedded within the wider context of power/resistance relations' (p. 1187). In addition, as postmodern identity is uncertain and insecure (Ashcraft, 2012), individuals tend to consider identity construction as an opportunity for 'micro-emancipation' against oppressive elements in order to negotiate the subject position. Considered as such, resistance can be seen as a means of 'creating spaces for self-determined action and alternative subject positions' (Bristow et al., 2017, p. 1188). For instance, Ashcraft explores the discourses of male U.S. commercial airline pilots in their shifting professional setting (with the emergence of a new practice called 'cockpit resource management' or 'crew resource management [CRM]') (Ashcraft, 2005, p. 77) through the lens of resistance. Following Deetz and Mumby (1990), she conceives identity as the precarious product of discursive activity and thus understands resistance through the ongoing discursive practices that constitute subjectivity and the sense of self. In the studies mentioned above, the subjectivities that resist are emerging in a standardized and normalized work environment, and it is often against these standards and norms that the subjects resist. This positioning is certainly interesting, but it is also limited, since it reduces resistance practices to subjective constructions and tends to isolate the identity at work from the rest of what constitutes the individual (outside the workplace).

Levels of resistance in organization studies and organizational communication

Courpasson and Vallas (2016), wrote that resistance is:

> *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 state. (p. 7, emphasis added)

This quote introduces the idea that resistances must be understood in terms of levels of resistance that encompass degrees of success and intensities, but also scales of action (individual, collective, etc.). In this sense, and like what was identified in the social science literature regarding 'everyday acts of resistance' (Scott, 1992), scholars in OS and OC have highlighted what is seen as 'subtle forms of resistance,' such as irony, jokes, and cynicism in organizations (Courpasson, 2017; Mumby et al., 2017; Ybema & Horvers, 2017). Mobilizing Scott's concepts of hidden transcripts and everyday resistance, recent research often still focuses on workers' subtle acts of resistance and their role in creating organizational changes (e.g., Courpasson, 2017; Murphy, 1998).

Stepping away from the 'either-or' view of subtle resistance (either power or resistance), scholars have shown the relationship between resistance and compliance (Ashcraft, 2005; Bristow et al., 2017; Davis, 2018). For instance, employees who openly resisted power in the workplace could still comply in their private conversations (Ybema and Horvers, 2017). On the contrary, some employees publicly complied with organizational changes and policies, but secretly resisted through minor transgressions, therefore taking part in backstage resistance. Thus, employees can slightly counter domination' without truly dismantling the power in place (Ybema and Horvers, 2017). In short, 'resistance is never pure, and it should not be generalized as the "noble" counterpart of power relations' (Murru, 2020, p. 185). Therefore, it is very important not to romanticize practices of resistances and to foster a critical view that considers the intricacies of the dynamic and sometimes contradictory interactions in which practices of resistances are entangled. This way of approaching practices of resistances is central to the dialectical approach that paves the way for our constitutive and relational perspective.

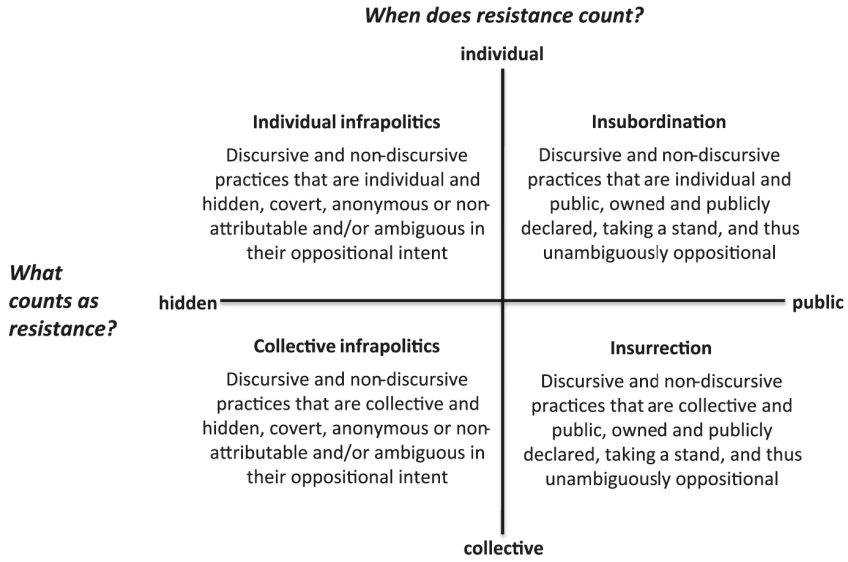
Dialectical approach to resistances in the workplace: where there is power there is resistance

The dialectical approach remains dominant in critical organization studies because, it 'emphasizes the discursive conditions under which the dynamics of control and resistance unfold' (Mumby, 2005, p. 21). Drawing mostly on Foucault's work, Mumby (ibid., p. 38) defines resistance as 'a set of situated

discursive and non-discursive practices that are simultaneously enabling and constraining, coherent and contradictory, complex and simple, efficacious and ineffectual' and shows how resistance and control are interdependent. In this sense, power and resistance are central constitutive dynamics of the labor process under post-Fordism. Moreover, power is both top-down and bottom-up in organizing as it aims to control not only employees' actions but also their thoughts and feelings (ibid., p. 42). While unfolding various practices of resistances, such as rejection of managerial tools and refusal of hierarchizing practices (Gagnon & Collinson, 2017), humor (Courpasson, 2017; Gagnon & Collinson, 2017), or hunger strikes (Courpasson, 2017), the dialectical approach in OS often focuses on actions, discourses, and languages at different organizational scales, including resistance practices adopted by middle managers (Courpasson, Dany, & Delbridge, 2017), fired employees (Courpasson, 2017), early-career academics (Bristow, Robinson, & Ratle, 2017), and municipal employees (Ybema & Horvers, 2017).

Moreover, researchers have disclosed complexities of resistances in the workplace because speaking about 'resistances' first means more broadly resisting power structures that exceed the workplace. To underline these complexities, Mumby, Thomas, Martí, and Seidl (2017) coin and schematize the 'four I's of resistance' in the workplace: four flexible categories of resistance positioned on two axes. The first axis concerns the visibility of the resistance (whether it is hidden or public), answering the question, 'What counts as resistance?'; whereas the second axis represents a continuum of actions between individual and collective practices, answering the question, 'When does resistance count?' When crossing the two axes, four categories of resistance emerge between which individuals or groups can oscillate (see Figure 1 taken from Mumby, et al., 2017, p. 1163): 1) infrapolitic and individual (individual and hidden practices, [e.g., cyberloafing]); 2) infrapolitic collectives (e.g., collective movements on social networks, such as #metoo); 3) insubordination (e.g., whistleblowing); and 4) insurrection, which includes practices such as protests, marches, and so forth.

Figure 1. The four I's of resistance



One of the main contributions of this approach is that it portrays the workplace as a contested space where 'power is never without the *potential for* resistance' (Goss, Jones, Betta, & Latham, 2011, p. 226, cited in Fouweather & Bosma, 2021).

The complex, contradicting, and relational nature of resistance

The study of resistances in the workplace has highlighted important issues related to bureaucracy, management practices, organizational discourses, and discursive control/hegemony through official channels that control organizational discursive space (Barros & Michaud, 2020), management and managerial decisions (Courpasson, 2017), institutional messages, policies, and practices (Gossett & Kilker, 2006), gender roles/expectations/threats to identity (Ashcraft, 2005), and leadership (Sutherland et al., 2014). All the nodes of the struggles brought forth by OS and OC scholars embody various facets of the capitalist post-Fordist workplace (Mumby et al., 2017). Yet, resistance is 'polysemic, shifting and unstable' (Harding et al., 2017, p. 1211). So, when Mumby asks, 'What counts as resistance and when does

resistance occur?' the answers open up more contradictions and intricacies, and resistance appears as 'a hybrid production in and around organizations' and 'as an emergent process that is both medium and outcome of particular discursive, political, and economic conjunctures' (Mumby et al., 2017, p. 1163).

However, the literature in OS has mostly focused on resistances in the post-Fordist workplace and thus often mobilizes a fixed definition of organizations. Even if some authors broaden the object of study, for example, in analyzing the importance of place and space for resistance practices (Barros & Michaud, 2020; Courpasson, 2017; Courpasson et al., 2017; Daskalaki, 2018; Gosset & Kilker, 2006), organization studies seldom leave the workplace to embrace other organizational settings. Moreover, research in OS tends to focus on human language and discourses and leaves less room to study the plenum of agencies (Cooren, 2006) that can potentially come into play in the practices of resistances. It is thus important to also consider organizing practices outside the workplace. For instance, Banerjee, Maher, & Krämer (2021) contribute to emerging research on resistance movements against mining in developing countries. With the notion of disembeddedness they show how conflicts arise between local political ecologies and the political economy of resource extraction. As Sanson and Courpasson (2022, p. 20) recently suggested, collective insubordination through resistance practices is 'a relational process emerging from place-based interactions' that becomes a 'way of life' aiming at protesting neoliberal rules and protecting the life of the group. Viewed that way, practices of resistances are not mere abnormal activities but are embedded in social life.

In both social sciences literature and the above-mentioned OC scholars, the studies tend to answer the 'what' question, that is to say: What are the practices of resistances? They also address the effects that they have on workers, individuals, organizations, etc. However, a central question remains unanswered: How are practices of resistances organized? Answering it would allow to highlight how practices of resistances are accomplished in the 'social life' mentioned by Sanson and Courpasson and what/who/whom matters and makes a difference in the practices of resistances. To do so, we need to consider practices of resistances as organizational phenomena, a proposal that we explore through the lens of the communicative relationality perspective anchored in the CCO approach.

Table 4: The study of social movements in organizational studies (OS) and in organization communication (OC)[8]

Status of communication	Communication as language and/or discourses	Brekke, Joseph & Aaftaab, 2021; Davis, 2015, 2018; Dempsey, Parker & Krone, 2011; Dey, 2020; Donofrio, 2020; Idoiaga Mondragon, Berasategi Sancho, Beloki Arizti & Belasko Txertudi, 2021; Jarvis & Eddington, 2020; Murphy, 1998; Symon, 2005; Unuabonah & Oyebode, 2021; Wu, 2018
	Communication as a media (digital platforms and social networks)	Dey, 2020; Idoiaga Mondragon et al., 2021; Jeppesen, 2021; Lee, Liang, Cheng, Tang & Yuen, 2021; Liu, 2021; Unuabonah & Oyebode, 2021; Wu, 2018; Pei, Chib & Ling, 2022
	Communication as constitutive of organizations	Dawson & Bencherki, 2022; Mease, 2020; Mumby & Plotnikof, 2019; Wilhoit & Kisselburgh, 2019; Laaksonen & Porttikivi, 2021; Fouweather & Bosma, 2021
Resistance situated in/ around organizations	Organizational actors resisting their own organization	Ashcraft, 2005; Bristow, Robinson & Ratle, 2017; Contu, 2005; Courpasson, 2017; Courpasson, Dany, Delbridge, 2017; Courpasson & Vallas, 2016; Dawson & Bencherki, 2021; Gagnon & Collinson, 2017; Gist-Mackey & Dougherty, 2021; Gosset & Kilker, 2006; Harding, Ford & Lee, 2017; Lawrence & Robinson, 2017; Mumby, 2005; Mumby, Thomas, Martí & Seidl, 2017; Mumby & Plotnikof, 2019; Murphy, 1998; Paulsen, 2015; Pei, Chib & Ling, 2022; Soin & Huber, 2021; Symon, 2005; Wiedemann, Cunha & Clegg, 2021; Ybema & Horvers, 2017; McCabe, Ciuk, & Gilbert, 2020; Cutcher, Riach & Tyler, 2021; Ford, Ford & D'Amelio, 2008

[8] This table and categories are not meant to be exhaustive but highlight pertinent examples of different forms and practices of resistance in communication and organization studies.

Resistance situated in/ around organizations (cont.)	Alternative organizing	Cheney, Santa Cruz, Peredo & Nazareno, 2014; Daskalaki, 2017; Dorion, 2017; Paranque & Wilmott, 2014; Sutherland, Land & Böhm, 2014; Jarvis & Eddington, 2020; Marsh & Śliwa, 2022; Barros & Michaud, 2019; Courpasson, 2017; Dawson & Bencherki, 2021; Gosset & Kilker, 2006; Parker, Cheney, Fournier & Land, 2014
	Resisting against capitalism/ neoliberalism	Banerjee, Maher & Krämer, 2021; Daskalaki, 2017; Norbäck, 2021; Vakkayil, 2017; Ganesh, Zoller, & Cheney, 2005
	Resistance from clients/ customers/consumers	Barros & Michaud, 2019; Trethewey, 1997
Practices of resistance	Examples of case studies on resistance practices	Banerjee, Maher & Krämer, 2021; Boone et al., 2018; Bristow, Robinson & Ratle, 2017; Courpasson, Dany, Delbridge, 2017; Dempsey et al., 2011; Harding, Ford & Lee, 2017; Sinpeng, 2021; Wilhoit & Kisselburgh, 2019; Ybema & Horvers, 2017; Pei, Chib & Ling, 2022; McCabe, Ciuk, & Gilbert, 2020; Marsh & Śliwa, 2022; Cutcher, Riach & Tyler, 2021
	Resisting through discourse, language, and speech	Davis, 2018; Donofrio, 2020; Dutta et Pal 2010; Ganesh & Zoller, 2012; Murphy, 1998; Symon, 2005; Unuabonah & Oyebode, 2021; Wu, 2018
	Resisting through digital activities and media practices	Barros & Michaud, 2019; Courpasson, 2017; Dawson & Bencherki, 2021; George & Leidner, 2019; Gosset & Kilker, 2006; Idoiaga Mondragon et al., 2021; Jeppesen, 2021; Lee et al., 2021; Liu, 2021; Pei, Chib & Ling, 2022; Sinpeng, 2021; Unuabonah & Oyebode, 2021; Wu, 2018; Laaksonen & Porttikivi, 2021; Jarvis & Eddington, 2020
	Resisting through identity	Ashcraft, 2005; Bristow, Robinson & Ratle, 2017; Davis, 2015; Harding, Ford & Lee, 2017; Maragh-Lloyd & Crosbie-Massay, 2021; Mumby, 2005; Symon, 2005; Trethewey, 1997

Table 4: (cont.)

Resistances as organizing practices	Resisting through a collective/ community	Brekke et al., 2021; Davis, 2015; Daskalaki, 2017; Gagnon & Collinson, 2017; Prasad, 2017; Wiedemann, Cunha & Clegg, 2021
	Connecting/mobilizing through online platforms	Boone et al., 2018; Courpasson, 2017; Dey, 2020; Ganesh & Stohl, 2010; George & Leidner, 2019; Gosset & Kilker, 2006; Jeppesen, 2021; Lee et al., 2021; Sinpeng, 2021; Laaksonen & Porttikivi, 2021; Jarvis & Eddington, 2020
	Resistance as organizations' mission	Dempsey et al., 2011; Jeppesen, 2021; Marsh & Śliwa, 2022
	Resistance/social movements	Banerjee, Maher & Krämer, 2021; Dubuisson-Quellier, 2020; Ganesh, 2018; Jeppesen, 2021; Sutherland, Land & Böhm, 2014; Laaksonen & Porttikivi, 2021; Ganesh, Zoller & Cheney, 2005

For a communicative relational ontology of practices of resistances

From organization to degrees of organizationality

The communicative constitution of organization (hereafter, CCO) perspective brings attention to micro-level organizing processes by redefining both communication and organizations. First, we, CCO scholars, show 'how communication establishes relationships' more than viewing it merely as a medium (Wilhoit & Mengis, 2022). Then, we consider organizations not as fixed entities but as processes in flux, always situated in communication and made up of relations (Schoeneborn et al., 2022; Vásquez et al., 2022). Organizations are not just places where workers work, nor merely formal organizations, but processes through which many actors (humans and non-humans) enact various degrees of organizationality (Schoeneborn et al., 2022) in various settings. For example, we study volunteers engaged in walking buses in order to explore what (un)binds the different actors participating in the project (Del Fa et al., 2016), or, the dynamics of mobilizations in community and philanthropic environments (P Fortier et al., 2022).

All these settings, because of their specific contexts and stakes, differ in their degrees of organizationality, an expression that avoids 'the binary distinction between organization and non-organization with a more gradual differentiation, capturing how social collectives may temporarily exhibit higher or lower degrees of organization' (Schoeneborn et al., 2022). In order to disclose the degrees of organizationality, the focus must be put on the ways actors materialize these degrees through their practices, actions, discourses, relations, etc. As this perspective widens the horizon of organizations to include the organizing practices of various groups, we argue that recent works on what has been called a communicative relationality perspective (Cooren, 2020; Schoeneborn, Blagoeve, & Dobusch, 2022; Wilhoit & Mengis, 2022)—anchored in the CCO approach—can contribute to the study of practices of resistances.

CCO approaches have drawn on relational ontologies to state that it is through communication that organization materializes itself (Cooren, 2020). Indeed, communication is a site through which humans, other-than-humans, language, and practices enact the relations that bind entities together. Cooren recalls that communication comes from the proto-Indo-European root *ko-moin-ni* which means 'held in common' (2018, p. 283). So, CCO research shows how communication 'establishes relationships,' (Wilhoit and Mengis, 2022, p. 109), decenters the role of humans, and welcomes other actants in the communicational scene. In addition, Schoeneborn, Kuhn, and Kärreman (2019) distinguish between three main dimensions of CCO scholarship: (a) the communicative constitution of organizations (e.g., the 'noun' or 'entity' dimension), (b) organizing (the 'verb' or 'process' dimension), and (c) organizationality (the 'adjective' or 'attribute' dimension). Here we focus on the third dimension that investigates 'fluid and precarious social formations that one would not necessarily classify as organizations, but that can nevertheless be studied in terms of the degrees of organizationality that they reach' (Schoeneborn, Kuhn, & Kärreman, 2019, p. 487). The focus on *organizationality* certainly brings a fresh look to what an organization is, where it starts and where it ends by giving importance to material and spatial configurations.

Relational ontologies move past the dualistic worldview that has traditionally dominated in social sciences, arguing that humans and things are not objective entities that exist in the world, but only exist through the relations they have with other entities. A communicative relationality highlights the many ways in which these relations are constantly (re)enacted

through communication (how they are held in common). Moreover, this perspective opens critical theorizing which is 'CCO's own myopia' (Kuhn, 2021, p. 114) because CCO scholars tend to narrow the examination of powers 'to issues such as: the competencies of individual actors; the effects of organizational structures on actors; or the concentration of power in authority figures' (Kwon et al., 2009, p. 811). When it comes to questioning power within organizationality, most CCO scholars focus on authority (Bencherki et al., 2019; Benoit-Barné & Cooren, 2009; Dawson & Bencherki, 2022; Vásquez et al., 2017), considered as a continuous performance. Authority is not something that one possesses once and for all because it is legitimized through various performative discourses of speech, actions, and strategies (Vásquez et al., 2017). As Del Fa and Karrëman (2022) highlight, attention has shifted towards communication as a mode of explaining the formations and practices of power and authority that constitute the organizing process. However, this shift obliterates capitalism, for instance, which organizes the social world (ibid.). It is thus crucial to broaden our vision while still focusing on organizational micro-practices. This means never losing sight of the socio-politico-economic contexts in which organizations operate and the powers that these realities impose. For example, when we proposed to understand how alternative universities differ, we had to consider what they wanted to be different from. Meaning that this 'what' is always already present in the organizing practices of alternative organizing (Del Fa & Vásquez, 2019).

The studies of resistances in communication and CCO scholarship

Some scholars such as Wilhoit and Kisselburgh (2019), Mease (2020), Laaksonen and Porttikivi (2021), and Dawson and Bencherki (2022), have begun highlighting the many ways CCO scholarship can inform organizing processes that constitute power, social movements, and/or resistance. For instance, grounded in a relational view of resistance and by coupling Cooren's ventriloquism[9] (2013) with Bruno Latour's Actor Network Theory, Wilhoit and Kisselburgh (2019) show how resistance can be understood through the coexistence of human and non-human actors. By doing so, they overcome one of the pitfalls of the dialectical approach that neglects material

[9] With his ventriloquism metaphor, Cooren suggests that through communication human and non-human actors mobilize figures (such as authority figures, facts, events, or emotions) that act through and on them.

and symbolic dimensions of resistances. Through an empirical case study, they illustrate that resistance is accomplished relationally by human and non-human actors of all ontological statuses. By cycling to work, individuals resist 'dominant transportation discourses' (ibid., p. 874), even though they do not act with the intent to challenge power. However, Wilhoit and Kisselburg do not question the power(s) against which individuals resist while cycling to work. In line with Sanson and Courpasson (2022), to acknowledge the complexity of the phenomenon, it is important to clearly illuminate the forces that are being resisted, but also what kind of newness these resistances are producing. We are thus following works take this path such as Mease (2020) who acknowledges the centrality of power in the communicative constitution of (dis)organizing, Laaksonen and Porttikivi (2021) and Dawson and Bencherki (2022). Laaksonen and Porttikivi (2021) highlight how social media plays a key role in resistance practices in disclosing degrees of organizationality of practices of resistance. With their study of a Facebook page administrative team's private chat, they highlight 'how orchestrating public online discussions can be a powerful tool to propel networked digital activism or foster digital political expression' (Laaksonen and Porttikivi, 2021, p. 1472). Dawson and Bencherki (2022) analyze the emergence of an alternative National Park Service Twitter account that subverted a ban imposed by the Trump administration in 2017. Their CCO perspective anchored in an interactional view of authority allows us to 'understand resistance to authority not in opposition but rather as the same set of communication practices constituting different situations and begetting different actions as a result' (Dawson and Bencherki, p. 2096). By disclosing actors' dis/attributing communicative actions, the authors reveal that using social media to resist induces a level of organizationality in creating an organization 'outside the organization.'

The CCO literature cited above highlights that organizational forms and practices of resistances vary in degrees of organizationality. For instance, at first sight, a group like Extinction Rebellion seems quite 'organized' and structured, whereas a grassroots citizens' collective garden could be seen as less 'organized.' However, the reality can be more complex than that. A communicative rationality approach will allow us to question these degrees of organizationality of practices of resistances and more specifically will bring us to question what/who/whom enacts these degrees of organizationality and how they materialize themselves through strategy, discourses, talks, tools, actions, etc. In short, these various degrees also encompass degrees of

organization (e.g., grassroots collectives, transnational movements, virtual and online groups), degrees of radicality situated on a specific political spectrum (e.g., the far right, leftist, radicals, anarchists, feminists), but also degrees of the roles played by different actors. To illustrate this last point, let us take the famous slogan of the Zone to Defend (ZAD):[10] 'Nous ne défendons pas la nature, nous sommes la nature qui se défend' (*We are not defending Nature, we are Nature defending itself*). This sentence, which induces a particular posture in relation to Nature, questions the very place of humans in ecological struggles and the defense of a given territory. Through an analysis that admits a relational and communicational approach, the role of these different actors and actresses (humans, nature, animals) can be grasped. And besides, it is extremely important to understand what is at stake in ecological struggles. Moreover, this importance transfers to other types of struggles. Let us think of the defense of refugees who cross European borders: how can they be defended without always speaking *for* them? What role do the people in question play in their own defense? What is the role of the territory from which they escaped?

We thus conceive resistances as relational, communicative, and dialectical: relational in the sense that resistances encompass various hegemonic powers and beings (human and other-than-human); communicative in the sense that these practices emerge through the pooling of individuals; and dialectical in that they always resist against/through/within powers that are experienced as alienating and restrictive by many individuals. Our definition implies that we investigate the doing and the making of practices of resistances and we look into what is actually going on in this set of relational and communicational events, while at the same time acknowledging the power(s) against which these practices emerge.

Conclusion and next steps

In the context of the extreme polarization that we see today, studying the organizational degrees of the practices of resistances would make it possible to reveal the subtleties of the different positions and to avoid the compartmentalization of speeches and acts of resistances. Moreover, in the context of multiple crises (climate, social, economic, political), it is

[10] Zone to Defend or ZAD (*zone à défendre*, in French) is a neologism used to refer to a militant occupation that is intended to physically block a development project ('Zone to Defend,' 2022)

very important to scrutinize how various, contradictory, and conflictual resistances are emerging, with what purposes, tools, and to what ends. Our approach is thus timely and necessary in an unequal and unjust system that enacts various alienating and restrictive powers. Inevitably, the question of methods arises, and further reflections should be undertaken in this direction. Indeed, even if ethnographic and engaged researchers seem better suited to answer the questions asked, this methodological posture also poses several ethical challenges (Koefoed, 2017). For instance, how do we avoid harming movements by revealing their practices of resistance? One quick answer will be to make the distinction between revealing and understanding. The point of the research is not to make a 'how-to' guide of resistances but instead to understand the general traits of organizing practices and to disclose 'the contextual particularities within which the practices understood as resistance occur' (ibid., p. 34). Through that we will be able to (and we must) protect the resisters, but also protect ourselves as socially conscious academics. On our small scale, by going out in the field to understand, analyze, study, and (above all) participate, we hope to contribute to social change.

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