JOURNAL OF RESISTANCE STUDIES

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Published by Irene Publishing with support from Resistance Studies Initiative at UMassAmherst and Departement of Sociology and Work Science University of Gothenborg

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EDITORIAL

What is the core of resistance studies? To challenge conventional perspectives on resistance?

Stellan Vinthagen, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

Seven years into the successful establishment of the Journal of Resistance Studies (JRS), it seems appropriate to make some reflections on what makes 'resistance studies' its own field; an area of specialized teaching, research, debate and engagement, involving a body of texts, organized collectives and attached individuals, all focused on resistance. Or, put differently: what makes 'resistance studies' alive? Of course, this is also a theme that is clearly connected to the JRS, especially what type of texts we aim to publish. Many current submissions are of good quality but lack a sufficient resistance studies focus. Therefore, we want to take the opportunity to present our thoughts on what we see as the key priority for JRS to publish.

JRS matters for the creation of 'resistance studies'. This emergence of a field of 'resistance studies' can be facilitated by JRS in different ways. Some of it is what all journals tend to do: the publication of overview texts that describe, categorize and analyze the field and, through that process, authoritatively declaring some authors/texts as 'classics'/'canonical', thus creating the structure of the field (this is something several authors do already); making calls for papers on certain themes for the JRS that will build and expand the field and its thematic areas (something we do through thematic special issues); clarifying our editorial policies of what kind of texts we want and do not want (which we try to clarify in our communication with submitting authors, in this editorial space, and on our website); developing our base of specialized reviewers (a constant challenge since we are wildly interdisciplinary in reach, and not all of our specialized expert reviewers are equally well read within resistance studies).

What is common among all these attempts is that by undertaking this seemingly undramatic work of describing the field, that very same field is also simultaneously (re)created. The creation of a field is in a way an effect of several people engaging in and forming a specialized discourse.

When a set of people starts to point out what they see as the elements of a field, arguing about some of its elements and rules, they also create that field. If they continue doing this and more people join the discourse, with references to each other's work piling up and especially when controversies and debates evolve, many people may be drawn into intensive exchanges of opinions— perhaps even creating subgroups, competing initiatives, fractional politics, public statements for and against individuals, institutions, positions, theories and so forth. When all of this happens, the field exists and evolves. This is a fact. It is how thematic subfields within academia are continuously created and change.

However, resistance studies differs from many other fields, or rather it should differ in at least one important way. Resistance studies needs to maintain its resistance to domination also when that domination is occurring within its own field (for example, when one hegemonic definition of 'resistance' goes unchallenged), particularly when it is the academic character of that field that creates patterns of domination within it, when it should instead be accessible to a broad range of actors concerned with the problems of domination.

How then can we do this differently, seeking to avoid a normalization and institutionalization that make fields into new arenas of power struggles, creations of hierarchies, established '"truths' and discourse rules, rigid positions to defend? Many of us have a background in Peace Studies and have seen how, at many institutions, that field has been 'streamlined' and taken over by more established fields, such as Political Science and Sociology. Thus, the problem is that some people have managed to establish themselves as a new power hub within the university system. To us this would mark a failure of resistance studies, regardless of whether there are clear advantages to becoming established as an academic field.

We at JRS are attempting to do this differently, by facilitating the emergence of resistance studies in a way that focuses on its core, not its institutionalization. We are not aiming to police the borders or gate-keep entry to the field. Quite the opposite. Instead, we are trying to suggest what makes up the necessary desires, engines and forces within the field that makes it able to move. By understanding more about what makes a field appear in the way it does—in this period of history, among certain people—we hope to nurture its constant emergence.

Rather than protecting, institutionalizing and policing what exists, we need to develop its core and let it evolve and branch out in different directions. Rather than declaring an Orthodoxy, we need to defend the practice of being Heterodox within contemporary academic, political discourses. Rather than patting each other's backs in self-congratulatory tributes to all that we have achieved, we need to get uncomfortable together and disturb the academia that serves the militarized 'peace' and the legalized exploitation of working people, that legitimizes the creation of injustice related to the 'nation state and the existing racist, heteronormative, patriarchal and imperialist world order. We do not need yet another discipline, with new departments, positions and budgets (and all the regulations, policies, criteria, hierarchies, and interests that come with that), if the price we pay is the loss of our critical emergence as a field and involvement in resistance movements. Instead, we want to understand what makes some academics, activists, authors or other (more or less organic) intellectuals move in the direction of critically studying resistance, inside and outside of academia.

Then, what makes a text into one that belongs within 'resistance studies'? Ideally, we think the will to understand resistance (and its relations to power and social change) can arise from lived painful self-experience of—or alternatively, an empathic understanding arising from observing others struggling with—the difficulties for oppressed groups to achieve liberation from domination, violence, exploitation and marginalization.

However, the reality is that such a will to understand can only be sustained if persons have the time, skills, resources and training that enable years of collecting and processing data, literature, available theories and debates. That might be possible for many people with their own experiences from struggles, afterwards, or in periods of reflection. Movements have always had their own 'organic intellectuals' or authors that reflect on the lessons learned, offering a debate and political education within their collectives. Even if individuals can have such experiences and contribute constructively to the development of resistance studies, we see the value of building networks of people who together can develop the field through discussions, disagreements, confrontations and cooperation and by supporting each other.

Thus, few of these written accounts will be viewed as going beyond the personal memories, perspectives or ideologies associated with the movement they came from. The status of presenting 'knowledge', 'social

science' or 'authoritative' accounts is often reserved for professionals, usually as investigative journalists or academics. For those that have the status, salary and training as an academic (or journalist), with the willingness to write on resistance, it might work out well. However, that is a hindrance for non-professional authors. Therefore, a problem might arise of 'professional' dominance over the field. Accordingly, the protection of the author's identity from the reviewer during the 'blind' peer review process is a very important principle—albeit only if the editors invite non-professionals to also have their texts reviewed, an invitation which we feel honored to extend.

The core of a 'resistance studies' text is not its specific style of academic discourse, references or structure. Rather it is a matter of showing an authentic engagement with the fundamental problem: How can we better understand 'resistance' and its relations to power and social change (in this case)? Moreover, such a text needs to relate to and engage with what others have said before on a similar theme/case. Thus, the core of a 'resistance studies' text is to both discuss 'resistance' in relation to power and social change, and discuss how it relates to what others have claimed already.

While this seems straightforward to suggest, what does that mean in terms of actual texts? How are such texts different from others? That is hard to say, although we are not thinking it needs to be formalized. Instead, we would suggest that the JRS needs to open up itself for such critical discussions. The JRS needs to be self-reflective in trying to understand what makes a text into a text within (or outside of) 'resistance studies'. If that is not critically discussed, we are in trouble.

Therefore, the JRS would love to receive texts expanding on a discussion related to this area: self-reflective texts that take a look at our/authors/JRS'/etc. positionality within academia, society, and the world. We need critical mappings of the field, what it contains and particularly what kind of silences that exist, and why. We need innovative interpretations of what 'resistance' can be in different contexts, in addition to how such 'resistance' becomes different to other more conventional understandings. Furthermore, we need visionary pieces outlining how we can avoid becoming yet another institutionalized, tired and comfortable non-radical discipline, instead identifying how we can as a field become integrated within revolutionary movements, making the JRS and, more importantly, 'resistance studies' as a field, a part of real, radical change against all kinds of unjust relations of dominance, exploitation and violence.

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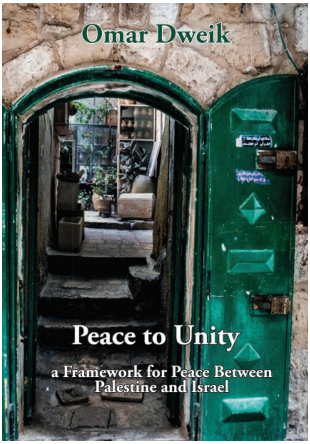

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Rural Women in the Balkh and Herat Provinces of Afghanistan Simultaneous Resistance to, and Reproduction of, Patriarchal Power Structures

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Abstract

This article will examine how rural Afghan women employ practices of everyday resistance as a means of challenging extremely patriarchal power structures and male domination in Afghanistan. The research presented illustrates how rural women simultaneously support and reproduce patriarchal societal structures and values through quiet encroachment of public spaces and the labour market as well as conscious adherence to certain patriarchal norms.

Through a qualitative research method consisting of eleven focus groups with 130 rural women from four districts, across two provinces in Afghanistan, a structurationist approach is employed in order to fully account for the interaction and interrelationship between dominant, male-privileging structures of power and rural women's agency. Significantly, these women, through the intentions behind their practices of everyday resistance and encroachment upon public spaces, demonstrate that they do not wish to eradicate patriarchy, but rather to transform it into a more benign structure of power which conforms to the women's interpretation of Islam. This is a construction of Islam which accommodates women as individuals with agency and ability, enabling them to take advantage of independent mobility, provide for their families, and send their children (sons and daughters) to school.

Thus, these women deliberately engage in everyday resistance to extreme manifestations of patriarchy, but simultaneously consciously adhere to, and subtly advocate for, more benevolent patriarchal social norms.

Introduction

This article draws on qualitative data generated through eleven focus groups conducted with 130 rural Afghan women, in order to examine the perceptions, objectives and behaviours of these women as they seek to define and obtain their rights in a way which is congruent with their construction of Islam. Though their primary objective is not to abolish or undermine patriarchal power structures, the rural women who participated in this research do employ practices of everyday resistance as a means of challenging extremely patriarchal manifestations of domination and power, particularly when such behaviour contradicts their conception of Islam, or prevents women from enjoying their rights as outlined within the Quran. The resulting behavioural dynamic among rural women is a complex web of sometimes contradictory motivations, values, and obligations expressed as everyday resistance to extreme patriarchy,[1] but simultaneous support for, and perpetuation of, patriarchal societal structures and values through quiet encroachment of public spaces and the labour market.

After a brief overview of research strategy and methodology, James Scott's theory of everyday resistance[2] will be examined in terms of its analysis of resistance and power, as a means of illustrating the resonance of this theoretical framework for the socio-political situation of rural Afghan women. The integral nature of intention within the theory of everyday resistance provides the opportunity to reflect upon the experiences and motivations of rural Afghan women, particularly in the transition from the

[1] Throughout this article, 'extreme patriarchy' will be used in reference to the prevailing androcentric power dynamics that govern rural Afghanistan through reliance upon a socially constructed gender hierarchy, and which are characterized by: exclusion of women from all decision-making processes; normative expectation that women will adhere to the decisions and desires of men without challenge; sanctioning of violence against women for any perceived transgressions of these expectations; confinement of women to the home and other restrictions on her freedom of movement imposed by men; a socially constructed belief that women are lacking in ability and potential to perform roles external to the domestic sphere, and the positioning of women as bearers of family honour.

[2] See Scott J, (1985), Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance, Yale University Press; and Scott J, (1990), Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts, Yale University Press.

private to the public spheres as arenas for resistance. The lack of intention to resist in the public arena necessitates an exploration of Asef Bayat's theory of the quiet encroachment of 'non-movements',[3] which will be explored in comparison to both the everyday resistance framework and the rural Afghan context, in order to distinguish between the two theories and clarify when their mutually exclusive spheres best apply.

Both Scott and Bayat's analytical frameworks will be positioned within, and interrogated by, post-colonial feminist writings on Muslim women and Muslim women's resistance by Lila Abu-Lughod,[4] Saba Mahmood[5] and Anila Daulatzai,[6] as they point to the necessity of shedding the western-imperialist gaze and being open to the values and experiences of Muslim women as they articulate them themselves.

Moving on from the background literature, parameters of resistance will be identified as a means of better understanding both the institutions of repression and the intentions behind the acts of resistance, with a duality being presented to exemplify how the structural and the personal interact to form parameters of resistance through an omnipresent threat of violent retribution for dissent, combined with a conscious effort to conform to the behavioural standards these women set for themselves in accordance with their patriarchal interpretation of Islam. Women simultaneously resist what they perceive to be un-Islamic behaviour sanctioned by extreme patriarchy, whilst making a conscious decision to conform to patriarchal religious and social standards. Despite this conscious effort to adhere to certain patriarchal standards while resisting others, data will be presented that shows how in engaging in hidden transcripts the women are consciously resisting individual males within their families, but also unconsciously resisting societal and

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[3] See Bayat A, (2013), Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East (2nd ed), Stanford University Press.

[4] Abu-Lughod L, (2002), Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and its Others, *American Anthropologist,* 104 (3), pp783 – 790.

[5] Mahmood S, (2005), The Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject, Princeton University Press; and (2006), Feminist Theory, Agency and the Liberatory Subject: Some Reflections on the Islamic Revival in Egypt, *The Finnish Society for the Study of Religion: Temenos,* 42 (1), pp31 – 71.

[6] Daulatzai A, (2008), The Discursive Occupation of Afghanistan, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* 35 (3), pp419 – 435.

patriarchal norms which dictate that what happens in the home should stay in the home.

Following a discussion on the evident parameters of resistance, this article analyses forms of everyday resistance that rural Afghan women deploy against immediate manifestations of male power sanctioned by extreme patriarchy in the private sphere. Types of resistance identifiable throughout this research are:

- False deference;
- Calculated Compliance;
- Deliberate maintenance of a calm veneer in the face of hostility;
- Subversive forms of childrearing;
- Hidden transcripts, such as: grumbling and moaning, making jokes and derogatory comments about husbands and other males in positions of power.

After examining the private sphere, represented by the home and women-only spaces as an arena of resistance, the site of rural women's agency will be relocated to the public sphere, with a corresponding shift in intention for the research participants. In analysing rural women's non-movement for increasing acceptance of their access to public space as a means through which to generate an income, this section will investigate how, once having gained permission to utilize the public arena, rural women view their battle as won, and will switch to supporting and reproducing patriarchal structures of community governance provided they are benign. Though the women do not intend their encroachment upon public space to be an act of resistance, their actions are nevertheless resulting in unplanned structural change, as social norms are shifting and communities are becoming more accommodating towards women, driven initially by poverty maybe, but then becoming more overtly supportive.

Research Strategy

This research examines the conditions and constraints that existing dominant patriarchal power structures place on the Afghan women who seek to challenge them, but who also maintain and reproduce these patriarchal structures through their ingrained behaviours and expressions of agency. This relationship between power and subject, rather than being static, is fluid and dynamic, being continually pushed, transformed, remoulded and reinforced

by both sides. The structurationist ontological stance of Anthony Giddens[7] is therefore employed, as it permits approaching this research through the dual lenses of structure and agency as intimately interrelated, and thus of equal importance in the dynamic relationship between patriarchy, resistance, conformity and reproduction.

Gidden's approach and its move away from a purely structural or agency-based theory, also permits a departure from the traditional androcentric nature of resistance studies. Robin Thomas and Annette Davies explain that in moving away from strictly Marxist theories of resistance, we create room for 'a more adequate theorizing of the self, to appreciate the complexities and nuances of resistance at the level of the individual, and different motivations of individuals to resist'.[8] In researching modes of resistance deployed by rural Afghan women to extreme patriarchy in its many manifestations, this flexibility of recognition and theorizing is essential. Furthermore, Giddens' epistemological framework is particularly adept at combining the theoretical with the empirical, which is particularly relevant for the field of gender; as Heike Kahlert points out, studies performed by scholars of women's or gender studies are often exclusively action-based or structural, and thus 'not able to analyse the simultaneity of stability and change in social practices […] they investigate only 'subjective' aspects or 'objective' conditions.'[9] The constant and simultaneous challenging of, conforming to, and compromising with extreme patriarchal power performed by rural Afghan women demands a structurationist approach, in order to accommodate the interrelated and fluid nature of power structure and agency.

Methodology

Qualitative data was generated through focus groups in which standardized questions were asked, with the responses being used as a platform for ad hoc further questions seeking to elicit elaboration. The problematic security situation in Afghanistan meant that Injil and Herat districts (in Herat

[7] See Giddens A, (1984), The Constitution of Society, University of California Press.

[8] Thomas R, and Davies, A, (2005), What Have the Feminists Done for Us? Feminist Theory and Organizational Resistance, *Organization,* 12 (5), p712.

[9] Kahlert H, (2012), The Simultaneity of Stability and Change in Gender Relations – Contributions from Giddens' Structuration Theory, *Studia Humanistyczne,* 11(2), p57-60.

Province), and Balkh and Mazar-i-Sharif districts (in Balkh province), were the only geographic locations secure enough to conduct research in rural areas. However, the insecure nature of these areas meant that spending more than a few hours in each women-only space was impossible. For this reason, focus groups were the only method of inter-personal data generation I was able to employ. Despite the fact that reliance on focus groups without semi-structured interviews with individuals to supplement them is far from the ideal research scenario, focus group participants nevertheless provided a wealth and depth of conversation that surprised me, as did their openness in talking about very private matters. A total of 130 rural women between the ages of eighteen to sixty years old participated in eleven focus groups, which were conducted throughout the four districts mentioned above.

Access to rural women, who in extremely conservative communities often live the majority of their lives behind closed doors, was secured through a foreign development organization. This NGO kindly facilitated my research by providing me with access to rural women beneficiaries of their economic empowerment programmes, whilst simultaneously permitting me to take advantage of their security apparatus. It is important to note therefore, that the participant sample is not necessarily representative of rural Afghan women, either as a generic group or within the districts that we conducted focus groups, due to the very fact that they were participating in vocational-training programmes and had therefore secured permission to leave their homes. As the focus group participants illustrated however, it was usually the men in their families rather than the women themselves who decided whether or not they could leave the home in order to participate in vocational training provided by the NGO, so at least a certain degree of reflectivity of other rural women likely does exist. Until relatively recently, when research participants had begun vocational training, the majority had spent their entire lives confined to their homes; the exception being women from farming communities, who often worked the fields alongside the men, but whose movement was still policed at a community level.

In addition, while reliance on NGO beneficiaries as research participants was necessary due to them being the only rural women we could access without compromising the safety of the participants, translators or myself, this sampling method inherently poses the danger of bias in so much as the participants may have been telling us what they thought we wanted to hear, or what they may have thought would secure increased services or resources in the future. The only means of mitigating this was to provide a

clear explanation of the research, combined with an explanation of how it is completely independent of the NGO prior to focus groups commencing. Within the groups of women I had access to, I employed a system of stratified sampling in terms of age (eighteen to sixty years old), background (married, widow, unmarried), and ethnicity as far as possible, to ensure a breadth of experience and perspective during focus group discussions.

Translators were sourced from the foreign NGO, and were both fluent in Pashto and English, with one also being fluent in Dari. Pashto and Dari are the national languages of Afghanistan, and all research participants were comfortable communicating in these languages. Both translators were briefed on the nature of the research, but also on interview skills and research ethics before focus groups were conducted. Importantly, the rural women participating in this research did not know either translator, and prior to each focus group commencing, they were reassured of the fact that the translator present was from Kabul rather than their community. Research participants were assured they would remain anonymous, with no names of participants or villages being recorded. Furthermore, regional staff, and NGO staff the research participants regularly interacted with, were asked to leave the room while focus groups were taking place, in order to ensure confidentiality within the community. This measure also contributed towards participants feeling comfortable enough to express themselves freely. Focus groups were all conducted in women-only spaces.

Before each focus group was conducted, myself and the translator present took the time to explain who I was, who the translator was, and the purpose of the focus group discussion along with details regarding anonymity. Moreover, it was made explicit that participation in this research was voluntary, with the women being reassured that there would be no negative reprisals if they chose not to take part. It was also made clear that if the women did not feel comfortable answering a question, they did not have to engage, and we could just move on to the next question instead. Finally, my dictaphone was also introduced to the group, with the women being asked for permission for me to use it. Several women were concerned that it would film them, but upon having it explained that the dictaphone would record their voice only, all participants stated that they were happy for it to be used. This was a positive outcome, enabling me to more actively participate in discussions, while also allowing for more time to transcribe recordings back in Kabul.

After leaving Afghanistan I was able to embark upon data analysis. This analysis was conducted by coding the transcripts according to key concepts within questions and corresponding key phrases within the responses of the women. These codes were then entered into a spreadsheet accordingly, which enabled me to identify patterns within the data as well as any anomalies.

Empirical Context

The American invasion of Afghanistan and subsequent removal of Taliban from official governance took place in 2001. However, despite the official overthrow of the Taliban, extreme male domination (both elite and local) of the lives of rural Afghan women continues.[10] Additionally, eighteen years after the U.S invasion, in many areas of Afghanistan poverty levels remain extremely high, physical violence against women is widespread, and harmful cultural practices towards women persist, combining to make the country the world's second most dangerous for women.[11]

The barriers rural Afghan women currently face in fulfilling their potential are multifaceted. Decades of conflict have torn the country and the economy apart, fracturing social cohesion and increasing the vulnerability of women. It is estimated that seventy per cent of Afghans require psychological support[12] as a result of ongoing conflict and extreme poverty, and many women in rural areas are still prevented from accessing education or other public services. However, women are primary carers for entire families, and throughout this research they demonstrated that they were keenly aware of the problems facing their families and communities.

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[10] See Barr H, (May 30th 2018), Human Rights Watch: Dispatches online; Barr H, (11th December 2013), In Afghanistan, Women Betrayed, *International New York Times;* Safi S, (July 1st 2018), Why Female Suicide in Afghanistan is so Prevalent, *BBC News* online; and UN Women, (December 2013), Afghan Women Oral History 1978 – 2008, *UN Women Afghanistan Country Office*.

[11] (2018), Thomson Reuters Foundation. http://poll2018.trust.org

[12] Glinski S, (July 2nd 2019), Hidden Suffering: Afghanistan's Widespread Mental Health Crisis, The National online. https://www.thenational.ae/world/asia/hidden-suffering-afghanistan-s-widespread-mental-health-crisis-881672?fbclid=IwAR14K4cQDa9XJ5Geu0WKE-BTo1D6khHzQNnR8BWvL0aGMysW8f_gR7DkCOc

Academic Context: Everyday Resistance and Quiet Encroachment

The extremely unbalanced male-centric power dynamics, deep-rooted physical insecurity and dire socio-economic circumstances which shape the lives of most rural Afghan women, necessitates a theoretical framework that recognises hidden intentions and behaviours as poignant, and which accounts for exploitative structural factors in analysing behaviours. James Scott's theory of everyday resistance is the most resonant framework with which to approach this research into rural Afghan women's resistance practices, due to the fact that it recognizes that poverty often equates invisibility[13] and that everyday forms of resistance 'reflect the conditions and restraints in which they are generated.'[14]

Throughout his academic career, Scott has given much consideration to the power interplay that exists between the dominant and the subordinate; the public transcript of how the two groups interact in front of an audience, compared with manifestations of resistance expressed by the subordinate group when the dominant, or oppressive group is not present. Drawing upon his observations regarding the meaning subordinate groups invest within discreet behavioural practices, Scott defines everyday resistance as:

> The ordinary weapons of relatively powerless groups: foot dragging, dissimilation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander… and so forth…They require little or no coordination or planning; they often represent an individual form of self-help; and they typically avoid any direct symbolic confrontation with authority or with elite norms.[15]

Scott later built upon this initial understanding of everyday resistance by developing his concept of 'hidden transcripts'; a 'risk-averse use of language by the powerless',[16] most notably taking the form of gossip, song, grumbling, storytelling and what many Afghan women refer to as 'backbiting' – saying negative things about the dominant power, or those which this dominant power structure privileges over them. Scott points to how the hidden nature of these forms of resistance represents a survival mechanism, arguing that

[13] Scott J, (1985), p12 – 13.

[14] Ibid, p242.

[15] Ibid, p29.

[16] Scott J, (1990), p30.

the greater 'the disparity in power [and…] the more menacing the power, the thicker the mask'[17] behind which the subordinate's true consciousness and intentions lie.

Supporting Scott's argument against the privileging of visible, political action, Anila Daulatzai presents a feminist justification for recognising the invisible and discreet. She states that:

> The mapping of a feminist political consciousness over the everyday concerns of [rural women] sets up a dichotomy between the oppressed, voiceless women on one side, and the heroic autonomous figure on the other […] the exclusive celebration of only certain forms of resistance ultimately discounts the everyday struggles of Afghan women in general, and represents a misreading of the complex forms of agency they enact.[18]

Integral to Scott's theory, and perhaps the aspect which has cast him most at odds with scholars such as Matthew Gutmann,[19] is his argument that the intentions behind the behaviours and actions should be used to define which actions constitute resistance, rather than an analysis of the consequences of those actions. This is what makes the everyday resistance framework so valuable to academic fields such as peasant, subaltern, resistance, feminist and minority studies; actions that seem too small to be considered significant by other resistance-based theories, such as contentious politics, are recognised as salient by the everyday resistance framework. However, if the intention behind an action is not driven by a desire to resist, that action cannot be categorized as everyday resistance, no matter the depth of structural change that results.

The significance of *intention* (or lack thereof) to resist as criteria for recognition of everyday resistance is integral to identifying rural Afghan women's behaviour as such. Throughout this research it became clear that the women oscillate between intending to challenge patriarchal structures and navigating them in a completely non-ideological fashion, depending upon the arena (private or public) and the social norms the women wish to either

[17] Ibid, p3.

[18] Daulatzai A, (2008), The Discursive Occupation of Afghanistan, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* 35 (3), p431.

[19] Gutmann M, (1993), Rituals of Resistance: A Critique of the Theory of Everyday Forms of Resistance, *Latin American Perspectives,* 20 (2), pp74 – 92, 95 – 96.

challenge or support. Thus, when transitioning from the private domain to the public domain, the relevant theoretical framework switches from Scott's theory of everyday resistance to Asef Bayat's theory of quiet encroachment,[20] in order to best reflect the women's intentions.

Bayat addresses the conundrum posed by the everyday resistance framework thus: if consciousness is the decisive factor as to whether an act constitutes resistance regardless of the consequences, what then, should we call actions driven by necessity rather than conscious resistance which nevertheless result in favourable structural change of some kind? In answering this complication, Bayat develops the concept of 'quiet encroachment': 'the silent, protracted, but pervasive advancement of the ordinary people on the propertied, powerful or the public, in order to survive or improve their lives.' He continues on to explain that 'while quiet encroachment cannot be considered a 'social movement' as such, it is also distinct from survival strategies or 'everyday resistance."[21]

In recognition of the fact that quiet encroachment does not represent the deliberate actions of a social movement, Bayat coined the term 'non-movement' to describe a scenario whereby 'the collective actions of non-collective actors tend to be action-orientated rather than ideologically driven; they are overwhelmingly quiet, rather than audible, since the claims are made largely individually rather than by united groups.' Furthermore, in non-movements, 'actors directly practice what they claim, despite government sanctions. Thus theirs is not a politics of protest, but of practice.'[22] These non-movements are distinct from performative everyday life because the actions carried out by individuals engaging in such non-movements are contentious; 'they subvert governing norms and laws and infringe on power, property and public.'[23] Public space, the labour market and land for housing is typically quietly encroached upon, but in such a way as to shift the prevailing power dynamic just enough to accommodate the changes that have been made, making them durable for the long-term.

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[20] Bayat A, (2013), Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East (2nd ed), Stanford University Press; and Bayat A, (1997), Un-civil Society: The Politics of the 'Informal People', *Third World Quarterly,* 18 (1), pp53 – 72.

[21] (2013), p46.

[22] Ibid, p20.

[23] Ibid, p21.

In the case of rural Afghanistan, women are often so marginalised that in many villages their access to public space is minimal, if not non-existent, which has a concurrently detrimental effect on their ability to generate an income, gain an education, socialise with other women, or exercise any kind of autonomy. We must bear this in mind in turning to the work of Richard Ballard, who describes the politics of non-movements in such a way as to demonstrate their resonance with rural Afghan women perfectly: 'people trespass onto spaces on which they are not 'allowed' […] and in doing so, appropriate the very soil [of those spaces].' They challenge established assumptions and as a result of these reconfigured power relations, 'individuals can 'step out' of the futures expected for them',[24] as mundane practices carried out by the many consequentially shift social norms. This claiming of public space, and subsequent legitimization of women as public actors, is a phenomenon that will be evidenced shortly.

Though neither Scott nor Bayat focus exclusively on gender, their theoretical frameworks are extremely adaptable and easily applied to societal and domestic power dynamics characterized (as they are in Afghanistan) as being extremely patriarchal. By way of demonstrating this adaptability, Scott stresses that whilst his theory of everyday resistance cannot be applied uniformly to all scenarios of power distribution, there are certain structures of domination to which everyday resistance theory can always be applied successfully:

> These forms of domination are institutionalised […] they embody formal assumptions about superiority and inferiority often in elaborate ideological form, and a fair degree of ritual 'etiquette' regulates public conduct within them. In principle at least, status in these systems of domination is ascribed by birth, mobility is virtually nil, and subordinate groups are granted few, if any political or civil rights […] Thus these forms of domination are infused by an element of personal terror that may take the form of arbitrary beatings, sexual violations and other insults and humiliations.[25]

This description of domination perfectly illustrates the prevailing means of control that men routinely exercise over women in Afghanistan. The

[24] Scott J, (2015), Geographies of Development III: Militancy, Insurgency, Encroachment and Development by the Poor, *Progress in Human Geography,* 39 (2), p219-220.

[25] Scott J, (1990), p21.

resonance of everyday resistance with patriarchal forms of domination perhaps explains why so many feminist academics have employed Scott's theory in their research.[26]

One of the defining features of both Scott and Bayat's theories is the recognition that through focusing on seemingly insignificant and non-confrontational acts, we can recognise what is so often overlooked in academic writing associated with the fields of politics, conflict and resistance studies. This is particularly evident regarding the resistance practices of Muslim women, which, Bayat recognises, often go unrecognised within Western academia.[27]

Postcolonial Feminist Theory

Before presenting the results of this research, a brief overview of the final, yet important facet of the reviewed literature is required. Due to the focus of this research being marginalized women, complimented by the interweaving of Islam as a theme throughout, combined with the politicization of the status of Afghan women by U.S Coalition forces, this research was heavily influenced by postcolonial feminist theory.

Anila Daulatzai,[28] Saba Mahmood,[29] Lila Abu-Lughod[30] and Christine Jacobsen[31] all agree that there is a fundamental problem, characterized by cultural imperialism, in the way in which feminist scholars often approach Muslim women as research subjects, thus creating an adversarial relationship between feminism and Islam. Mahmood argues that feminist scholarship often only recognises resistance and agency when they conform to 'norms of secular-liberal feminism and the liberatory telos', and in which 'the conceptualization of agency [is restricted] to acts that further the moral

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[26] See for example: Slymovics S, (2014), *Journal of Arabic Literature,* (45), pp145 – 168; Abdmolaei S, (2014), *Anthropology of the Middle East,* 9 (2), pp38-55; Wells J, (2003), *Feminist Review,* 75, pp101 – 117.

[27] Bayat A, (2013), p5.

[28] (2008), pp419-435.

[29] (2006), Feminist Theory, Agency and the Liberatory Subject: Some Reflections on the Islamic Revival in Egypt, *The Finnish Society for the Study of Religion: Temenos,* 42 (1), p31-71.

[30] (2002), Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and its Others, *American Anthropologist,* 104 (3), pp783-790.

[31] (2011), Troublesome Threesome: Feminist Anthropology and Muslim Women's Piety, *Feminist Review,* pp65-82.

autonomy of the individual in the face of power.'[32] She continues on to explain that the prevailing model of agency:

> That seeks to locate the political and moral autonomy of the subject in the face of power […] sharply limits our ability to understand and interrogate the lives of women whose sense of self, aspirations and projects have been shaped by non-liberal traditions.[33]

An integral feature of the cultural imperialism imposed upon Afghanistan is the failure of western feminism to adequately grasp religious piety in its complexity, given the fact that western feminism is informed by the principles of autonomy and freedom.[34] The repercussions of this failure to comprehend the complex nature of piety and agency in Afghanistan continues to hinder successful development and peacebuilding, as international actors seek to transform Afghan society and shape it in the mirror image of the west. The consciousness and moral arithmetic which motivates the everyday resistance practices of the rural Afghan women who participated in this research demonstrates that a mirror image of the West is not what they desire at all.

This article seeks to demonstrate that rural Afghan women are keenly aware of their shared priorities, those aspects of social phenomena they support, or willingly adhere to, those they wish to challenge and change, and importantly, how to affect change in such a way as to develop more socially cohesive communities which represent the women's interpretation of their faith. In prioritizing the collective over the individual and positioning their interpretation of Islam as a framework for guidance in both the public and private sphere, it is evident that rural women have the understanding and agency to reimagine their own future and affect positive change. Yet time and again rural communities, and rural women in particular, are ignored by policy makers and development charities, distilled to the falsified generic image of passive victim.

Resisting vs Challenging

Before examining the resistance practices of rural women, it is important to note that the focus group participants did not initially recognise their

[32] (2006), p31.

[33] Ibid, p33.

[34] Jacobsen C, (2011), p70.

behaviour as resistance, due to their conception of resistance as visible, organized and collective; the opposite of the discreet individual acts these women employed. Further, they were uncomfortable with the word 'resistance', perceiving it as implying behaviour they deemed to be un-Islamic; for example by overtly challenging their husbands' authority and subverting the gender roles formulated by their perception of Islam as well as their culture and traditions.

When discussing the 2018 protests in Jalalabad,[35] a city in Nangahar province, during which several women took to the streets to protest against the ongoing conflict between the Afghan government and the Taliban, the research participants unanimously agreed that women-led collective action is contrary to social and cultural norms. However, there was a sense of ambiguity regarding whether or not such behaviour should be considered contrary to Islamic principles. During these discussions, impending violence and negative community reprisal remained at the forefront of the women's minds, as one participant in Herat explained:

> [Rural] women are too scared to protest in the streets. They are fearful that the community and male relatives will treat them badly if they do this, or say bad things to them. For this reason we wouldn't dare to do this.[36]

Though women-led protests remain very rare in Afghanistan, they can be seen to symbolize the dichotomy between urban and rural women in terms of societal tolerance of women engaging in contentious politics in public, but also in terms of what women themselves perceive as acceptable behaviour.

After discussing the word that they would choose to describe how they react to power and behaviours they don't like, or deem to be un-Islamic, the women preferred to refer to their behavioural practices as 'challenge' rather than resistance. In keeping with the linguistic preference of research participants, the word 'challenge' will therefore be used hereon instead of 'resistance'. The distinction between discreet forms of intentional acts of everyday resistance and overt forms of more confrontational resistance should be remembered here. Due to the latter being unrecognised by rural

[35] Shaheed A, (14th June 2018), Nangahar Women March in Support of Ceasefire, *TOLO News*, https://www.tolonews.com/afghanistan/nangarhar-women-march-support-ceasefire

[36] Focus group conducted on 26th February 2019.

Afghan women as part of their arsenal or behaviours and actions, 'challenge' is interchangeable with 'everyday resistance' only.

Parameters of Resistance

In the case of rural Afghanistan, conflict and insecurity restrict arenas for women's resistance by rendering certain conflict-affected public places unsafe. The male narrative, however, seizes upon this insecurity as a means through which to control women by confining them to the home or their immediate neighbourhood, purportedly for their own safety. As will shortly become evident however, whilst security issues are legitimate concerns, men often exaggerate the danger posed to women by their own communities in order to dissuade them from leaving the home, enabling men to retain absolute control over them. This dominant controlling male narrative is a manifestation of the extremely patriarchal structure of informal governance which exists throughout rural Afghan communities, which are often far removed from Kabul and the Afghan government's women's empowerment policies.[37]

Rural Afghan women are governed by an intimately personified manifestation of power. This is particularly the case within the home, where through this power, they are subordinated to immediate male family members, before being subordinated to men in their wider community.[38] The women who participated in this research engage in everyday resistance practices which are constricted by the omnipresent threat of physical violence, but also oppressive, gendered cultural and social norms. These norms administer strict gender roles, impose judgements upon a woman's (and by extension her family's) honour if she breaches them, and almost entirely eliminate public spaces as a venue in which rural women can deliberately challenge power structures.[39] By way of illustrating this, women in Injil district explained

[37] See the Afghan government's 2007 – 2017 National Action Plan for Women in Afghanistan (NAPWA), extwprlegs1.fao.org/docs/pdf/afg149120.pdf; and Afghanistan's National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 – Women, Peace and Security, 2015 – 2022, https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Afghanistans%20National%20Action%20Plan.pdf

[38] Manjoo R, (2015), Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women it's causes and consequences, (A/HRc/29/27/Add.3).

[39] See Amnesty International: Women's Rights in Afghanistan: https://www.amnesty.org.uk/issues/womens-rights-afghanistan;

the difference that attending vocational classes had made to their lives. One explained that before, 'I was like a prisoner in my home', while a second described how the community polices women's behaviour: 'people used to back-bite [talk about us negatively] if they saw us walking; they would ask us why we were on the street.'[40] It is clear that the women find community behaviour towards them in public spaces extremely intimidating, with possible violence against them either within the community or within the home an ever-present associated threat for infractions of social norms.

In addition to male-privileging narratives of danger, absolute male control of both public and private space, and the ever-present threat of physical violence, children represent a further parameter of resistance. Research participants explained how they often consciously strive to tolerate the bad treatment meted out to them by husbands, as a deliberate strategy through which to protect their children from witnessing domestic violence and experiencing a negative atmosphere within the home.[41] Therefore, rural women make a conscious decision not to employ challenging behaviours which endanger either the physical or psychological wellbeing of their children.

Throughout the course of the focus group discussions, it became clear that the national-level Afghan government strategies and policies for empowering women were either unheard of, or considered irrelevant, and viewed as a waste of time. The women are uninterested in legislation and policy frameworks, viewing Islam as the only guidance their communities required. Incidentally, some research participants support the Afghan government, whereas others support the Taliban. When discussing women's rights and empowerment, a participant in Mazar-i-Sharif explained 'Islam supports women's empowerment so it's very important [to define empowerment in accordance with Islamic principles]. Before Islam, people believed that women had no value, when Islam came it gave rights to women and made men and women equal.'[42] Islam is omnipresent in women's thought processes

Safi S, (1st July 2018), Why Female Suicide in Afghanistan is so Prevalent, BBC, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-44370711

[40] Focus group conducted on 27th February 2019.

[41] Focus groups conducted in Injil and Herat districts between 25th – 27th February and Balkh and Mazar-i-Sharif districts between 2nd – 4th April 2019.

[42] Focus group conducted on 2nd April 2019.

and expressions of discontent as they manifest into challenging behaviour. It provides the framework through which behaviours displayed by men (or manifested as patriarchal norms) are deemed to be illegitimate or unfair, and therefore justifiable resisted, or compliant with Islam and therefore to be respected. Each focus group was asked the question: 'what do you like about being an Afghan woman?' The unanimous responses were always varying forms of 'I'm happy to be Muslim',[43] or 'Islam is very important to us, we are Muslim and we are proud to be Muslim.'[44]

Interestingly, the majority of research participants were illiterate and so were reliant on others to read the Quran for them. Yet despite this, the majority of the women asserted that the dominant power structure and its brutally oppressive treatment of women is contrary to the teachings of the Quran and the protection that it affords women. The likely explanation for the disjuncture between Quranic and religious interpretation on the parts of the dominant (males) and subordinate (females) is that as part of community sensitization to the concept of women's empowerment programmes, the foreign NGO of which the research participants were beneficiaries employs community organizers to discuss women and Islam with the dominant males of a community. Once the community accepts the establishment of women's vocational training, the women are also taught about Islam and women's rights within it. While the men may not recognise a more gender-sympathetic understanding of Islam as immediately advantageous, the women obviously do, and so likely absorb what they have learned.

Focus group participants were clear that they will not engage in behaviour which contradicts their duties as identified through their interpretation of Islam, thereby positing Islam as the final parameter of resistance. The rural women who participated in this research perceive Islam as a much less oppressive structure of social governance than prevailing cultural norms, and therefore view it as supportive of women's challenging behaviour, but only so long as such behaviour doesn't challenge the role of the male as an authority figure. Thus, the majority of rural Afghan women who participated in this research support and hope for a form of imagined, or constructed, benign patriarchy, as distinguishable from the extreme patriarchy which currently prevails in rural Afghanistan. The latter, they believe, misinterprets Islam and imposes what the women perceive as unfair restrictions whilst simultaneously sanctioning violence against them.

[43] A comment repeated in multiple focus groups.

[44] Ibid.

Challenging Patriarchy in the Home

When discussing whether women challenge things that men ask them to do, the ways in which men behave, or male power, all of the women bar one stated that they do challenge such things. One young woman in Balkh district, who at the time of the focus group was unmarried, was the only participant to voice disagreement with the other women on this matter. This particular young woman argued quite forcefully that it is a woman's duty to do everything her husband or father tells her to do, and that women should dedicate their lives to keeping their husband happy. When asked by another participant why she believes this to be true, the young woman responded, ;it is in the Quran. This is what is what is expected of Muslim women.'[45] Some of her fellow focus group participants began to get visibly exasperated with her, trying to persuade her that *their* less extreme interpretation of the Quran and Islam were in fact the authentic version of the religion. This young woman was a lone voice of dissent in wholeheartedly supporting extremely patriarchal norms, but the other women's response to her was so audible because they were in a safe women-only space. They all acknowledged that they would not have discussed this matter so forcefully with their husbands or fathers, as it would have likely resulted in them being physically beaten for their insubordination, implying that their daily lives consist of practicing false deference to extremely imbalanced cultural and social norms which posit an extremely patriarchal interpretation of the Quran as authentic.

False deference appears to be a much-practiced form of everyday resistance employed by the rural women who participated in this research, utilized due to fear of extreme violence dissuading them from acting in open defiance. This fear of violence forces women to maintain a veneer of deference to their husbands and extremely patriarchal norms, despite their consciousness railing against the violent behaviour and unfair treatment regularly enacted by their husbands. When discussing the male behaviours and power structures that women challenge, the majority of women identified domestic violence as something that they do challenge, but which simultaneously influences the method of challenge employed. The women explained that in order to avoid physical harm, and to prevent their children from witnessing violence, they will often follow orders without visibly demonstrating any form of discontent when in the presence of their husbands, instead choosing to grumble and moan about him behind his

[45] Focus group conducted on 4th April 2019.

back. As a group of participants in Balkh district explained, 'even if we are upset we have to do all the housework. If we don't, he will beat us'. [46] This group of women continued on to state that 'we don't strongly challenge our husbands in order to reduce conflict in the home. Even if our husbands have been really bad to us we try to behave normally as if nothing has happened.' All of the participants of this research who were mothers recognised this as a behaviour they consciously employ regularly in order to protect their children.

Aside from domestic violence, other forms of undesirable male behaviour the women resisted included placing unfair demands upon women, such as expecting delicious meals despite there being very little food, expecting women to perform household chores at the whim of the males in terms of arbitrary time frames and standards, and 'un-Islamic behaviour', a term which in the context used implied sexual acts that the women did not want to participate in.

Unfairly expecting delicious, varied meals to be made from very little was a common complaint among focus group participants, with one of the women again illustrating how, given the omnipresent and overbearing threat of violent repercussion, the women don't directly challenge their husbands on the matter, but rather:

> If our husband tells us to cook him something, and he tells us to do it in a rude way, behind his back we will grumble to ourselves, saying things such as 'he doesn't bring me anything to cook with, so why should I cook for him?'[47]

The method of resistance described here involves grumbling in such a way that questions the husband's very masculinity, highlighting his inability to perform the expectations set by male gender norms, in conjunction with the corresponding hypocrisy at expecting her to perform the gender roles stipulated for women. This expression of resistance is interesting because it uses the extremely patriarchal norms, which usually privilege men *against* the husband, reducing him not just to an undesirable husband and father, but also a failure as a man.

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[46] Focus group conducted on 4th April 2019.

[47] Focus group conducted in Herat district on 26th February 2019.

Whilst discussing individual practices with participants, as the above examples illustrate, it was consistently made clear that the majority of women do not overtly challenge their male relatives (usually husbands), with these women stating simply 'whatever he says I do.' The majority of these women explained that with violence being a very possible repercussion for open dissent, 'even if I don't like something, I have to do it.' Most participants described their methods of challenge as behaviours that enable them to avoid violent repercussions through their hidden nature, whilst simultaneously providing the women with an outlet for their frustration. One participant explained, to the concurring nods of her fellow participants, that, 'we cannot refuse him directly so we defy him indirectly',[48] therefore indicating that the intention to challenge is very much present.

An external actor observing these women behaving in such a deferential manner without seeking their narrative may mistakenly assume that these women are either compliant or acquiescent to the dominant power structure of extreme patriarchy, or completely devoid of agency. However, this external observer would actually be viewing an expression of 'calculated compliance'[49] which masks the defiance these rural women truly feel. As Scott notes, subordinates in highly unbalanced circumstances of power will engage in 'routines of deference and compliance which, while perhaps not entirely cynical, are certainly calculating.'[50] The calculated nature of this behaviour is inherent within the process of judging which acts of challenge are likely to result in physical violence being administered as punishment, and acting through false deference or reluctant compliance as a means of avoiding such physical harm. As a woman in Herat district explained:

> It is exceptional that a woman can refuse to do what a man tells her without him reacting violently. Most of the time if the woman refuses to do something, the man will hit her and make her do it by force.'[51]

Subversive childrearing

Aside from employing calculated compliance in the presence of their husbands, these women had also found a discreet way of utilizing the strict

[48] Focus group conducted on 26th February 2019 in Injil district.

[49] Scott J, (1985), p278 – 284.

[50] Ibid , p278.

[51] Focus group conducted on 26th February 2019.

gender roles enforced by extreme patriarchy, which dictate that women should be solely responsible for raising children. Saba Mahmood makes an observation which is poignant here, in explaining that:

> What may appear to be a case of deplorable passivity and docility from a progressivist point of view, may actually be a form of agency – but one that can be understood only from within the discourses and structures of subordination that create the conditions of this enactment. In this sense, the capacity for agency is entailed not only in acts that resist norms, but also in the multiple ways in which one inhabits norms.'[52]

The rural women who participated in this research illustrated this point by describing how they subvert extremely patriarchal norms which sanction violence against women by weaponizing and embarking upon a transformative approach to their childrearing practices. The women described how they consciously challenge extreme patriarchy and work to improve society for future generations of women and girls, by teaching boys to be kind and respectful to girls and treat them as their equals. Thus, women were deploying their sons as agents of change for the future. Women from Balkh district explained, 'if our sons are trained to be behave well with women and respect them, of course the future will be better for Afghan women';[53] while women from Herat district stated that 'We try to train our older sons to be good to their sisters and women inside the home',[54] believing that once they had achieved this goal with their older sons, male behaviour would exponentially improve towards women in the wider community.

The women who participated in this research sought not only to influence the direct interaction between boys and girls as future men and women, but they also sought to erase the normalization of violence against women by teaching their sons not to engage in violence at all; they forbid their sons from hitting girls, as well as from hitting their brothers, friends, or other boys within the community. This form of subversive childrearing has the potential to be a catalyst for effective, albeit gradual, grassroots change in social norms among communities, because when general violence is dramatically reduced, a man hitting a woman will be amplified. In contrast,

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[52] Mahmood S, (2006), p42.

[53] Focus group conducted on 26th February 2019 in Injil district.

[54] Focus group conducted on the 26th February 2019.

individual acts of violence against women are currently diminished by the many other acts of violence occurring on a daily basis against men, women and children.

Such subversive childrearing practices are not motivated exclusively by a desire to improve gender relations, though this is a significant factor. Rural women are also consciously raising their sons in such a way as to develop community resilience to conflict. One focus group in Balkh district told a particularly harrowing tale[55] of the violence inflicted upon their village by both the Taliban and the Afghan government forces, who regularly fought each other both inside the village and around its periphery. The women told of how the continuous conflict has led to an increase in the presence of criminals who are also terrorizing and exploiting the village. They described how a five-year-old girl was kidnapped on her way home from school. The kidnappers asked her parents to pay a ransom, but the parents had very little money and were subsequently unable to pay. The kidnappers killed the little girl and removed her organs, before dumping her body in front of her parents' house.

The women were clearly traumatized by this, and lamented the fact that they are now terrified of sending their children to school. However, the women are extremely proud of how unified their community is and identified this tightknit unity as the sole reason that the community and social support networks have not yet crumbled. For this reason, the women emphasized, they instil within their sons the importance of respect for all family and community members, explaining how:

> We don't fight, even the children don't fight. If we catch any of the children fighting we tell them to stop and explain that it's not good for our community - we should be united, we should be good, we should be friends.'[56]

The women continued on to assert that 'we consciously behave this way to keep conflict out of the village.' While the men likely support the women in raising their sons not to fight other boys, the women's extension of this emphasis on unity as applicable to the treatment of girls and women is undoubtedly also an intentional act designed to challenge the prevailing

[55] Focus group conducted on the 4th April 2019.

[56] Focus group conducted in Balkh district, 4th April 2019.

gendered power dynamics and concurrent sanctioning of violence against women.

In addition to future reduction of violence against women and girls, along with a conscious effort to increase community resilience to conflict, the women also justified challenging patriarchal norms through childrearing in terms of ensuring that their sons grow to be good Muslims. The women expressed a desire to see their sons diverge from the current behaviour of their husbands, fathers and brothers, who the women view as exercising violence and coercion which is incompatible with their understanding of Islam.

Before moving on to examine how women challenge patriarchal domination in women-only spaces, a final note should be made on how women employ challenging behaviour within the home. A small number of participants diverged from the established pattern of exclusively engaging in calculated compliance and subversive child-rearing as a means of challenging male power whilst ensuring self-preservation, sometimes veering over into more overt forms of resistance. For example, a woman in Mazar-i-Sharif stated 'if I don't like what my husband tells me to do, I just won't do it. Even if he becomes violent I won't do it.'[57] Islam is consistently the tool women use to define male behaviours which were justifiable versus those which were not: 'If what [my husband] is asking me to do is in accordance with Islam, I will do it, but if it contradicts Islam, I won't do it.'[58] Statements such as this were met with exclamations of shock, awe and reverence, as fellow research participants expressed their wonder at the bravery of these women who employed open defiance as a form of challenging male behaviours they did not like, acknowledging that such behaviour could potentially be fatal. However, the women who did engage in overt defiance explained that defiance is always a last resort. The reason for this is that in openly defying their husbands, the women feel frustrated and ashamed of themselves, believing themselves to have failed to behave as they think good Muslim wives should, according to both cultural and social norms, as well as in accordance with their own interpretation of Islam. There appears to be an inherent dissonance here between the women's interpretation of Islam and the meanings they assign to their motivations for and methods of challenge, as on the one hand they recognize that Islam protects them and provides them with rights, but on the other hand, even if they judge the

[57] Focus group conducted on 2nd April 2019.

[58] Focus group conducted on 2nd April 2019.

actions of their husband to be un-Islamic and thus justifiably resisted, the women nevertheless feel guilty and ashamed for resisting.

Challenging Patriarchy in Women-only Spaces

For rural women resisting extremely patriarchal power, the resistance practices they employ outside of the home are no less discreet than those they employ within the home, constrained as they are by similar parameters of resistance. All of the women acknowledged the self-help benefits of gathering together as a women-only group in order to share their experiences and support each other. One participant stated that having access to a safe, women-only space is one of the most important things in her life, explaining 'while we are here we can forget about what is happening at home.'[59] Scott acknowledges the importance of solidarity among oppressed groups in his writing, but unlike the Malay peasants he researched, who imposed sanctions on those who breach the bonds of solidarity,[60] Afghan rural women impose no such sanctions or ostracization. Rather, because the behaviour they engage in within women-only spaces is deemed to be illicit by prevailing patriarchal and social and cultural norms, the women simply ensure that they only engage in such behaviour around women they know they can trust:

> Talking and making jokes about our husbands with other women who we trust helps us support each other and cope with the situation at home. However, it can be dangerous to behave this way with women we don't know very well or don't trust, as if such things get back to our husbands it will make life very difficult for us.[61]

'Talking and making jokes' about husbands is the primary form of resistance practiced in women-only spaces, and falls definitively within the category of everyday resistance which Scott calls 'hidden transcripts.' All married focus group participants acknowledged that they consciously engage in such transcripts, recognising them as a coping mechanism. Invariably, when asked for examples of such behaviour, the women relaxed and became extremely animated, even quite rowdy in two or three groups, as they laughed and joked about the derogatory things they tell each other about their husbands.

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[59] Focus group conducted in Mazar-i-Sharif district on 2nd April 2019.

[60] Scott J, (1985), p261-263

[61] Focus group conducted on 4th April 2019 in Balkh district.

Scott describes oral hidden transcripts as 'risk-averse use of language by the powerless',[62] which includes gossip, slander, jokes, storytelling and other uses of language which are consciously utilized to resist the oppressive power and dominant individuals.

Such hidden transcripts are very much present in the resistance repertoire of rural Afghan women, who gave examples such as 'we talk about our husbands to each other all the time…all day we backbite about our husbands. From morning to evening [when we women are together] we are backbiting about our husbands.'[63] This particular comment was made amid much laughter and joviality. Another participant of the same focus group elaborated by explaining, 'making jokes amongst ourselves, backbiting about our husbands and making each other laugh about the situation helps us to survive. It makes us feel better.' Focus group participants in Balkh district explained that:

> 'If a husband is a good man; behaves very well and is friendly and kind, his wife will say only good things about him and feels proud that she has such a good husband. If the husband is bad [the wife] will backbite and tell the other women that he is a very bad man.[64]

Along with examples of jokes and 'backbiting', some of the participants also hinted that they make derisory comments and jokes about their husband's sexual performance – a taboo in conservative rural Afghanistan.

Regardless of the specific contents of the hidden transcripts employed by rural women, the very act of speaking about their husbands can be viewed as simultaneous self-help, conscious challenging of individual men and, additionally, an act of symbolic challenge to prevailing patriarchal social and cultural norms. As one woman explained:

> Whatever our men do to us, it should remain within our family. We shouldn't speak about these things outside of our families. We are trained to be like this by our culture. We are trained to accept whatever happens to us. To make ourselves feel better we share whatever happens to us at

[62] Scott J, (1990), p30.

[63] Focus group conducted on 26th February 2019 in Injil district.

[64] Focus group conducted on 4th April 2019.

home with other women, but only women.[65]

It is clear that in the context of rural Afghanistan, sharing experiences, performing hidden transcripts, and supporting each other in this fashion is actually a tremendous act of rebellion.

The Quiet Encroachment of Public Space and Reproduction of the Ordinary

As discussed in the methodology, all research participants were beneficiaries of vocational training programmes implemented by a foreign NGO in women-only community spaces, with the objective of these training programmes being income generation and subsequent economic empowerment. Focus group questions therefore explored both the public and the private realms as arenas of resistance, since these women were no longer confined to their homes. During the course of this research it became clear that although women were consciously engaging in resistance practices within the private sphere, endowing these practices with 'symbols, norms and ideological forms',[66] when striving to gain access to resources available in the public sphere, something different was happening. Once outside of the private sphere, these rural women ceased to articulate or demonstrate conscious ideological or physical struggle against the dominating power. Rather, their motivation for striving for economic empowerment, or access to public space, was one of apolitical, non-gendered necessity due to the extreme poverty faced by their families.

This section of the article seeks to delve further into the ambiguities, nuances and contradictions expressed by rural Afghan women, through their articulated desire to achieve economic empowerment in a non-confrontational manner that is compatible with a patriarchal and Islamic system of social governance. It is here where intention to resist ceases, but unintended consequences nevertheless result from the women's actions. Therefore, we will transition from Scott's theory of everyday resistance to Bayat's theory of quiet encroachment in order to understand the social phenomena evident in the rural communities in which these women live.

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[65] Focus group conducted on 26th February 2019 in Injil district.

[66] Scott J, (1985), p38.

The 'Non-movement' of Rural Afghan Women

Key to the concept of non-movements is the fact that 'they are not based in ideology, nor on organized demands, nor are they coordinated as such.'[67] As has been discussed throughout this article, rural women dare not engage in visible collective action due to fear of violent repercussions. In this instance, once attending vocational training, women also do not engage in *invisible,* or discreet, collective action. Rather, each woman acts by herself, for herself and her family, seeking the development of a skillset which will enable her to generate a modest income with which to support her children and husband, and allow her to send her children to school. This non-organized, collective action of individual women who independently and quietly encroach upon public space and resources purely in order to generate an income, with no intention of challenging the dominant patriarchal authority, is a clear manifestation of Bayat's concept of 'non-movements.'

Many of the research participants had previously been confined to the home for most of their lives, but in some rural areas of Afghanistan, extreme poverty interacts with extreme patriarchy in such a way as to present an opportunity for women. The men in these women's lives recognise that women working also benefits men in terms of the women being able to provide their families with basic necessities. Once granted permission to leave the house, the initial extent of the women's access to public space consists of walking between home and the women's-only space in which vocational training is being held. However, as women begin to hone their vocational skills, their need to access a greater area of the community and interact with unrelated men increases: they need to learn how and where to purchase raw materials, how to market their products, network among potential buyers and sellers and advertise. These actions were all well outside of the remit of women's gender roles before these research participants started performing them, but over time their male relatives and community members recognised the benefit of women accessing public spaces in order generate an income, as the women were increasingly able to financially support their families whilst concurrently contributing to the economies of their communities. Thus, women's presence in public space gradually became legitimized: 'now that we come [to this vocational training programme] and the community

[67] Ballard R, (2015), p219.

has accepted this, we are free to go anywhere. They no longer ask us where we are going or criticize us.'[68]

Reproduction of the Ordinary

The values, motivations and perceptions of rural Afghan women concerning men and patriarchy are complex, incredibly nuanced and sometimes contradictory, but they are at all times informed by the importance of Islam and the perceived necessity of consciously behaving as good Muslim women; not because they are coerced into piety by men, but because the women themselves aspire to be good Muslims, constantly holding themselves to account against their own interpretation of Islam.

It is clear that within the home and private women-only arenas, rural women consciously challenge *extreme* manifestations of patriarchy. It is the threatening and violent behaviour of individual men and the power wielded by these men to severely restrict women's life opportunities that are being challenged, rather than the patriarchal system itself. Extreme patriarchy sanctions these behaviours, but the women themselves recognise such oppression as un-Islamic, inherently in conflict with the rights provided to women within the Quran, according to their understanding of it. During focus group conversations it was clear that rather than an abolition of patriarchy, the women desire a more benign patriarchal system of social governance, which will provide rights and opportunities whilst adhering to the Quran. As such, many of the women lamented the fact that their men cannot find opportunities for employment.

For the majority of rural women, their construction of the perfect world provides employment for both husbands and wives, enabling them to operate as partners in decision making processes within the home, the latter being a common objective among research participants. In this hypothetical perfect world, though the male would retain traditional patriarchal status and ultimate authority, he would wield this power benevolently, and importantly, allow women to make decisions regarding the home and family. Part of the reason for this determined adherence to patriarchy is perhaps that the majority of participants of this research trust men's decision-making capabilities far more than their own, believing that the Quran says that

[68] Focus group conducted on 3rd April 2019 in Mazar-i-Sharif district.

'men and women think differently',[69] and that 'men can give better advice than women because they are aware of the [political] situation.'[70] Moreover, lived experiences count for a great deal. For example, the village in Balkh district (which has been subjected to much violence by the Taliban, Afghan government forces and criminals) remains unified and resilient under the guidance of male community leaders, therefore the women from this village see no reason to address a gendered power imbalance which has succeeded in keeping the community strong. Thus, these rural women are content to live under a patriarchal structure of governance, provided that it is not extreme and succeeds in providing an element of broader community-level protection from conflict.

The Unintended Consequences of Quiet Encroachment

Rural women's quiet encroachment into public space and the labour market has resulted in unplanned consequences. A gradual community-level structural change has taken place which has seen extremely patriarchal social norms diluted and transformed, as they begin to accommodate women in public spaces, and in some cases actively support women's economic endeavours rather than merely tolerating them. Participants explained: 'people in the community used to backbite if they saw us out walking in the community and questioned why we were out in the street. Now they recognise our right to be there.'[71] One woman in Injil district identified a total shift in behaviour towards women within the community, describing how 'the community has started to respect us because the community needs what we produce. The community reaches out to us now.'[72] In this case, the quiet encroachment of rural women upon the public spaces within their communities, driven purely by the desire to generate an income and feed their families, rather than resisting and challenging prevailing power dynamics, has resulted in visible and experiential structural change defined by an expansion of gender roles and corresponding shift in social and cultural norms.

Perhaps one of the most enlightening personal aspects of gaining access

[69] Focus group conducted on 2nd April 2019 in Mazar-i-Sharif district.

[70] Focus group conducted in Injil district on 26th February 2019.

[71] Focus group conducted on 27th February 2019 in Herat district.

[72] Focus group conducted on 25th February 2019.

to public space is rural women's realization that they had previously spent years living in fear of the community unnecessarily: 'We aren't scared to leave the house now, and in this respect, we feel like men […] There is no fear for me now, whereas before, even if my family gave me permission to leave the house, I was too scared.'[73] This statement was echoed by many women and symbolizes how increased mobility has consequentially resulted in reduced fear, in turn contributing to increased community cohesion.

Throughout discussions with research participants, it became evident that a correlation exists between generation of income, increased presence in public space, and the increased confidence displayed by these rural women as they move around the community and provide for their families. As a result of their increased mobility and participation in the labour market, gender roles which used to restrict every aspect of rural women's lives have shifted considerably, as have gender stereotypes. As some of the participants explained:

> Before we didn't have permission to do anything. Our families didn't believe in our ability to do anything. This has changed due to our income […] At first when we wanted to attend this [vocational skills-training programme] our men didn't believe that we'd learn anything. Now they realize that they were wrong, and they are surprised by how much we've learned […] We get more respect now. Our families want us to teach them what we've learned, including the men.[74]

These statements illustrate how women have unintentionally transformed rural gender roles and stereotypes in their communities. Whereas women were previously confined to the home through a deliberately fear-inducing male narrative, prevented from gaining an education or employment and viewed as incapable of learning or working, now they are respected and recognised as having the ability to independently utilize public spaces, learn, make informed decisions, but also, exert authority over men through interactions which posit women as teachers and men as their students. Research participants exclaimed that they had expected to teach their children and female neighbours what they learned through training programmes they were attending, but they had not expected to be asked to teach men. The

[73] Focus group conducted on 2nd April 2019 in Mazar-i-Sharif district.

[74] Focus group conducted in Herat district on 27th February 2019.

women expressed an overwhelming sense of pride at having the ability to do this, a sensation which is new to many of them, and one that they hold dear. Furthermore, as women begin to provide for their families financially, they are gradually able to gain respect from family members and rise to a position of equal importance to the husband within the home. Though the women stated that the husband retained overall authority, they are satisfied and proud at being able to participate in decision-making processes concerning the domestic sphere – an expansion of gender roles which is earned purely by financial means, but one that is life-changing for the women involved. As one research participant in Mazar-i-Sharif succinctly stated, 'We are someone now. Our families rely on us.'[75]

Conclusion

The overwhelming majority of these rural women consciously employ everyday resistance practices in the private sphere, most notably: false deference, calculated compliance and subversive childrearing within the home, and hidden transcripts such as jokes, derogatory comments and backbiting in women-only spaces. Due to the omnipresent nature of the extreme patriarchal structure of power and related threat of physical violence as a form of coercion and control, which permeates every aspect of rural women's lives, they necessarily engage in hidden resistance practices in order to avoid severe violence at the hands of their husbands or other male relatives, thereby ensuring self-preservation. Again, it is important to reiterate that the women are consciously resisting individual male behaviours which are violent, oppressive, unfair or perceived as un-Islamic, rather than patriarchal authority in general. The women express no desire to abolish patriarchal authority provided it transforms into a more benign structure and aligns with their women-friendly, sympathetic interpretation of Islam.

The home represents the primary battleground for most women due to it being the site of sometimes extreme domestic violence, but also because the home is where the husband (or other male relative) exercises the power to permit or forbid women from leaving the house, with related consequences for mobility. Once this battle has been won, either by the women, or on their behalf, the women cease to resist wider patriarchal structures as they exist within the community. In seeking access to public space and the labour market, the women do not exhibit a conscious motivation to challenge

[75] Focus group conducted on 3rd April 2019.

patriarchal authority, but rather they act out of financial necessity; husbands are either unemployed, on a meagre income or deceased, and so the women take it upon themselves to provide an income for their family, valuing the self-sufficiency and reduction of social barriers that most of them experience as a result.

Crucially, the women have sought and gained permission from their husbands or other male relatives to leave the home and utilize public space in order to attend vocational training programmes, and thus have engaged with the prevailing extreme patriarchal authority on its own terms in order to secure their objective. The resulting income they generate benefits both their families and community, so this mutually beneficial arrangement works not to abolish patriarchy or replace men as sole breadwinner, but to transform social norms in such a way as to accommodate women and their newly expanded gender roles. Therefore, the non-movement of rural women as they quietly encroach upon public space can be seen to have had the unintended consequence of structural change; transforming extreme patriarchy in such a way as to render it more benign (in relative terms), but ultimately maintaining the patriarchal societal structure.

Though their quiet encroachment upon public spaces and the labour market has served to diminish the severity of extreme patriarchal social norms and community governance structures, the women continue to reinforce the patriarchy on a daily basis by deferring to male authority, particularly with regards to political issues and issues of governance. They also support the role of men as the absolute figure of authority within the home and community, but only so long as these men exercise this authority by behaving in accordance with the women's interpretation of the teachings of the Quran, treat women in a kind and respectful manner, and permit them to engage in decision-making processes within the home as equal partners. Islam is the over-riding framework for judging whether behaviour is legitimate or illegitimate, justifiable or unjustifiable, to be tolerated or challenged. The women recognise Islam as inherently patriarchal, but they are willing to adhere to it, viewing it as a force for protection and empowerment; a defence against the existing system of extreme patriarchy and relentless conflict.

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Everyday Resistance of Trainee Therapists under Clinical Supervision[1]

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Abstract

Supervisee resistance is often construed as an execution of their power to diminish the effects of the supervisors' power in the field of counseling psychology. Such a limited view of resistance may ignore its sociocultural context and further support the social structure of domination that necessitates resistance in the first place. Given that resistance and power are connected yet distinct concepts, understanding resistance is necessary to better understand power relations. The discipline of psychology largely recognizes the ability of organized, collective resistance to make social changes, although not that of everyday forms of resistance that intend to survive and simultaneously sabotage domination. To expand the understanding of everyday resistance by recognizing agency that is culturally situated in social relations, this qualitative study used semi-structured interviews with seven supervisee participants to investigate their everyday resistance in clinical supervision, particularly focusing on the tactics they employed in interactions with their supervisors and what was achieved through those tactics, and the agency and subjectivity interwoven with the resistant acts upheld by cultural or professional discourses. The results indicate that the tactics employed (for example, selective presentation of cases or self, note-taking, acting positive, and pretended speculation) are not only aimed at protecting their professional integrity and therapist subjectivity, but also at maintaining harmonious supervisory relationships that may generate valuable social networks (guanxi) for future career development. Under the circumstances in which supervisees are unable to abide by both the professional ideology and cultural ethics of honoring instructors, they adopt the identity of a 'good student' to maneuver through difficult situations in the interest of guanxi. Through these tactics, supervisees demonstrated their agency despite being in vulnerable positions.

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Resistance, which has long been studied in the field of counseling psychology, has traditionally been considered a type of pathology. Psychoanalysis reviews resistance as a defense mechanism aimed at interfering with the progression of therapy or supervision by preventing further exploration and elaboration of unconscious materials (Lowental, 2000). Therapists-in-training who are deemed resistant during supervision are referred to psychotherapy to deal with personal complexes at the unconscious level. Nowadays, supervisee resistance is predominantly regarded as a by-product of supervision in which supervisors as gatekeepers are required to monitor and evaluate supervisees' progress and performance to protect both the welfare of clients and the profession of counseling psychology. In Taiwan and other Western countries, candidates applying for counseling psychologist licensure are required to have successfully completed a year-long clinical internship. Additionally, years of trainings and experience (Bernard & Goodyear, 2019) or expertise in particular areas as advantageous to supervisees' clinical development lends more power to supervisors (De Stefano, Hutman & Gazzola, 2017). All of the above imply that supervisors are powerful in relation to supervisees. In the existing literature, supervisees' resistant behaviors, such as withholding information (Murphy & Wright, 2005), nondisclosure (Lyon & Potkar; 2015; McKibben, Cook, & Fickling, 2018), warning peers about incompetent or disrespectful supervisors, and making group complaints to the supervisor's superior (Wilson, Davies, & Weatherhead, 2016), are construed as supervisees' exerting power to diminish effects of their supervisors' power (Leung, 2012; Murphy & Wright, 2005). Accordingly, supervisee resistance is often viewed as a manifestation of power.

Resistance and power are connected but distinct concepts. The notion of resistance as an execution of power may ignore its sociocultural context and further support the social structure of domination that necessitates resistance in the first place. Practices of resistance illustrate how individuals address, make sense of and counter inequities, and further negotiate the demands of the socio-culturally- and politically-charged contexts (Pacheco, 2012). Social structure of domination can be manifested through examining valuable strategies, analytical tools and knowledge that individuals employ to respond to dilemmas, contradictions and conflicts in their everyday lives. There can be no adequate understanding of power and power relations without the concept of resistance (Barbalet, 1985). Resistance can take various forms, ranging from large-scale collective revolts and organized protests that aim at effecting social changes, to everyday resistance that does

not especially seek to overthrow the system but to undermine the nature of hegemonic structures through daily practice (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Although the concept of everyday resistance has been widely applied and studied in a variety of disciplines such as sociology, politics, feminism, education, anthropology and so forth, it remains in its infancy in the field of psychology. To expand the understanding of resistance in relation to power, this study aims to investigate supervisee resistance from the perspective of everyday resistance with a particular focus on the cultural context in which resistance tactics were embedded.

The notion of power as an individual's capacity to influence the conduct of others (Dahl, 1957) justifies the predominant assumption that supervisors with authority and resources may unintentionally marginalize supervisees. This causes supervisees to experience oppression and thus resist to wrest back power in supervisory relationships. In line with this view, in a study of the power dynamics of supervision, which assumed that power was held more by supervisors in some areas and by supervisees in others, Cook, Mckibben and Wind (2018) revealed that supervisees perceived their supervisors as possessing the most power when identifying interventions to use with clients, setting goals for supervision, and providing feedback about clinical skills in supervision. Meanwhile, supervisees held power only while maintaining boundaries, and deciding whether to be vulnerable to or empowered by the supervisors. Such a view of power inevitably places the responsibility to minimize the power gap on individuals, particularly supervisors. Consequently, a considerable body of existing literature (for example, American Psychology Association, 2014; Cook, McKibben, & Wind, 2018; Murphy & Wright, 2005; Quek & Storm, 2012; Sweeney & Creaner, 2014) is dedicated to providing greater specification concerning how supervisors may appropriately use their power to reduce supervisee resistance in order to maximize the effectiveness of supervision, which is a goal that supervisors strive to attain.

Unlike the concept of power as an individual capacity, Foucault (1980) linked power to knowledge. He particularly construed power in relation to the production of norms or a system of knowledge that shapes and normalizes subjects who eventually become, think, speak, and act in similar manners. Through daily practice and coordination with others, power/knowledge is consolidated. Given that competence-based education and clinical supervision have been predominant in the field of psychology, supervisors' primary responsibilities are to enhance the professional competence (for

example, the issue of diversity and multiculturalism) and science-informed practice of the supervisees (American Psychology Association, 2014), and conduct evaluations accordingly. In effect, supervisees also strive to meet the required standards in pursuit of professional efficiency. While training professional psychotherapists, knowledge both shapes interactions between supervisors and supervisees and is consolidated through these exchanges. Thus, power is simultaneously repressive and productive.

Foucault (1990) argues 'where there is power, there is resistance' (p. 95). Unlike forms of overt resistance such as social movements and revolution, everyday resistance is a type of covert resistance, characterized as hidden or disguised to subvert power/knowledge (Lilja & Vinthagen, 2014). A variety of tactics to minimize power have been identified, including foot-dragging, escape, sarcasm, passivity, misunderstandings, disloyalty, slander, avoidance or theft (Scott, 1985, 1990), as well as reiteration, rearticulation or repetition of the dominant discourse with a slightly different meaning (Butler, 1995), and mimicry (Bhabha, 1984). However, in the field of psychology, everyday forms of resistance that individuals consciously or unconsciously adopt to navigate the ongoing impact of domination on their daily life are often described via damage-centered tropes, implying that they are passive and accepting of repression, responsible for their conditions, or pathological, which risks imposing narrow, deficit views on them and further marginalizes them (Rosales & Langhout, 2019). Likewise, in clinical supervision, supervisee resistance is seen as a negative use of power (Murphy & Wright, 2005), and considered counterproductive to the effectiveness of supervision. Rather, cultural psychologists Chaudhary, Marsico and Villadsen (2017) argued that resistance as an everyday phenomenon is central to human experiences, particularly for generating meaning. Furthermore, everyday resistance is essential to life regulation and transformation (Marsico, 2017), plays a vital part in the developmental process (Villadsen, 2017), and is a crucial phenomenon in people's 'dynamic interactions with others' in everyday life (Chaudhary & Valsiner, 2017, p. 327). Accordingly, everyday resistance as social action in the context of supervision is productive, because it demonstrates the agency of supervisees as well as provides a thread to examine power relations through tactics in daily practice.

To expand the understanding of resistance in the field of counseling psychology, this qualitative study investigates everyday resistance by trainees in clinical supervision, particularly focusing on the tactics they employed in their interactions with their supervisors and what was achieved through the

tactics, and how agency and subjectivity interwoven with the resistant acts were upheld by cultural or professional discourses. This empirical study is significant in two ways, particularly in the field of counseling psychology. First, it identifies the social context in which the supervisees' resistance tactics were developed or created to negotiate or undermine the power of supervision. Additionally, resistance may be framed in a way that focuses on the resisting subjects' agency informed by the discursive traditions in which they are located (Lilja, Baaz, Schulz & Vinthagen, 2017). Last, supervisee agency and subjectivity is illustrated through the tactics informed by cultural or professional knowledge.

Effective supervision as 'truth game'

Foucault (1980) pointed out that power is 'never in anybody's hands [… it] is employed and exercised through a net-like organization' (p. 98). The latter functions as an implementation of knowledge-based classification, stratification, and institutionalization (Foucault, 1989). Foucault (1988) also argued that knowledge and science (i.e., in the form of economics, biology, psychiatry, medicine) serve as 'truth games' (p. 18), combining hierarchical observation and normalizing judgments in the constitution of subjects. Additionally, the subject is capable of how to act and what choices to make among the models set by the structures available in his or her living environment. It is the agency of individual allowing them to transform their bodies, thoughts, conduct, and ways of being through their own means, or with external assistance. This transformation aims to achieve happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality in accordance with specific truth games.

Supervision is a cornerstone for preparing psychologists-in-training who will eventually be competent to provide psychological services and professional practice. The effectiveness of clinical supervision is particularly crucial given the time constraints of internship, which is completed in one year, before the interns proceed to graduation and licensure. Effective supervision is characterized as encouraging supervisee autonomy, strengthening supervisory relationships, and facilitating open discussion regarding power disparity and multi-cultural issues (Ladany, Mori, & Mehr, 2013). Supervisors' strategies to pursue effective supervision within a Chinese cultural context include the initiation of courageous conversations concerning the disparity issues of power and hierarchy, and the constructive use of authority towards the

empowerment of supervisees, all the while navigating the tension between an expert and a collaborative supervisor (Quek & Storm, 2012). All these efforts that aim to reduce supervisee resistance lead to the amplification of effective supervision. De Certeau (1984) argued that knowledge provides individuals with a rationale for order; and this allows them to employ disciplinary techniques that generate willing conformity to institutional power. The knowledge of effective supervision as a truth game has not only provided standards for the interactions between supervisors and supervisees, but also become the indicator of supervision effectiveness and satisfaction levels for both the supervisor and supervisee.

According to the guidelines for clinical supervision in health service psychology (American Psychology Association, 2014), supervisors balance the protection of the client with the secondary responsibility of increasing the supervisee's competence in knowledge, skills, and attitudes associated with professionalism. Given that trainees are primarily concerned with the development of their professional competence (Wilson, Davies, & Weatherhead, 2016), supervisors may inevitably encounter the dilemma of fulfilling potentially conflicting roles as mentors and evaluators. Despite that the assessment is done in a safe environment and within a collaborative relationship that supervisors strive to create (Borders, 2014), fear of negative evaluation may still affect the supervisees' willingness to raise certain topics, because they think they could place their evaluation in jeopardy (Bottrill, Pistrang, Barker, & Worrell, 2010; Burkard, Knox, Hess, & Schultz, 2009). Thus, supervisee resistance (for instance, nondisclosure) may co-exist with the professional ideologies of clinical supervision, such as effectiveness and professional competence.

Supervisee resistance in supervision

Internships serve multiple functions for trainee therapists. In addition to giving supervisees hands-on experience and knowledge, it provides trainees with an excellent opportunity to network with other professionals and potential employers. The successful completion of an internship is also a part of the requirements for a licensure exam. Supervisors serve as gatekeepers to the profession, as they play a vital role in determining whether supervisees are suitable to enter and remain in the field (American Psychology Association, 2014). The supervisors' evaluations of supervisees' performance largely affects their future careers, as well as their self-perceptions and professional self-

esteem. While attempting to manage their supervisor's impression of them (Wahesh, 2016), trainee therapists may either consciously or unconsciously develop tactics in order to manipulate, or exert control over, the supervisory process. Given that open confrontation is likely to result in consequences (for example, failing grades) for supervisees, their tactics are typically hidden or disguised (Scott, 1990), individual and unarticulated (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2020) to avoid attention from their supervisors.

Everyday resistance encompasses the collection of daily activities that individuals employ to survive, and simultaneously sabotage, the domination experienced in power relations (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). This type of resistance is integrated into daily practice and does not intend to thwart existing power mechanisms. Instead, supervisees use tactics to advance their own agendas while mitigating the claims made by their superiors (de Heredia, 2017). Each of these small-scale actions is employed in an attempt to avoid a dominator's attention as much as possible (Scott, 1990). Kadushin (1968) categorized four types of games that supervisees play when under supervision, as follows: manipulating demand levels placed on supervisees; creating ambiguity concerning issues addressed during the supervision; reducing the power disparity by focusing on certain knowledge areas in an attempt to prove that their supervisors are not smart, and attempting to control the situation via a series of questions to direct attention away from their performance, or asking others for help to erode their supervisors' authority. In describing supervisee games, Bauman (1972) presented these five coping strategies supervisees often used: submission; deflecting by shifting the subject of the supervisory conversation to a more manageable one; the 'I'm no good' attitude; demonstrating their helplessness and making the supervisor accountable; and projection by placing all the responsibilities for an ineffective supervision on the supervisor. De Certeau (1984) pointed out that supervisees' tactics in everyday life are calculated, autonomous actions that individuals opportunistically employ to creatively deny and subvert the rational order. In other words, they attempt to turn 'the actual order of things' toward 'their own ends' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 26). Although these resistant acts are positively framed as protective strategies to cope with a perceived threat (Liddle, 1986), or as power over the supervisor (Murphy & Wright, 2005), there is a shortage of empirical studies investigating what supervisees, as active agents, may strive to achieve and how they turn things around in clinical supervision.

Everyday resistance embedded in cultures

Vinthagen and Johansson (2013) suggested that everyday resistance is embedded in multi-levels of power relations; thus, its specifics may change constantly depending on context, opportunities, temporality, and individual choices. Additionally, resistance tactics aim to undermine the power relations in which authority claims are not directly confronted, but are ignored or re-appropriated. Social actors may not regard everyday tactics as resistance because the actions are often established as part of their cultures and traditions (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2020). Bourdieu acknowledged the everyday resistance in subordinate groups, although predicted that it is likely to end with either of two equally bad conclusions: 'assimilation-cum-institutional cooptation or resistance-cum-further marginalization' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 82). However, Lo (2015) has countered with a more positive outcome: covert maneuvering. The dominated adopts unrecognized cultural currency, referring to resources that gatekeepers do not recognize as valuable. This currency can be used to achieve a sense of control over their situations, through minimizing the impact of being dominated and pretending submissiveness. For greater suitability and effectiveness, subordinate groups often borrow existing elements from mainstream cultures that do not require many changes (Sørensen & Vinthagen, 2012). Thus, resistance acts embedded in cultures may not be recognizable due to cultural normalization.

In the Chinese cultural context, there are a number of cultural values that constitute a superior-subordinate relationship in supervision, including social hierarchy, other-centeredness, filial piety, face concern, and harmony (Quake & Storm, 2012). Tsui, Ho and Lam (2005) discovered that supervisees rarely oppose their supervisors, and often they follow their instructions because of the cultural norm of 'face-giving' (p.59) to superiors. This face-giving mechanism maintains a harmony in the supervisory relationship. Likewise, one participant in Leung's case study (2012), exploring the use of power in Hong Kong, showed deference to his supervisor through leaving all decisions to the supervisor, and then following the given directions. Tactics like these not only reduce potential conflicts, but also places all accountability on the supervisor. These inherent cultural norms not only function as an inspiration for tactic creation, but also assists in justifying those resistance acts. Thus, cultural scripts holding tactics need to be acknowledged particularly in societies where harmonious relationships are highly valued.

Methods

Situatedness of the Researcher

I first wish to refer to my own experiences as a supervisee and supervisor. When I was studying for my Master's degree in the United States, I addressed my supervisors as Dr. [surname], even though they always told me to use their first names. I came from a culture that emphasizes respect toward superiors with special skills and knowledge. This manifests as referring to such individuals by the honorific *lǎoshī* (meaning 'teacher'). I was therefore uncomfortable calling my supervisors by their first names until I became familiar with the culture of higher education in the US, where professors and students have a relationship more along the lines of colleagues. While I generally did not have issues with my supervisors, one experience during my first year of doctoral study caused me to question the effects of cultural ideologies. This particular supervisor worked from a theoretical orientation that was different from mine and required all supervisees to submit client genograms[2] after the first therapy session. He considered my request to postpone submission to the third session as an open confrontation to his authority, regardless of my explanations. His outrage was followed by the silent treatment, a situation that was extremely uncomfortable for both myself and the other supervisee. Given that the neoliberal framework upholds the idea that an 'enterprising self' promotes individual wellbeing and liberty (Martin & McLellan, 2013, p. 112), my cohort encouraged me to fight for myself. However, after this experience, I developed doubts regarding whether my actions would be considered disrespectful according to the ethics of teacher-student relationships in my home culture. My supervisor's subsequent apology did not dispel the self-doubt.

As a trainee, I had enjoyed being challenged by my supervisors to expand my professional knowledge, improve clinical practice, and actively raise questions for further discussion. I have used this experience to inform my own methods as a supervisor, encouraging my supervisees to do the same. However, I left them to decide whether to take my suggested clinical direction. Yet the supervisees I worked with in Taiwan were not used to this

[2] The genogram is an important assessment tool to evaluate family relationships. Its dynamic has been developed in the marriage and family therapy profession, and has been in widespread use in the field of psychotherapy.

style, which trainees from the US appreciated. Moreover, I found supervisees in Taiwan often adopted professional jargon associated with my choice of clinical approaches to pander to me. Using therapeutic terminology during case discussions not only demonstrated their professionality, it was also an attempt to impress me, although they did not fully understand them.

Upon speaking with other supervisor colleagues, I found that supervisees often took supervisor comments personally. That is, supervisees felt that inquiry into their assumptions, biases, and intentions associated with clinical practice were a confrontation to them as therapists and persons. They then used several tactics to avoid their uneasiness with supervision, such as changing the topic, using visual cues (exchanging glances) to recruit the assistance of another supervisee who asked questions to divert the supervisor's attention, and giving responses that ended the discussion (for instance 'I'll give it a try', or 'I'll think about it'). These tactics shut the door for further processing of the supervisory relationship. Although these actions were frustrating for me, they served to prevent escalation of tension in the supervisory relationship. Furthermore, supervisees could secure their grades, as well as their professional self-esteem. My experiences and those of my colleagues suggest that supervisee-supervisor interactions are shaped by cultural ideologies that are not recognized in the field of counseling psychology. Moreover, although supervisees may be in the one-down position in relation to supervisors, the former possess tacit knowledge to turn the dynamic around. These experiences not only provided the initial research directions for the study but also served a reflexive purpose that enabled me to be aware of how knowledge was produced, how pre-existing understanding was revised in light of new information, and how cultural agendas and professional assumptions informed my decisions during data collection and analysis.

Participants

Seven participants (see Table 1) consented to participate in this study. Six were women and one was a man. At the time of the interview, their ages ranged from 25 to 42 years old. All of the participants were enrolled in graduate programs of counseling psychology at national universities. Two of them had work experience prior to graduate study, as a social worker and an elementary school teacher. Five participants took an internship with student counseling centers at universities or colleges; one was at a district student counseling center providing services to students and their families

from elementary to high school, and one was at a community counseling center.

Table 1. Participants[3]

Name	Age	Gender	Graduate Program	Type of Internship Site
Joyce	26	Women	Counseling Psychology with concentration in Marriage and Family Therapy	University student counseling center
Julie	30	Woman	Counseling Psychology with concentration in Marriage and Family Therapy	District student counseling center
Linda	25	Woman	Counseling Psychology with concentration in Marriage and Family Therapy	University student counseling center
Rachel	25	Woman	Counseling Psychology with concentration in Marriage and Family Therapy	Student counseling center at a junior college
Susan	42	Woman	Counseling Psychology	Community counseling center
Tony	28	Man	Counseling and Applied Psychology	University student counseling center
Vicky	25	Woman	Counseling and Applied Psychology	University student counseling center

Data Collection and Analysis

This qualitative study aimed to investigate everyday forms of supervisee resistance to supervision. Given the lack of empirical studies in the field of counseling psychology, I began with fieldwork in June 2016. I spoke with three trainee interns regarding their struggles with supervision and their tactics to buffer and create a space to breathe, as well as with one on-site

[3] Participants' names were anonymized in order to protect their identities. These are not their real names.

supervisor about her experiences with supervisee resistance. Additionally, I sat in on an internship course with a faculty supervisor on campus to observe the interactions between the supervisor and the supervisees during case discussions in a group setting. All these efforts provided rich information for this study. The flyers were sent out to recruit participants for counseling psychology graduate programs, excluding my own. Thereafter, I visited two internship courses for recruiting purposes, continuing recruitment until data saturation was achieved. In total, seven participants took part in this study.

Two to three in-depth interviews were conducted with each participant. Each interview lasted 2-2.5 hours. One was scheduled halfway through the internship and the other at the end. Each interview was audio-recorded and transcribed by the research assistants. In total, 15 interviews were completed. The data included verbatim transcriptions, texts (including 50 weekly reflections on the internship, one internship journal, ten emails from participants with further thoughts on subjects in the previous interview, and supervisee evaluation forms), as well as field notes.

Data analysis began with the first interview transcription. Through careful line-by-line reading and constant comparisons of 'qualitatively meaningful undivided units' (Chenail, 2012a, p. 266), I generated in vivo and descriptive codes to develop the themes being discussed. I also wrote memos to explain the relationships between the textual phrases and the codes in order to juxtapose elements that were different but qualitatively connected (Chenail, 2012b). I then sent the first draft of my analysis of the interview transcriptions with each participant for member check. Additionally, peer debriefing served to reflect on my biases and assumptions, while challenging my interpretation of the data.

Results and Discussion

All supervisees embraced the concept of collaboration with autonomy, which is highlighted as one professional ideology of effective supervision, and expected 'democratic participation' during supervision. Julie vividly described her first supervisory session. To enhance the effectiveness of supervision, her supervisor brought out the issue of power and asked what Julie thought of it. As Julie explained the idea of democratic participation, 'supervisees have equal power for determining directions of supervision since they know best what they need and want to learn.' She was stunned by the supervisor's response: 'Power disparity in clinical supervision may be unfair.

It is what it is. I hope you'd understand it.' Then, she noticed that 'Power' on the bullet list was marked done. Linda recalled how her supervisor 'demonstrated her power' when they met for the first time. Asked by the supervisor about her theoretical orientation, Linda shared her enthusiasm for one therapeutic approach. While making a few negative judgments on that particular therapy model, the supervisor handed Linda a copy of case analysis template she had to complete from the theoretical framework the supervisor preferred prior to each meeting.

Most supervisees experienced that their supervisors tended to view the supervisory relationship as more directive, particularly on clinical theories for conceptualizing cases and deciding on interventions with clients. This may be related to the apprenticeship model, which aims to gradually introduce trainees to professional knowledge, skills and roles through a combination of observing, coaching and practice (Feinstein, Huhn, & Yager, 2015). Such an apprenticeship model is suitable for an academic rather than a clinical setting in the field of psychotherapy (Bruscia, 2018), because master-apprentice supervision evokes a hierarchy of power that favors the master as an authority, a dynamic that is not supported in the current trend of supervision, which emphasizes collaboration. However, given that supervision is a part of professional education and training, apprenticeship is inevitable and salient, particularly in traditions that emphasize pedagogy. The master-protege relationship in Taiwan is influenced by the cultural ethics of 'once a teacher, always a teacher,' indicating that novices must treat their masters respectfully as they do their parents, because of the traditional view that while parents give birth to their children, masters not only impart knowledge but also instill moral values in the children and cultivate them to be good citizens. Consider the following instance of supervision I observed in my fieldwork. This particular senior supervisor explained that her responsibility as a 'master' was to assist her 'pupils' (supervisees) with connecting theories to clinical practice. Sitting in on her supervision sessions to observe the supervisor-supervisee interactions, I found that she supervised from her theoretical orientation of choice, and unsurprisingly, the supervisees used the jargon of that particular theory for case conceptualization and treatment development. The supervisees recorded all comments and suggested interventions from the *lǎoshī* without asking questions.

The participants in this study perceived themselves to be 'in the one-down position,' which as Vicky pointed out means being under supervision characterized as a master-apprentice relationship. Given the cultural ethics

of honoring instructors, the supervisees' resistant acts were sophisticatedly integrated into their daily practice. In this section, I introduce the tactics that supervisees used to navigate through their supervision, describe supervisee resistance to therapy suggested by supervisors, and then discuss the cultural scripts regarding relationships that affected supervisee actions.

Tactics to navigate through supervision

One purpose of clinical internships in counseling psychology is to assist trainees to integrate theories with practice. According to the supervisee competence evaluation form, one aspect of professionalism is that trainees are able to theoretically conceptualize client problems and apply counseling techniques consistent with the theoretical rationale. Meanwhile, one responsibility of clinical supervisors is to help supervisees develop case conceptualization and therapeutical techniques based on a particular theoretical model. While eager to make connections between theories and clinical practice, clinical interns in this study began to wonder whose theoretical approach would be adopted to analyze client problems, as they discovered their preferred clinical approach differed from their supervisors'. Linda indicated her clinical interests in one particular therapeutic framework, inducing negative judgments from her supervisor during their first supervisory meeting. Given the evaluation indicator that supervisees willingly increase knowledge and implement effective counseling strategies, she decided to discard her theoretical preference and instead employ her supervisor's clinical theory. In effect, most of the supervisees in this study who made a similar decision struggled with the demands of conceptualizing their cases and developing interventions through the unfamiliar theoretical lens of their supervisors. As Susan described, 'it's like I'm learning a new language.' She was often restless on the days of supervision sessions. As they read transcripts line-by-line together, the supervisor often indicated deviations from the particular counseling approach she favored. Additionally, the supervisor would play the part of a client and quiz Susan's ability to demonstrate the 'correct' (supervisor-preferred) skills. Susan and others adopted multiple tactics to get through the difficult times during supervision.

'I'm learning a new language': Tactics in response to different clinical approaches

Linda's supervisor devoted a few supervisory sessions to illustrate the concepts of one particular theoretical approach the supervisor had adopted in clinical practice. During all supervisory sessions, Linda employed tactics that revealed a process of making the self visible, invisible, and then re-visible. In the early stages of supervision, Linda explicitly added optional therapeutic intentions along with her actual clinical interventions on the transcripts of clinical interactions. The goal of these additions was to help the supervisor better understand Linda as a therapist. However, the supervisor told Linda that the additional therapeutic intentions were 'completely redundant.' Moreover, the critiques Linda received as they went over the transcripts frustrated her; examples included 'your immediate response to what the client just said is inappropriate,' 'you just interrupted his [the client's] train of thought,' and 'you completely missed her [the client's] point.' Thereafter, Linda chose to focus on client information instead of her interventions to avoid 'getting in trouble with the supervisor again.' The aim of this invisibility was to protect Linda's professional self-esteem. After the supervisor noticed her 'disappearance' from the transcripts, Linda made herself re-visible selectively, presenting only segments that she was certain she had done correctly. This functioned both as protection and as impression management, signaling her professional competence to the supervisor.

Supervision involves education. However, although all the supervisees in this study acknowledged that their supervisors had striven to impart their clinical knowledge and experiences to them, preserving professional esteem seemed to be the supervisees' top priority. Consider, for example, Rachael's quest for an external supervisor. Granted funding from the internship site for extra supervision, she decided to hire an external supervisor with expertise in family therapy, her area of interest. However, it turned out that she hired a particular supervisor characterized by her as 'warm-hearted, fully accepting.' She explained, 'I'm not confident in my professional competence (laughter). I often feel intimidated by a supervisor with a strong professional background. As a result, I guard myself all the time.' Despite the supervisees recognizing the pedagogical function of supervision, their need to protect their professional esteem may take precedence over pedagogy.

Joyce's defense for her theoretical orientations often caused impasses with the supervisor in the early phases of supervision. As soon as she

realized that 'I am the one with my clients in a therapy room rather than the supervisor,' she dropped debates over the therapeutic approaches. Instead, to avoid escalating contentions, she pretended to agree with the suggested clinical interventions by telling the supervisor, 'Okay, I'll do it.' During therapy with clients, however, she developed different interventions based on her choice of clinical orientation. Joyce stressed the importance of 'hav[ing] a solid sense that I am the therapist who is in charge of therapy.' To avoid giving the supervisor a chance to check and comment on the progress of the previous cases, Joyce would tactically bring in another case during the following meeting. These tactics revealed the double-edged sword of role segmentation between therapist and supervisee. Although Joyce could ease her own discomfort at supervision and maintain her clinical integrity, she could not help but think of herself as 'a double dealer.' This perception was incompatible with the 'congruence' that she regarded as a primary attribute of an effective therapist. To achieve congruence, she confessed to the supervisor and received a reply indicating that 'there are many clinical approaches; so, I'm in no place to judge which view is better than another. We are just different as therapists,' which was an immense relief for her. She viewed the response as giving her 'liberty' from the supervisor's clinical orientation. Joyce, then, made a distinction between 'easy' and 'challenging' cases. Because she was more confident in dealing with easy ones, Joyce decided to handle them based on her own clinical judgment. For difficult cases, she followed the supervisor's advice. She explained this rationale:

> In case something goes wrong with clients and the supervisor discovers I didn't follow her advice, I'm afraid she's not gonna protect me. As long as I follow through, if something happens to the clients, the supervisor would be responsible. I could defend myself by saying that I just executed the supervisor's instructions. She once told me, 'If something happened, we'd face it together.

This distinction confirmed, as Scott (1990) argued, that the subsistence ethic of subordinates does not aim to maximize profit but to minimize risk. Likewise, Linda mostly followed her supervisor's directions because of liability concerns. She explained, 'I have little clinical experience and no license.' However, she admitted she 'incorporated my own intervention ideas into therapy that I'd never make explicit in supervision.' Her justification was simple: 'After all, I am the therapist.' These instances show that license and

experience as symbolic capital can partially overcome supervisee resistance. However, supervisees still developed tactics to preserve their own subjectivity.

Sweeney and Creaner (2014) observed that theoretical orientations affected supervisory dynamics. The supervisees in this study were eager to integrate their own preferred theories over those of the supervisors into clinical practice. Mismatch of therapeutic approaches between supervisors and supervisees is likely to cause expectation conflict (Nellis, Hawkins, Redivo, & Way., 2011). Supervisees managed their discomfort by avoiding any acknowledgment of differences in theoretical orientations that might cause conflicts (Wahesh, 2016). Additionally, they demonstrated agency through tactics to preserve therapist subjectivity and through decisions to follow their supervisor's clinical suggestions selectively. This latter compliance served two purposes: to manage supervisors' impression of the supervisees' competence and to ensure protection from the supervisors. Thus, vulnerable supervisees cleverly maneuvered through the power disparity.

'I'm a good student': Tactical note-taking

The interns enjoyed being independent therapists who executed interventions they thought were best for their clients. However, they did not express these experiences during supervision because they did not wish to risk disapproval. Vicky considered that the best strategy for completing a supervisory session was 'keeping quiet about what I had done in therapy and let[ting] the supervisor speak.' The point was to 'avoid unpleasant consequences (e.g., dispute, conflict) that [could] sabotage the supervisory relationship,' she added. Similarly, Rachael did not voice her thoughts during sessions; instead, she jotted down the supervisor's instructions and recommended interventions, even though she did not believe all of them would work. Her aim was to avoid awkwardness in the relationship with the supervisor. Most trainees found that note-taking 'encourage[d] supervisors to continue talking' and also put the supervisees in a positive light, an effect that they had not predicted. For instance, Rachael was unexpectedly able to maintain and manage the impression of being a 'good student' through writing in her notepad. Likewise, even though she was disappointed that her supervisor did not approve of her theoretical orientation, Joyce wrote down her supervisor's exact words and highlighted them, generating the impression that she was 'a good student who deserves praise.' Thus, note-taking served to conceal supervisee disappointment with supervision and helped maintain a favorable public image as well as their clinical integrity.

Supervisee note-taking apparently influenced the supervisors. Rachael observed that her supervisor shifted to the position of instructor, correcting her notes while talking to her. Additionally, supervisors took cues from the supervisees' note-taking activity. On occasion, the supervisees were unable to pretend that they agreed with their supervisor's opinions. When this happened, they described putting their pens down and staring wordlessly at the notepad. This gesture provoked anxiety from the supervisors. Linda noticed that her 'supervisor would repeat herself to convince me.' Likewise, Rachael found that 'she (the supervisor) was quite anxious, either talking more or giving explanations in detail.' They also observed that supervisors attempted to decrease the prescriptive nature of their statements with comments such as, 'well, I just wanna share with you about the idea just occurring to me,' or 'I just wanna offer you some thoughts. It's completely up to you.'

De Certeau viewed discourse as 'a cleverness that does not recognize itself as such' (1984, p. 56). He also conceptualized the agency of tactics as both a realization of human relation and morally good actions that emancipate individuals who cannot establish their own strategies (Mitchell, 2007). In a given society that values learning as the noblest and most useful of human pursuits, good students employ a variety of methods to enhance their learning such as note-taking. Additionally, instructors would do the best they can to foster student success. Yet, in this study, note-taking had nothing to do with academic achievement. Instead, it was a productive tactic to create a space for supervisees to present themselves as good students rather than desperate trainees, while reining in the supervisors' instruction. Because supervisees positioned themselves as 'good students,' supervisors became instructors whose job is to impart knowledge, demonstrating mutual influence in the social encounter. Such a modus vivendi, as Goffman (1959) argued, allowed both parties to contribute toward maintaining the relationship while avoiding open conflicts.

'What do I go to therapy for?': Resistance to supervisors suggesting therapy

Addressing trainees' personal issues during supervision aims to ensure high-quality client care. Thus, supervisees were interested in working on personal issues to become better therapists. They embraced the concept that increasing self-awareness and recognizing blind spots enable therapists to

distinguish between their own emotions and thoughts versus those of their clients, thereby helping to avoid imposing their own needs on clients. Most trainees in this study received advice from their supervisors to seek therapy. For instance, Linda's supervisor often recommended individual therapy for her as they went over the transcripts, with comments such as, 'How come you reacted like XX? I'd suggest you go to therapy since you indeed have personal issues.' Likewise, when Vicky failed to execute the instructions, her supervisor said the following: 'Why do you always make the same mistake? What on earth have you been avoiding? You may have to work on your personal issues in therapy.' Julie was often told to see a therapist in that the supervisor insisted she experienced a 'countertransference' by drawing a parallel between Julie's therapeutic relationship with the client and her relationship with the family of origin. Accordingly, the supervisor advised her to seek individual therapy and not to see any clients until she resolved her issues there.

Supervisees were troubled by the perception that their supervisors 'never make it clear what exactly the issue is,' according to Linda, leading them to feel as if they had 'problems.' Upon requesting that their supervisors pinpoint specific issues they could work on, multiple participants revealed that supervisors refused. Linda explained that her 'supervisor was afraid I'd turn clinical supervision into individual therapy, which violates the codes of ethics regarding dual relationship.' However, this generated friction with the supervisees. For example, Vicky was agitated as she stated:

> She [the supervisor] keeps saying she is my supervisor and cannot talk about my issues. She repeatedly asks me to go to therapy without telling me what the issue is. What am I supposed to tell a therapist I need to work on? What do I go to therapy for?

This situation is due to supervisors often misinterpreting the idea of avoiding dual relationships (Liu, 2006). In turn, the issue of self for the therapist-in-training was left unresolved, depriving supervisees of a say in whether they agreed that they had issues and, if so, what those issues were.

Resistance may arise from discomfort with others imposing knowledge on one's competence and qualifications (Foucault, 1982). Vicky defended herself and refused the suggestion of therapy from her supervisor, stating that 'it won't work if you [the supervisor] don't tell me what the issue is.' She explained, 'it makes me feel like I'm the problem. But I'm NOT how she sees

me.' The supervisor also criticized Vicky's rejection of therapy, describing her as 'a therapist-in-training who doesn't have faith in counseling.' This example demonstrates that overt resistance escalates conflicts in the supervisory relationship and can also place the resisting party in a double bind. In Vicky's case, she either accepted the supervisor's viewpoint that she had a personal issue requiring therapy, or admitted that she was in denial of therapy's effectiveness.

In contrast, Linda cleverly flipped her supervisor's recommendation of individual therapy to her own advantage. She had difficulties with some clients who quit therapy without explanation. However, as soon as she realized the supervisor was using conversations about her emotions regarding client dropouts to explore Linda's personal issues, she smiled and said, 'I'm pretty okay with it. Since client dropout from therapy is likely to happen to therapists, it's a good opportunity for me now to learn how to deal with it.' This tactic of 'acting positive' served three purposes. First, the supervisor could not identify any issue about Linda that would lead to a therapy recommendation. Second, the statement demonstrated that Linda is capable of reconciling herself to a challenging clinical situation as a therapist-in-training. Finally, she maintained the boundary of clinical supervision, which the supervisor stated was 'for clients rather than the therapist.' Likewise, when her supervisor began exploring the self of the therapist, Julie pretended to 'cooperate with the supervisor by bowing [her] head, frowning, and pretending to speculate seriously about what the supervisor wanted [her] to see.' Julie then expressed regret: 'I am sorry. I'll keep working on it.' In our interviews, she confessed, 'I feel bad about the acting. Since there is nothing I can do, my goal is to get by and to earn supervisory hours so that I would be qualified for the licensure exam.' Both acting positive and pretended speculation tactically converted the supervisees who have 'problems' to professionals who are competent and continually improve themselves.

Especially worthy of attention is Susan. Her supervisor happened to oversee both her clinical and administrative tasks. Feedback regarding the administrative elements had overtaken the supervisory sessions. The supervisor was unsatisfied with the progress of administrative tasks assigned to Susan. Accordingly, the supervisor was critical of Susan's characteristics, commenting 'you are so passive,' 'you're actively involved in tasks you're interested rather than the required ones,' and 'you're really a pushover', and strongly recommend individual therapy. Susan characterized all such statements as 'enlightenment', and stated: 'I wasn't aware of those parts of me

until she [the supervisor] pointed them out. After some self-reflection, I felt 'yeah, that's truly the way I am'.' She initiated more conversations with the supervisor regarding those personal issues to improve herself as a therapist and as a person. Susan's attempts to address the self may be a tactic against off-topic clinical supervisory sessions that focused too much on administrative affairs. By directly engaging with the issue of self, she created a small space as a therapist in the context of supervision.

'A harmonious supervisory relationship leads to good guanxi': Cultural scripts

The supervisory relationship is an essential component of effective supervision (Bernard & Goodyear, 2019; Ladany et al., 2013). This relationship deeply affected supervisees' willingness to disclose and to participate in discussions on sensitive issues. Both supervisors and supervisees expect good relationships in which the former helps the latter develop professional competence. However, for the supervisees in this study, establishing a good relationship with their supervisors went beyond enhancing professional competence. They were concerned about how *guanxi* would affect their future careers. *Guanxi* is a term literally meaning 'relationship' but denoting social connections that provide special access to resources and operate through personal relations, rather than formal structures (Qi, 2013). One intern I met during my fieldwork recalled that the first supervisory session panicked her, particularly when the supervisor handed her informed consent form that she was required to sign before supervision could begin. While reading the form with her supervisor, she had numerous concerns regarding evaluations of clinical theories, techniques, case conceptualization, and remedy/improvement plans in case she was unable to help clients or possibly jeopardize their best interests. She wondered 'whose theoretical orientation would be used to conceptualize my cases? The supervisor's or mine?', 'based on what criteria would I be evaluated as incapable? Would it be fair to me?', and 'what should I do to keep my internship from being terminated early?' To avoid sabotaging her relationship with the supervisor, however, she kept all doubts to herself. She emphasized that 'a harmonious supervisory relationship leads to good *guanxi*.'

All supervisees described their clinical supervision as 'problem-focused.' As Julie explained, 'the supervisor provides me with detailed treatment plans and interventions to solve client problems.' Linda added, 'what I think of the

issues, therapeutic relationships, and myself as a therapist is left out.' Rachael made a few attempts to shift the focus to her role as the therapist while the supervisor was telling her 'what to do or could've been done with the clients.' Likewise, Julie gently explained what she had done and planned to do in the following sessions, elaborating on the intentions associated with her chosen clinical interventions in supervision to 'bring both therapist- and supervisee-subjectivities back.' Unfortunately, their attempts did not achieve the intended goals. The client-problem-focused supervision objectified trainee therapists, as exemplified by Julie's comment that 'it's like my supervisor does therapy with the clients through me.' Such feelings escalated tension in the supervisory relationship. Julie continued, 'we were locked in standoffs a couple of times. The conversations were pretty intense, which is really NOT what I hope for supervision.' One fellow intern told her that 'the acts seem to confront the supervisor.' Julie believed that the supervisory relationship was trusting but was still afraid that 'she [the supervisor] might think I'm confronting her.' The intern advised her 'to know which way the wind blows,' which caused Julie to consider how her disputes may have consequences for '*guanxi*'. Since then, she kept her thoughts to herself because 'it won't do me any good to put the supervisory relationship in jeopardy.'

Tony, who used to be a teacher at an elementary school, explained why he never challenged his supervisor: 'once a student successfully knocks you down, which undermines your credibility, you may not be able to control the whole class. More importantly, it indicates you are professionally incompetent.' Instead of confrontation, he always replied 'I'll do it,' even if he did not necessarily follow the suggested interventions. However, the supervisor, whom Tony described as open-minded, flexible, caring, and supportive, was eager to hear Tony's perspectives on the clinical suggestions. This situation was anxiety-inducing because Tony had to present himself 'more carefully.' He attempted 'safe' responses for the supervisor, first pretending to ponder before saying something along the lines of 'I'm still figuring that out.' He did so because he knew the supervisor would let him go as long as he appeared to be considering the questions. Tony explained, 'I am afraid the supervisory relationship would be jeopardized if I challenged the advice, which would lead to poor *guanxi*.' Keeping thoughts to himself functioned as a 'protection' not only for the supervisor's professional competence, but also for *guanxi*. Rachael explained the importance of maintaining good *guanxi* with supervisors. She quoted several proverbs to defend her position, specifically 'if you have close ties with someone powerful, what really matters

doesn't matter; if not, what really doesn't matter matters', and '*guanxi* make things easy.' She particularly emphasized, 'building social connections that give you a hand or help solve a problem by pulling some strings is quite important for young professionals, particularly with job seeking.'

Supervisees' nondisclosure (for instance, regarding their disagreement with feedback or suggested interventions), often indicates a weak supervisory alliance (Gibson, Ellis, & Friedlander, 2019) and/or supervisor's lack of multicultural competence (Hutman & Ellis, 2019). To build positive relationships that encourage supervisees to self-disclose, supervisors can also engage in disclosure (Ancis & Marshall, 2010; Bottrill et al., 2010) and demonstrate acceptance and exploration of differences between themselves and their trainees (Ancis & Marshall, 2010; Burkard et al., 2009; Murphy & Wright, 2005). In terms of characteristics, supervisors should strive to be supportive, caring, nonjudgmental and flexible (Murphy & Wright, 2005). However, a micro analysis focusing on individual actions and characteristics in effect overlooks the essential influence of a predominant macro-culture on interpersonal interactions. Supervisees in this study did not disclose because they conformed to the cultural scripts of *guanxi*. Supervisees' nondisclosure preserved supervisor professional competence and aimed to maintain harmonious relationships that would lead to good *guanxi* with supervisors. Supervisees expected supervisory relationships that enhanced their professional competence while forming *guanxi* as social capital that would benefit their professional career.

Conclusion

Understanding human activities requires recognizing both relational and cultural contexts in which the actions are embedded. Participating in a web of power relations, supervisees' daily practices are simultaneously influenced by multiple ideologies associated with social locations. The therapists-in-training, who embraced the dominant ideology of collaborative supervision, elaborated on their thought processes regarding clinical interventions, resisting supervisors who imposed clinical opinions as 'correct' solutions for therapy. However, in a cultural tradition of respect for authority, the supervisees' explanations for their own clinical intentions were deemed to a confrontation to, rather than collaboration with, the supervisors. Furthermore, in the era of psychotherapy professionalization, they were aware that supervisors are gatekeepers whose responsibility is to ensure that trainees meet standards

for entry into the mental health profession. Therefore, supervisees were conscious of hierarchy in their supervisory relationships. Given all these professional and cultural ideologies, all these meticulous, calculated tactics, such as selective presentation of cases or self, note-taking, acting positive, and pretended speculation, the supervisees employed intended to maintain harmonious relationships with their supervisors.

The tactics employed by the supervisees in this study served similar purposes as those identified in existing literature of everyday resistance (for example, foot-dragging, dissimulation, false compliance and so forth), in that all they intend to achieve are the goals of survival and undermining their superiors' domination. However, supervisee resistance in this study did not develop into a 'quiet encroachment' (Bayat, 2009, p.56) that subalterns put into practice to strive for a dignified life (Lilja et al., 2017). This could perhaps be because trainee status is temporary and can be left behind as soon as the one-year internship is completed, after which they will pass a licensure exam and move up in status as licensed counseling psychologists. These tactical actions enabled supervisees to adapt to the difficult situations that they encountered during clinical supervision and, most importantly, enabled them to preserve their own professional integrity and therapist subjectivity, and the harmonious supervisory relationships that generate valuable guanxi networks. In doing so, supervisees demonstrated their agency, even though they were in a vulnerable position.

The selected tactics were largely associated with the 'good student' ideology. Since their internships are part of the curriculum, supervisees still occupied a student role and had already demonstrated their academic performance through attending graduate school. In line with Foucault's technology of the self (1988), supervisees had long internalized the 'good student' concept in a culture that views academic success as part of being winners in life. Long-term training has imbued the supervisees in this study with obedience, respect for authority, and effective learning strategies. In effect, acting as a good student as a tactic did not aim to transform power relations in clinical supervision, rather it allowed for adaption to certain circumstances. Hence, everyday resistance is a self-regarding practice (de Certeau, 1984), where supervisees did not challenge the supervisor directly, but ignored or re-appropriated their suggestions based on the supervisees' own situated knowledge.

Genuineness, congruence and openness in therapeutic or supervisory encounters are valued and encouraged in the profession of counseling psychology. Meanwhile, the cultural discourse of students honoring instructors and their expertise had a strong influence on supervisee interactions with their supervisors. Unable to meet these conflicting expectations, the supervisees chose to conceal what they had to say in circumstances involving different preferences for therapeutic approaches, disagreement on suggested interventions, and frustration with unidentified personal issues requiring therapy. In other words, they adopted the identity of a 'good student' to maneuver through difficult situations in the interest of *guanxi*. Accordingly, supervisees' nondisclosure behind the tactics maintained supervisor professional integrity and harmonious supervisory relationships, which increase the social capital of *guanxi*, needed by supervisees to ease their professional career, as *guanxi* connects them with relevant contacts in the competitive mental healthcare market. Supervisees may be more vulnerable than supervisors, but the cultural context and tactics allow them to manage situations to their own long-term advantage. Thus, nondisclosure is both an act of resistance and a self-serving behavior when considering the cultural discourse of *guanxi*.

Given that supervisee reluctance may be ineluctable, recognizing everyday resistance as part of the nature of supervisory relationships rather than as discord that must be eliminated may be the first step to deal with supervisee resistance. Acknowledging supervisees' everyday resistance fosters an understanding of not only their vulnerability, but also the effects of both professional and cultural discourses on supervisory interactions. Accordingly, I would suggest that both supervisors and supervisees acknowledge resistance while addressing the issue of power disparity. Exploration of the resistance issue may begin with processing both supervisor and supervisee experiences with resistance in their daily life, and identifying tactics employed to advance their interests along with cultural scripts upholding the tactics. The objective of this conversation is to connect both by voicing unspeakable struggles associated with the vulnerable positions each of them used to or currently occupy. Accordingly, addressing potential factors that are likely to contribute to supervisees' resistance in clinical supervision may facilitate better understanding of the social contexts in which supervisees reside. Furthermore, both supervisors and supervisees should examine the constraints of dominant discourse about supervision and its intersection with common or unrecognized cultural scripts through everyday resistance. Such

explorations may help them identify various forms of effective supervision.

One limitation of this study was a lack of analysis of everyday resistance by supervisee participants from the perspective of gender relations. This study was originally deigned to recruit dyads of supervisees and supervisors of the opposite sex. However, given that the sex ratio is 81 female to 19 male therapists in the field of counseling in Taiwan, it was hard to achieve this goal. Furthermore, some prospective supervisee participants declined to participate in this study upon realizing their supervisors would also do so, mainly because of the fear of jeopardizing the supervisory relationship or of retaliation through their final grades if their supervisors chanced to hear what they had to say about clinical supervision. Future research may elaborate upon resistance tactics employed by supervisees and even by supervisors from professional discourses regarding clinical supervision, intersecting with cultures of gender, socioeconomic status, race, nationality, ethnicity, and sexual orientation, to further expand our understanding of everyday resistance in supervision.

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Techniques of Resistance through Weaponization of the Body During Palestinian Hunger Strikes

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Abstract

This article conceptualises the techniques of resistance developed by Palestinian hunger strikers. Through the weaponization of the body they seek to disrupt the techniques of power exercised over their starving bodies by the Israel Prison Authorities (IPA), as well as the Israeli intelligence services responsible for administrative detention. It shows that hunger strike is a site of creativity of resistance and human agency. From the hunger strikers' view, it demonstrates their ability to claim agency over their bodies and the power of life and death which rests in the hands of those who resist. This mode of resistance not only reflects the relationship between Palestinian political prisoners and the IPA but also illustrates the complexity of settler-colonialism and the dynamics of anti-colonial resistance.

The article approaches the techniques of power and resistance between the IPA and political prisoners chronologically, from the initial phase of the hunger, the peak of the struggle, and the advanced stage which is marked by negotiations between the prisoners and the IPA. The trajectory of hunger strikes varies according to the decomposition of the starving body, and at each stage the prison authorities change the emphasis of their techniques in order to break the hunger strike, whilst the prisoners invent new techniques to sustain the hunger strike. Subjectivity formation during the hunger strike arises from the protracted battle between the resistant subjects and colonial power.

This article traces how power and resistance operate during the hunger strike in the context of occupied Palestine. It identifies the techniques of resistance deployed by Palestinian political prisoners in their relation to the techniques of colonial power employed by (IPA) by focusing on their own narratives of hunger striking in the Israeli Prisons. The prison resistance must

be understood in the larger context of the Palestinian anti-colonial struggle resisting settler colonialism. This is manifested in a particularly intense form in the prison struggle. Captivity is an integral part of the Israeli system of colonial repression (Nashif 2008). Palestinians are subjected to political incarceration in order to suppress their political activism in the national struggle for anti-colonial liberation. The political prisoners' resistance and their experience of hunger strike in the Israeli prison system exemplifies the nature of the colonial settler regime. The accounts of former hunger strikers stress the fact that the dispossession experienced in the Israeli prison system goes beyond the incarceration of the captive body, which functions to painfully strip Palestinian detainees of their humanity.

The struggle of Palestinians does not end with their imprisonment, for a new stage of steadfastness (*Sumud*) and resistance begins through the practice of the hunger strike. Hunger strike in Palestine is a relatively contemporary phenomenon and reflects the ongoing conflict between settler-colonialism and anti-colonial resistance. For example at the time of writing (October 26, 2020), the political prisoner Maher Al-Akhras has been on an open-ended hunger strike for 92 days since his arrest in late July 2020. He was placed in administrative detention and immediately went on hunger strike; he is currently at Kaplan Hospital on the brink of death, refusing food and medical treatment and entering a critical phase.

The article is based on 85[1] in-depth interviews conducted between 2015 and 2018 with Palestinian ex-prisoner hunger strikers from Israeli prisons,[2] who recounted their lived experience after their release. Their actions were in protest against their administrative detention . The experiences of individuals are situated within the Palestinian national struggle against settler colonialism and in relation to their collective movement in the post-Oslo period, following the decline and fragmentation of the national struggle. The Palestinian hunger strikers' commitment to a form of decolonisation and liberation politics takes distance from the post-Oslo agreement politics, which are characterised by the replacing of resistance with a neoliberal

[1] The interviews consisted of five groups of people in Palestine: former prisoners and hunger strikers; lawyers representing prisoners; families of prisoners and ex-prisoners; leaders and activists from the prisoners' rights movement, as well as representatives of political parties.

[2] Addameer and the Prisoner Club in the West Bank facilitated access to the former hunger strikers.

rationality state building (Dana 2017; Ganim 2009; Khalidi 2007; Massad 2006; Said 2002; Sayigh 1999). The interviewees regard the research as bearing witness to their suffering and was a key reason for them agreeing to be interviewed. Most of them were proud of their hunger strike and aware of the popularity and support they had achieved. They were keen to have their stories disseminated using their real names, in order that their engagement and their history be acknowledged.

Though contemporary Palestinian hunger strikes initially appear as individual acts, the hunger strikers' discourse reveals a form of collective subjectivity driven by Palestinian revolutionary politics. Their actions which are about as singular and solitary an act as can be imagined, are in fact viewed by the interviewees as the bearer of renewal of the collective political struggle and a way to maintain Palestinian resistance against Israeli occupation. The individual hunger strike was the prominent form of resistance when I started my interviews (2015-2018), their frequency increasing from 2012 to this day and sometimes coinciding with collective hunger strikes in 2014, 2016 and 2017. In most cases, the prisoners managed to achieve their release by reaching individual agreements with the IPA. These individual hunger strikes gradually developed into a collective form, and in 2016 led to a factional hunger strike by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)[3] in solidarity with their member Bilal Deyab. Subsequently, in April 2017, 1500 Palestinian prisoners began an open-ended hunger strike, the 'dignity hunger strike', which had organisational support from all political parties. These collective hunger strikes are very important events and demonstrate how individual hunger strikes embody and enable enduring structural forms of social and political transformation. They always remain a possibility and should not be artificially separated from individual hunger strikers. The Palestinian prisoners refer to the hunger strike as 'the captive revolution' and also 'the battle of the empty stomach', during which they choose to transform their bodies into a site of revolution. The body here becomes more than the material body, for the singularity of hunger strike becomes an emblem of Palestinian self-determination and the body of the hunger striker a symbol of a communally-shared body politics. They lead and revive the struggle in the light of the decline of the collective struggle, and are the pulse that emphasises that Palestinians exist. Their freedom is connected to Palestinian collective freedom and struggle for self-determination. From their singular

[3] The PFLP is a Palestinian secular revolutionary socialist organization which combines Arab nationalism with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

encounter with colonial power, they constitute an intersubjective political consciousness of Palestinian self-determination at the collective level.

1. The weaponization of the body and technologies of resistance

The hunger strikers' techniques of resistance need to be understood in terms of the overall process of weaponization of the body, which the hunger strikers regard as a means of reclaiming dignity and humanity. The techniques of resistance are the way in which they innovate specific practices in their hunger strike. These techniques are the particular individual practices that are communicated, learned, and taught, while the technologies are the broader processes of weaponization of the body in which these techniques are assembled together and developed.

Feldman (1991) was the first study of Irish Republican hunger strikes to use the term the 'body as weapon', to describe how IRA prisoners struck back at the British authorities. One of the hunger strikers reported: 'from the moment we hit the H-Block we had used our bodies as a protest weapon' (179). Yuill (2007) reviewed different theoretical analysis of the sociology of the body and its embodiment within violent political conflicts. He concludes that the body can be one of the resources for resistance, especially when others are denied or limited, as in the case of Irish Republican prisoners. Prisoners reframed their bodies as a modality of resistance in order to assert their identity as Republican soldiers rather than criminals. Bargu (2014) conceptualises self-destructive practices as a weaponization of life tactics in which the body is utilised as the means of political intervention. Bargu builds on Foucauldian perspectives of power relations and the conjoined working of disciplinary and biopolitical discourses and practices. In her engagement with theorists of biopolitics, she argues against certain aspects of Foucault and Agamben and claims that her study makes a case theoretically and empirically for what she calls 'biosovereignty'. Bargu argues that biosovereignty continues to produce new forms of resistance, contrary to accounts of resistance by some theorists of biopolitics according to whom power penetrates every aspect of life and limits the potential for resistance. Thus, Bargu conceptualises the self-destructive practices that transform life into a weapon as a specific modality of resistance.

In this article I focus more on techniques of resistance which are under-theorised in relation to technologies of power. Lilja and Vinthagen (2014)

discuss this relationship between power and resistance, and utilise Foucault in order to understand resistance and its relation to different power techniques drawing on empirical examples from resistance studies. They argue that the particularities of power decide how resistance can be conducted:

> If resistance is a reaction to power, then the characteristics of the power strategy/relation affect the kinds of resistance that subsequently prevail. And if resistance is a response and thereby shaped by relations of power, it becomes interesting to discuss what kinds of resistance are linked to or emanate from what kinds of power (107).

The weaponization of the body, which is the overall technology of resistance, is key in the hunger strikers' techniques of resistance which are explored as they emerge during the practice of the hunger strike. The starving rebellious body becomes the infrastructure and battleground for the practice of power subjection and resistant subjectivation. Foucault's concept of technologies of the self, which refers to practices through which subjectivity constitutes itself (Foucault, Martin, Gutman, & Hutton, 1988), is helpful in conceptualising technologies of resistance that are mainly ways of instrumentalising the body and producing techniques of resistance such as refusal of medical examinations, refusal of vitamins and supplements, water strikes, refusal to speak and so forth.

In a forthcoming article, Ajour (2021) argues that power does not constitute subjectivity but rather, subjectivity is constituted through its interaction with the technologies of power. This comes about through the hunger strikers' response to the efforts of the Israeli Prison Authorities (IPA) to overcome, confine and constrain resistance, as well as the technologies of resistance associated with it. The technologies of resistance employed by the hunger strikers operate through the duality they create between the physical body and the immaterial *rouh* (soul) acquired by instrumentalising their bodies through transforming them into 'weapons'. Their subjectivity derives from the seemingly contradictory weakness of the physical body and the immaterial strength of the mind and soul emerging from the collapse of the body, which is what enables them to sustain their hunger strike.

Walid Daqqa (2010; see also Al Shaikh, 2019) investigates the technologies used by the IPA to mould prisoners' consciousness and their collective resistance values. Daqqa develops a theoretical framework via Foucault (1977) and Klein (2007) to offer his own analysis of the modern

forms of torture that occur in Israeli prisons. Daqqa (2010) argues that Israel has created a system based on the most updated modern theories of human engineering and social psychology, in order to mould Palestinian consciousness by shattering its collective values: 'The occupier derives his ideas, theories and tools of repression from a postmodern civilized reality or as what Bauman terms 'Liquid Modernity" (22). He posits that modern oppression techniques are hidden and masked, being a compilation of small fragmented procedures which are hard to define separately as tools of torture. Modernist repression is disguised and hidden, and in his book he attempts to 'realize the overall framework and logic behind this system […] The prisoners body is no longer the direct target: the spirit and the mind are' (21). Daqqa uses the collective hunger strike in 2004 as an example of the shock doctrine that moulds the prisoners' consciousness and strikes at the moral infrastructure of the prisoners. The IPA used the hunger strike as a second shock after the shock of invasions and arrests, followed by a process of brain washing and reformation of consciousness:

> We were facing a system of repressive measures that are frightening in their logic and science. The Israeli government supported them (the IPA) politically at the highest levels, and the Israeli minister of prisons stated that the prisoners on hunger strike can die, as he does not intend to respond to their demands (51).

However, Daqqa emphasises the possibility of resistance and sheds light on the agency and resistance subjectivity of the political prisoners:

> The Israeli targeting of the moral infrastructure of the Palestinians with the aim to mold their consciousness expresses a psychological and moral structure that makes *Sumud* (steadfastness) under the oppression of the Israeli military machine possible, and even made the passive steadfastness possible, as well as the positive and proactive steadfastness (28).

Despite the Israeli state attempts to erase Palestinian national consciousness, the Palestinian prisoners exercise *Sumud* to transform the colonial system into a generative Palestinian site for constructing national resistant consciousness. He adds, 'The measures taken by Israel prison authorities indicate extraordinary and intolerable torture and constitute a force of psychological pressure, but the most prominent scene is *Sumud*, defiance and resilience' (5).

The articles delineates the techniques of power and resistance between the IPA and political prisoners, and illuminates how resistance and *Sumud* is possible despite the intensity of technologies of power. It contributes to the conceptualization of the techniques of resistance developed through the weaponization of the body. Although theoretically-informed literature on hunger strikes in Northern Ireland and Turkey exists, there is an absence of such literature about hunger strikes in Palestine, therefore this articles contributes towards filling this gap. By developing an in-depth account of the dynamics and experience of the Palestinian hunger strikes it offers a contribution to the weaponization of the body in hunger striking as a site of creativity of resistance and human agency.

2. Techniques of power and resistance in Palestinian hunger strike

The techniques of resistance develop across three stages: the initial phase of the hunger strike, the peak of the struggle, and the advanced stage of negotiation and agreement. In the first stage, the critical question is whether the prisoners can sustain the hunger strike despite the punitive measures and strategy of neglect and indifference imposed by the IPA. The latter, according to the accounts of former hunger strikers, is aimed at assessing the mental state of each prisoner and the extent to which they are seriously willing to die. The peak of the struggle revolves mainly around the use of vitamins and supplements. The hunger strikers resort to these in order to shorten their suffering, and the shared orientation towards the avoidance of death leads both sides to negotiate. This is the final stage of the conflict and the techniques used by both IPA and hunger strikers determine the dynamics of the negotiations.

2.1 The initial phase of the hunger strike

In the first phase, usually between the 20th to 30th day of the strike, before the prisoners are transferred to hospital, they are subjected to punitive measures such as raids on prison cells, transfers to isolation cells, threats of indefinite detention (see B'Tselem and Hamakoked, 2009; Pelley-Sryck, 2011), bans on family visits, and reduction of money spent in the canteen.[4] Adel Hiribat:

[4] For sources on the IPA's strategy and techniques of power see (Langer, 1975, 1979). Also Amnesty International (2021) and Addameer Prisoner Support

> From the beginning, one felt that the jailor wanted to break us. They made us feel that they would not do anything to respond to our demands and we were just tiring ourselves out, that everything we do will be in vain. The jailor ignores us completely and doesn't talk to us or ask why we are on hunger strike until we entered more than 20 to 30 days striking when they started taking information.

These measures were referred to by all the ex-hunger strikers, and included solitary confinement, humiliating strip searches, confiscation of all the prisoner's belongings, prevention of family visits, denial of visits, sleep deprivation, and physical and psychological violence. Moamar Banat:

> The first day I announced my hunger strike I was isolated in a cell measuring 2.5m by 1.5m and was watched by two surveillance cameras. It was very cold and the bed was rough and made of stones and the mattress was wet. Although they confiscated everything, even my clothes, they kept searching the cell every couple of hours even at midnight. They banned the family and lawyers' visits, made barbeques next to the cell, to put pressure on me thinking that I would break my strike.

Hashlamoun's account reveals some of the Israeli repression techniques applied against female prisoners, which rely on stereotypes about Palestinian culture.

> Solitary confinement is like the grave. There was no seat in the toilet, it was very dirty and the floor was covered in broken pieces of glass which stuck to my feet […] On the 12th day of the strike they told me: 'we are going to take you to the hospital' [...] the doctor asked me 'have you thought of committing suicide?' I told him 'now I understand the reason for the broken glass on the floor of my cell. You are trying to destroy my reputation […] He was a psychiatrist trying to draw information about my life, so he can write a report stating that I am insane or unstable. I told him 'you are not a doctor but *''Mukhabarat'* (intelligence) [...] We Palestinians don't think about committing suicide at all'.

The Israeli Prison Authorities operationalised stereotypes based on orientalist assumptions stemming from misconceived ideas about Palestinian

and Human Right Association (2016).

patriarchal culture. These racist stereotypes were to encode women's bodies and sexuality to symbolise ideas surrounding honour (*Sharaf*). Abdo (2011, 2014) challenged the orientalist assumptions that encoded the Palestinian female political prisoners.

The IPA also used physical torture through beatings and the transfer of prisoners by '*Bosta*' – a military car called a torturer's car by the prisoners. The repeated transfer of hunger strikers is a means of adding pressure by completely ignoring the fatigue and the weak condition of the detainees. Ahmed Remawi:

> They keep transferring us from a prison to another. I was transferred to three prisons during my hunger strike. The *bosta* is extremely exhausting. Everything is tiring in this car, its sound, its shaking movement, its chair, the black glass windows hurt the eyes. They left us in the *bosta* long hours. The body's position is unbearable, our hands and legs are shackled sometimes for more than seven hours, without toilet or water. The guards were not able to take me out of the car because I could not stand up as I was dizzy. I fell down after nine hours without water.[5]

Throughout the transfer, the hunger strikers were subjected to violent beatings and verbal humiliation which resulted in clashes and confrontations with the guards. Hasan Safadi reported that:

> During my transfer the guard [...] hit and pushed me violently and I fell to the ground […] I was exposed to all kinds of psychological and physical assault and I struggled with the pain of hunger and starvation, and on top of that their abusive insults did not stop.[6]

Raed Abu-Hanoud described Israeli repression as 'dirty' practices:

> I was on hunger strike in solitary confinement and then they took off all my clothes, even my underwear and brought their Israeli females from the prison service to watch me while I was completely naked […] Every

[5] These points are also supported by the affidavits I consulted in the prisoners' club. I accessed some of the prisoners' sworn affidavits which I had collected during my ethnographic work in 2015.

[6] Addameer's report (2014) documented the incessant abuse of Hasan Al-Safadi as punishment for his hunger strike.

> ten minutes they entered and searched while I was naked.

Abd Al-Jaber Fuqaha:

> They exercised over our bodies a set of barbaric methods […] The Naqab experience was different because it was a desert, and hunger strikers were placed eight hours in the heat of the sun […] in Ofer we suffered severely from bugs […] after sunset, the bugs spread on the cells' walls and on our beds […] in addition to our suffering of starvation, the bugs sucked our blood and the bites caused allergies and swellings on our body.

Exposing striking prisoners to food was another technique used to break the prisoners. The affidavit of Fadi Ghanim affirms that 'the jailers threw food through the door slot and then announced via speakers that a certain prisoner from this room broke the strike'. Mohamad Alan reported:

> Once [...] they brought to my cell *Makluba*[7] and it remained with me the whole night […] I realised that it was a psychological war and I had to stay resilient and steadfast. They made barbeque parties beside my cell's windows and the smell of the barbeque invaded my cell.

Israeli punitive techniques led the hunger strikers to create their techniques of resistance. In the initial stage of the conflict this is more to do with the prisoners' own bodies than with the jailors' actions. Most of the prisoners I interviewed emphasised that the first 20 to 30 days of hunger strike is the hardest in terms of struggling with starvation. During this conflict, they persist in and sustain their strike by strengthening their will. This is produced through the clash with the IPA. As Hiribat put it: 'They make you understand that the Israel State won't be broken by someone like you. However their behaviour and words give me the determination and pushed me to be more persistent in my resistance'.

The bodies of striking prisoners that were used to resist power were punished, which, as Khader Adnan's account indicates, entailed the irony of punishing a body that has already punished itself:

> One of the Israeli military officers came and informed me that I was to be punished by depriving me from family visits. I told him: 'What a contradiction! How can you punish me while I am the one who is punishing myself. So you can't control me'.

[7] A traditional Palestinian dish.

In the initial phase then, before the hunger strikers were hospitalised, the punitive and degrading violent measures alongside a strategy of deliberate neglect—combining physical with psychological pressure—are the main tactics to make the prisoners understand that the Israeli state would not be defeated by hunger strikes.

2.2 The peak of the hunger strike

After 25 to 30 days the jailors see that the hunger strikers are serious about their decision to continue. Knowing that the prisoners have entered a critical stage of starvation, the prison authorities start to have concerns about the bodies of hunger strikers, and the prisoners are then transferred to hospital for medical examination and treatment. Bilal Diyab:

> They are inhuman in their treatment. After 30 days of my strike I was taken by *Nahshoun* (those who are responsible for prisoners' transfer). I was sitting in the wheelchair entering the hospital and they just let my wheelchair roll down on purpose and I fell out. They didn't care about my health and fatigue from starvation.

Khadar Adnan describes their situation in the hospital:

> The camera is watching me 24 hours a day; the hospital room is turned into a prison, I'm chained in what is called a 'civilian hospital', my right hand opposite my left leg. I even took my bath while chained. So why am I in a hospital? They should have taken me back to the prison. I told the hospital administration my room is an operational room not a medical room. It is full of jailors and Israeli officers.

In the hospital, the hunger strikers remained continuously shackled by their right hand and left foot to the bed. Even when they went to the bathroom, the prison guard refused to unshackle them. Sometimes they were denied all access to the bathroom, and they were watched by cameras and provoked by the jailors to put them under pressure. Salem Badi:

> Once I had a clash with them when they refused to take me to the toilet. I stood up and said I will pee here. When the doctor heard me shouting he made a deal with the jailor that I go to toilet.

Some prisoners reported that the bathroom door remained open and they were denied any privacy.

Most of the sworn affidavits by the former hunger strikers I had consulted from the prisoners' club describe in detail the painful symptoms of the chained body in the hospital bed. Fadi Ghanim stated that from the beginning of the hunger strike they were not allowed to cut their nails or shave their hair and beards. Like in the prison, the Israeli authorities left food near the striking prisoners in the hospital, and deliberately ate in front of them. Irony and sarcasm were used by the striking prisoners to irritate the jailor. Yunis Hroub:

> They left the food around me to break me, the guards ate in front of me. I remember an incident when the jailors expected to receive special dinner because they had a Jewish Holiday [...] but they were surprised that the food was normal, therefore I was in my turn laughing and teasing them [...] then the responsible officer called and I heard him saying 'What is this food you sent us, there is a striking prisoner who is sarcastic about us and is making fun of our food'.

The hunger strikers reported that the things that irritated the jailors most was their continuing high spirits and equanimity.

The techniques employed by the striking prisoners are decisive because they determine the nature of the negotiation process, the length of the strike, and the agreement reached at the end. Some achieved a good result but others could not reach satisfactory agreements in such a short time due to the efficiency of the IPA's techniques. External factors such as the role of lawyers, solidarity activities and public opinion further affected the dynamics of success. The role of the political party with which the strikers were affiliated also played a part, in that some political parties did not support their members and this was used by the IPA to break their resistance.[8]

New techniques of resistance are produced at the peak of the struggle when the prisoner's body gets habituated to starvation. In response, the prison authorities develop new techniques of oppression, such as prolonging the hunger strike through the use of forced feeding and in the process deterring new hunger strikes. As Adel Hiribat commented: 'The Israelis allowed us to prolong our strike before they negotiated with us because they thought that the long period of the strike would terrify any prisoner who thinks of engaging in a hunger strike'. The hunger strike is prolonged further by using

[8] See my discussion later of the negotiation stage.

vitamins and supplements, although the hunger strikers want to shorten it by refusing them and thus putting pressure on the IPA.

Momar Banat's account graphically describes how the techniques of resistance operate, as well as how persuading the IPA of their willingness to die leads the two parties to the negotiation point:

> After forty days, I began to vomit blood, tough days. I was unable even to drink a little amount of water [...] I did not take vitamins because they strengthen the body and prolong the period of the strike and I wanted to put them under pressure and shorten the duration. I wanted either to finish quickly and live or finish quickly and die. I have two options, I did not want to choose the middle solution and compromise because it would have prolonged my path, and this option is exhausting for me and for my family […] Therefore, I ended my hunger strike after only 70 days, and I got an excellent result. There are other hunger strikers who took the longest way and reached over 100 days and achieved less. Those who took the vitamins got weak deals with the Israelis at the end [...Mine] was one of the best deals and the main reason was that the prison administration was convinced I was not afraid of death.

The hunger strikers invented these techniques linked to their starving body to continue and accelerate its deterioration and decomposition—as Ahmed Remawi put it, 'If we don't endanger our health and nothing happens to our bodies there would be no pressure on the Israeli side'.

The deliberate acceleration of their bodies' disintegration demonstrates the link between the political temporality of the conflict and negotiation on the one hand, and the temporality of the body and its decomposition on the other. The hunger strikers use the relationship between these temporalities, in the sense that the more the body collapses the more they put pressure on the state to negotiate. However, the IPA succeeded in constraining some of the hunger strikers' techniques of resistance by subjecting them to forced feeding, i.e. the forcible injection of fluids into their stomach.

Despite this, a number of prisoners continued their strike, which sometimes reached over 100 days. Others accepted supplements because they were sick and had chronic diseases, therefore their bodies could not tolerate starvation without vitamins and supplements. A number took large amounts of supplements over a long period. For example, Samer Isawai survived a

266-day hunger strike, the longest hunger strike in Palestine, during which time he received only liquids with vitamins. Some strikers accepted the supplements in exchange for meeting their demands. For example, Bilal Diyab asked to speak with his family on the phone in exchange for being injected with supplements, particularly because his family had not received any news after he had gone into a coma and suspected that he had died. Khadar Adnan in his first strike also agreed to use the supplements after an 'ethical committee'[9] was formed in exchange for conditions, one of which was to speak with his family.

In Khadar Adnan's first hunger strike he demanded either his freedom or a trial to put an end to his administrative detention. In his second hunger strike he developed new techniques of resistance and completely boycotted the military courts, refusing to recognise them.[10] He asked the lawyers not to defend him, thus aiming to destabilise the logic of administrative detention. During the administrative detention, the prisoner does not know what the accusation against him or her is. There is a 'secret file' but neither the prisoner nor his lawyer can see it. Therefore, appearing before a military court without knowing the accusation is, in Mohamad Alan's words, 'a piece of theatre'. Alan became experienced and knowledgeable about Israeli techniques of repression, and this knowledge, communicated and learned from one hunger strike to another, helped him to develop and advance his techniques. 'Treat me as a human being and then you can subject me to medical examination', declared Khadar Adnan when he refused to undergo medical examinations while confined in handcuffs. He was removed to the hospital after his health deteriorated, and the hospital administration called on an ethical committee to force him to undergo a medical examination when his life became in real danger. Adnan did not permit his lawyer or doctors to visit him unless his chains were removed; after an intervention and communication with the prison authorities, the handcuffs were removed. It was these 'tiny victories' that led in the end to their freedom.

Another example was Yunis Hroub, who refused to bathe whilst chained, saying 'I told the jailors that I will not have my bath while I am

[9] See the discussion below on the role of the 'ethical committee' in forced treatment and feeding in Israeli hospitals.

[10] Boycotting Israeli law has a very long history in Palestinian resistance. On boycotting Israeli courts see: https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/02/prisoners-held-charge-boycott-israeli-courts-180214160954608.html

chained and if I have diseases you are responsible for that. After four days I got approval to have a bath without chains.' Since the body was their only weapon or instrument in resistance, the hunger strikers also refused to reveal what was going on in their starving body to the Israeli authorities. Moamar Banat:

> I refused the medical check, so they would not know my heart rate during my hunger strike. I don't want them to know because if they knew that everything was okay in my body they would relax. Since the beginning of my strike they examined me only once but in the advanced stages of the strike I refused. Once the doctor tried to catch my hand to check my pulses but I pulled my hand away […] I told him: 'You should not force me to do anything'.

Some prisoners stopped drinking water in protest against the harsh conditions; sometimes this is used to shorten the hunger strike by increasing the pressure on the IPA. Ahmed Remawi refused water in protest against the painful effects of the handcuffs:

> I embarked on a water strike to protest against handcuffs as they hurt me very much [...] When I stopped taking the water my health deteriorated seriously to the extent that when the doctors tried to take my blood there was no blood coming out in the needle. I had a severe infection in the kidneys after 40 days of striking and after 50 days I had a problem with my eyes and could not see further than one meter and a half.

Ahmed Remawi protested against the surveillance cameras by going on water strike:

> If I moved anywhere the camera was watching me even if I go to the bathroom. We could not sleep or sit or do anything. Once the lawyers came to see us and we requested that they take the camera away because we were not in the prison but rather in the hospital and it should not be allowed in the hospital. They told me 'We have got the hospital's agreement' [...] then I used the bottle I used for drinking water and hit the camera. It was broken and fell to pieces [...] then they came back and shackled my two hands (before it was one hand). I had embarked on the first water strike because one hand was shackled and now they punished

> me and shackled two hands because I broke the camera. I told them this time I will die if you don't free me from the chains. The situation ended when the doctor came to take blood when I was on the water strike and it did not come out and couldn't take any blood. They removed the chains after two days of water striking. After my hunger strike they punished me with solitary confinement for six days.

The water strike and refusal of supplements caused critical health problems. In the midst of the battle and confrontation the hunger strikers were sometimes unaware of the side effects, but after the hunger strike they suffered badly.

A number of hunger strikers reported that some doctors clashed with the Israeli authorities, refusing to implement the inhuman treatment directed at the hunger strikers and working in an ethical way. But in most cases, they acted as tools of Israeli power, failing to manage the hunger strike according to ethical health standards, which endangered the life of the hunger strikers and violated their bodily and mental condition. Moamar Banat:

> The doctors threatened that if I didn't take the vitamins and supplements they would not give me salt and water. Doctors in the hospital did not treat us as doctors, abiding by medical ethics. They are not doctors but rather *Mukhabarat* (intelligences agents). The responsible doctor in the hospital came and told me 'You must take vitamins otherwise I will not give you water' [...] It caused bleeding in my stomach and later I could not even drink the water.

When the health conditions of hunger strikers worsened, the doctors forcibly inserted a tube into their stomachs. In these cases, resistance could not work, especially when the hunger strikers had lost consciousness. Bilal Deyab, who had embarked on a hunger strike with his friend Thaer, said:

> When we took the supplements, we wasted our time. If we had not taken these liquids we would have saved two weeks of our suffering and our family's suffering, but we were deceived. They told us Khader Adnan took these vitamins and didn't break the strike. Even the lawyer told us it is not like the 'insure' (liquid given to strikers), but when we took the glucose liquid we felt that they were happy, it was obvious in their faces, they became relaxed. I told Thaer that I felt my health was better after

> the liquid and then we decided to refuse it. When we lost consciousness, we were injected by tube and when I woke up, I took it away from my body. Some prisoners, for example Hassan Safdi, were force-fed. He was tied and given the glucose forcibly in Ramleh hospital.

From the 40th to the 60th day of the strike, after the hunger strikers have insisted on refusing supplements, and when the bodies of the hunger strikers are falling apart and enter the danger zone, the Israeli doctors set up an 'ethical committee' to decide on the urgency of supplement intake. The decision of the ethical committee to forcibly treat the strikers who, with a clear head, unequivocally refused such treatment, is one form of violation of medical ethics and professional health standards (PHR 2013). The ethical committee generally decided, particularly when the hunger strikers fell into a coma, that they should be injected with supplements. While the prisoners were in a coma the doctors could examine and force feed them against their will. At this moment the Israeli authorities no longer worried about the danger to their health and felt relaxed because the striking prisoners, in a forced coma, could not manage their hunger strike and make any decision either to continue or to break it.

Mohamad al-Kik was forcibly given fluids after rejecting the forced treatment ordered by the ethical committee, and clashed with the doctors when they injected him. When he lost consciousness, he was force-fed and placed in a forced coma:

> On the 60th day, I was forcibly exposed to treatment and given fluid. They could do this easily to a prisoner who is chained to his bed, shackled hand and foot for 24 hours. According to Israeli law, doctors can't give me treatment while I am conscious but when I lose my consciousness they have the right to give me treatment. I refused the supplements and medical treatment but the problem was that in the 60th day of my hunger strike they chained my free left hand and then the doctor forcibly made the blood test, then they injected me with fluids.

Hiribat also found himself with a needle and a tube in his chained hand when he woke up after he lost his consciousness:

> I fainted. When I woke up and found out that I had been injected with mineral, my hands tied, I took it off by my mouth and this caused

> bleeding. I did so because I swore to God if I went on strike I will not take any vitamins or supplements.

In 2015, the Prisoners' Club expressed its concern about keeping Mohamad Alan in a coma under the effect of drugs.[11] They considered this to be a violation of Alan's rights and emphasised his right to decide the fate of the hunger strike himself without any influence from any party. Some of the human rights advocates are against forced feeding, even if it is by injecting in the stomach rather than a tube in the mouth. Mohamad al-Kik, Hasan Asafadi, Mohammed Alan and Adel Hiribat were force-fed and given fluids, and this was the main reason for their long strike (over 90 days). This tactic is designed to cause their strike to fail and to put pressure on the hunger strikers during the negotiations.

Even when the IPA constrains the techniques of resistance, using doctors in the name of the 'ethical committee', it does not mean that the conflict has ended. Some striking prisoners dealt with the decisions of the ethical committee by using minerals, vitamins or supplements in crucial moments and stopped taking them later when their health improved. This was the case with Banat:

> In the beginning my strategy was to refuse anything from the hospital, but when I vomited blood and could not drink even water, then the doctors formed a committee called 'ethics committee' that forced the patient to pursue treatment and take liquids and minerals. The doctor was surprised at my wasting body. I asked him about a possible consensus. 'What I want is to be able to drink water, because without water it looks like I want to commit suicide – if I don't drink water, I will die in one week. Of course, the result of my strike will not be achieved in one week and my goal is not death but life. I was thinking of anything that would help me to get my result successfully. I asked the doctor how he could help me to drink water and to stop the bleeding. 'I agreed to have [the supplement] because the cause of the bleeding in my stomach was the deficiency in vitamin K […] I was able to drink the water successfully then I stopped the liquid and continued the remaining 30 days of my hunger strike with only water. I had this treatment only to stop the

[11] In a press release from 08/16/2015 by the Prisoners' Club

> bleeding and to be able to drink water. Therefore, there was some change in my strategy because I didn't want to die.

A report published by Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) states:

> During the hunger strikes, PHR-Israel witnessed various human rights violations, among others, violation of the right to health of hunger striking prisoners and detainees, and violations of medical ethics and of professional health standards. Measures which amounted to medical, ethical and human rights violation endangered the lives of hunger striking prisoners almost to the point of death and prevented prisoners' access to independent medical advices and consultation […] There is a strong suspicion that by blatantly violating the rights of the striking detainees to access adequate medical care and by flagrantly ignoring medical ethical standards and professional norms, the IPS [Israeli Prison Service] utilised its medical system to pressure the Palestinian prisoners and detainees on hunger strike causing unnecessary and illegitimate danger to their health and lives (2013: 4 and 23).

In this stage of the peak of the struggle, we have seen that the techniques of resistance include boycotting the Israelis courts, refusal of medical examinations, refusal of vitamins and intake of supplements, water striking and protesting against surveillance cameras. They vary from one hunger striker to another and shape individual trajectories of the struggle. Israeli hospitals are experienced by hunger strikers as spaces of violence and subjection. Amongst their strategies, some hunger strikers launched a speaking strike and refused to talk with Israeli negotiators, while others refused to meet Israeli intelligence officers whilst they were handcuffed or chained.

2.3 The advanced stage: The dynamics of negotiation

The techniques used by both IPA and hunger strikers during the critical stage of the hunger strike determine the dynamics of the negotiations. In the dynamics of the negotiation process, the resistant subjects and the IPA employ their techniques in the struggle to achieve their objectives, both parties acting to avoid defeat and surrender. The negotiation process starts at the point when the prisoners' health seriously declines and enters the danger zone and the IPA surrenders to the fact that hunger strikers are determined to accept death in order to achieve their freedom. The lawyer Jawad Bolous,

who mediated between the IPA and hunger strikers, noted during our interview that when 'the Israeli military officers start asking me about the health situation of the striking prisoners it means [...] they are looking for a solution because they don't want the death of the strikers. At this point the negotiation starts'. Neither party wants the other to be seen as the winner, although the hunger strikers regard the mere fact of negotiations as a victory. The desire for freedom, not suicide, makes the prisoner consider the offers of the prison authorities. At the same time, concern about the fallout from the prisoner's death leads the IPA to consider the prisoners' demands and change their strategies. Moamar Banat recorded that:

> In the beginning, they pretend that they didn't care. The Israeli military officers told me 'you want to die, I don't care'. They were testing the pulse but they didn't speak directly to us. They didn't want to negotiate […] They meant to show neglect and carelessness about our situation.

The prisoners are also aware of the ethical and material burden of the strike on the Israeli authorities. Adel Hiribat:

> The individual strike is very exhausting to the prison authorities in terms of the cost of guards as every hunger striker need three to five jailors, in addition to security guys. They were unstable and scared that we would escape from the hospital. Security forces spread inside and outside the hospital. We were five individuals striking in the hospital and each needed five jailors to guard them in their hospital room, and around 30 guards outside the hospital.

Moamar Banat also commented on the IPA's material burden:

> They pay 2000 NIS to reserve a bed in a hospital […] 70 days multiplied by 2000 NIS a day. Sometimes we were three strikers at the same time. In 2014 it was a collective strike for around 100 striking detainees. Here we are talking about the hospital cost. In addition, they need three jailors with us 24-7 in three shifts. They need salaries and food, they live in hospital with us and are very tired and unhappy.

Amongst the solutions initially offered by the IPA after the deterioration of the strikers' health is deportation, which is generally rejected. Hasan Safadi remarked, 'They said just choose any country rather than Israel and after five hours you will be there. I said: I choose Nablus in Palestine'. Bilal Deyab

'refused because the exile is so hard and even harder than the hunger strike'. Younis Hroub rejected the offer but achieved a solution in the end:

> On the 35th day, intelligence officers offered to exile me to Gaza. I told them my family in the West Bank and I don't have any relatives in Gaza, no reason to go there [...] This was the first suggestion and then between 40–45 days when my health deteriorated they spoke with me [...] and they suggested to free me after I end my detention period – after 6 months [...] In 62nd day of strike the lawyer visited me and informed me the Israeli offer to finish the remaining period of my detention and go home. I told him this is my demand and I accepted.

However, some prisoners, such as Hana Shalabi and Ayman Shawana, accepted the deportation offer.

When the Israeli authorities insist on their offers during the negotiations and ignore the threat of the hunger strikers' deaths, the hunger strikers begin to question themselves about whether to continue to death or consider the offer. Some continue to insist on their terms whilst others accept the IPA deal. Jawad Bolous, the mediator between the Israeli authorities and hunger strikers, explained how the negotiations operate:

> There are two assumptions I work with as a mediator. Regarding the hunger strikers, they love life and do not want to die but they protest for freedom. However, they welcome the martyrdom. As for the Israelis, they prefer them not to die in prison […] Thus, the common ground between the two parties is that they want to avoid death, so there must be a solution that satisfies the two sides and guarantees that the reached agreement does not involve a defeat of one side at the price of other. The role of mediator is to merge the different perspectives and to find common assumptions.

Thus, the lawyer tries to avoid a shameful defeat for one side or the other. The conflict in the negotiation mainly revolves around the form of the agreement and the day of release. In response to the prisoners insisting on their date of release, the IPA tries to make them believe that they do not care about their death.

At the end of the negotiations the techniques used in the final stage are similar to those used in the initial stage, in which the strategy of neglect was

employed to put pressure on the dying prisoners. However, the two parties' fear of death, originating in opposed rationales, pushes them to reach an agreement. Every hunger striker has his own specific approach to techniques of resistance and these determine the agreement reached between the two sides. Sometimes the IPA is able to constrain their resistance and force the conflict to a crisis point. For example, Mohamad al-Kik ended his strike after 94 days by accepting the same conditions offered by the IPA on the 45th day of the strike. When he refused the initial offer, the IPA introduced new techniques to make his strike fail, such as forced feeding from the 60th onwards.

The hunger strikers are not the only ones engaged in their battle. All the parties involved in the conflict become partners in the negotiations, including the hunger strikers' families, lawyers, jailors, the wider public, political parties, and the media. Although the most decisive factor is the prisoner and their body, these partners influence them and the Israeli authorities often use them to put hunger strikers under pressure to negotiate. The jailors are used to confuse and provoke the prisoners since they are the ones who spend the most time with them. The research participants reported that the IPA transmitted news through the jailors about the situation of their families, especially mothers and wives hunger-striking in solidarity with them, to make them understand that they are causing suffering to their loved ones. Emotional abuse and family exploitation are among the IPA's techniques in the negotiation. Hassan reported that they brought pictures of his mother to influence him emotionally: 'The news about my striking mother make me understand that my mother went on hunger strike and she was dying'. Sometimes families are brought to persuade them to end their strike. Mohamad al-Kik recalled that:

> When I asked them to allow my family to visit me, they refused but at some point they offered to bring my family in the hunger strike as a sort of human manipulation to put pressure on me. I refused because I know it was a psychological war against us.

Many strikers resist this manipulation by refusing to accept the visits. For example Hasan Safadi:

> Before my situation became difficult, they refused my mother's visit but when my health deteriorated they issued 11 permits for my family member but I refused. I said I don't want to see anyone. They were

> surprised that I didn't even want to see my mother. I said 'I don't have any kinship relation with my mother'.

Diyab denied his relationship with his brother:

> After 55 days of my strike they came to threaten me and said we will bring your brother to talk to you - my brother was sentenced to 15 years. I said 'he is not my brother', I don't want to give them any opportunity to make me surrender. I said I will end my strike only if I am released.

Religious figures are also brought in to convince the strikers to stop their strike. Hashlamoun:

> They brought me an Imam to talk [to] me and I was told that the strike is forbidden in our religion. I convinced the Imam who came to convince me. I told him God does not accept to live in humiliation and this is the only way to get rid of the inhuman treatment and oppression.

Another way the striking prisoners resist the emotional manipulation is by temporarily transferring the love of their families to their struggle. The suffering of their families increased their determination and fed their resistance. Diyab commented, 'my mother spent two weeks in the hospital and when I knew about this my determination increased more and more. When my mother knew about my victory she was healed and was extremely happy for me achieving my freedom'.

The role of solidarity movements at the local and international level also impacted on the negotiations. According to Mohamad al-Kik: 'Israel negotiated because there were demonstrations across Palestine and sometimes it led to clashes with Israeli forces at military checkpoints'. Bilal Deyab reported that the IPA put pressure on the hunger strikers to break their strike before the Nakba Day of Memory (15 May) because they were expecting violent confrontations would take place at the Israeli border. In some cases, the aim of hunger strikers is not only to end the detention but also to achieve personal advantage alongside their political victories. For example, some of them benefited by presenting themselves as heroes who had endured long hunger strikes, and some former hunger strikers become famous and popular which led to criticism by some Palestinians in the post-hunger strike stage. On the other hand, others did not seek fame or gain and chose to remain faithful to their political cause away from the limelight.

3. Conceptualisation of techniques of resistance and technologies of resistance.

3.1 Techniques of resistance

In the context of this case study, techniques of resistance are understood as the instruments produced through the hunger strikers' practices which contribute to structuring and transforming their resistant subjectivity. The physical body is the main instrument of resistance, and other techniques related to the body are developed through its instrumentalization. In the hunger strikers' process of subjectivation the body is understood as something external, yet also something that they cannot separate themselves from, making its instrumentalization particularly complex. The body is the only weapon they can use but it is insufficient to win their battle. It is a necessary weapon, although in their view it betrays them in the end and hence their need to rely on their internal immaterial and spiritual strength. Techniques can be both internal and external. Hunger strikers depend primarily on internal techniques related to the self but also require support from factors outside themselves. Internal techniques can be divided into material ones linked to the physical body (for example refusal of supplements, stopping water and so forth), as well as immaterial techniques related to nonmaterial faculties such as mind, soul and will. The latter revolve around the internal strength required to endure and sustain the hunger strike (for instance, belief in the cause, revolutionary consciousness, ideologies, and affect – love, hope, anger, and so on).

External techniques usually relate to a third party in the conflict other than the prisoners and the IPA (such as political parties, family, lawyers, public support, human rights organizations and so forth) which affect the prisoner's internal techniques. I focus on the subjective internal techniques (material and immaterial) linked to the prisoner's body and explore how these techniques are produced and enacted in the practice of hunger strike. I also explore the interrelationship between the internal and external techniques and how the external can serve either to strengthen or, on occasion, disrupt the internal. I use the term 'instrument' to represent their practice as something situated outside the self. This corresponds with the hunger strikers' practice of instrumentalising the body, which can also translate into a kind of disembodiment understood as a technology of resistance. The body-as-instrument should not be taken as something static or external but

can be considered in terms of categories of political practice like technique, repertoire or recourse that give us with a sense of the dynamic character of resistance. Charles Tilly's work (2008) offers a helpful framework because it allows us to move from the notion of external instruments to practices that transform with the subject. For example, immaterial techniques can be understood as decisive weapons that allow hunger strikers to master the physical body in this process of subjectivation. They appear as actions of some sort and this is why Foucault talks of techniques, technologies, or tactics, since they are practices/actions not objects/things (Foucault et al., 1988: 18). The term instrument, particularly the material instrument such as the body, needs to be thought of as embedded in practices and acts which transform the subject; a material technique like the refusal of food is a practice or an act of resistance that contributes to the constitution of the hunger strikers' subjectivity and not just to the confrontation with colonial power.

3.2 Techniques of resistance vs. technologies of resistance

I differentiate between techniques and technologies. The former are the methods enacted by resistant subjects to efficiently use, manage, develop, and recreate the existing techniques of resistance—for example, the material techniques related to the body that aims to pressure the IPA into initiating negotiations. In this case, the technique relates to how and when to refuse supplements. Technologies are concerned with how and when to use and develop the existing techniques or invent a new technique. Hence technologies can be grasped as the creative art of resistance in which the self, in its enactment of its techniques, resembles both the artist and the work of art. This understanding of technologies is close to Foucault's conceptualisation of the practice of the self in terms of an 'art of life' and aesthetic of existence (Huijer, 1999).

In contrast to the IPA, the individual striking prisoners do not have the advantage of a systematic apparatus of power behind them. The prisoners invent and manufacture their techniques of resistance, though they do not do so in isolation. The hunger strikers produce instruments of resistance out of the body and 'soul' during the conflict, tools that are relationally embedded in the national and political collective to which they belong. Prisoners are part of political movements and are aware of other prisoners' strategies. Techniques are thus objects of sharing, communication and adaptation.

This demonstrates that the hunger strike is a site of collective political subjectivation. In the beginning the techniques are not predetermined or predictable but are created in the face-to-face confrontation with the jailors or Israeli military officers. The hunger strikers then use them systemically in ways that advance their resistance practice. The participants who embarked on individual hunger strikes emphasised that the individual hunger strike is harder to undertake than the collective. They think that there are objective and subjective conditions that contribute to its success and that not all prisoners have the ability to engage in it. The distinctiveness of the individual hunger strike phenomenon in the political setting after the failure of the Oslo Accord is that they are revolutionary subjects in a wider non-revolutionary context. The prisoners turn to individual resources when collective ones fail. At the beginning of the individual hunger strike, everyone develops their own techniques of resistance, although later they generate a collective political dimension. Some hunger strikers had been imprisoned before, had participated in collective hunger strikes and were aware of and used existing techniques, but they created new techniques in response to the Israel authorities' repression and manipulation. For example, Khadar Adnan, who initiated the phenomenon of the protracted individual hunger strike, developed new techniques in his second hunger strike. The intensification of his resistance was developed to meet the increase of oppression. Using these and other techniques of resistance, such as boycotting the military courts and refusing supplements, he aimed to challenge the IPA's manipulation of the hunger strike to create a method of hunger strike that other prisoners could emulate. The process I have just analysed is neatly captured by Charles Tilly's observation that: 'humans develop their personalities and practices through interchanges with other humans, and that the interchanges themselves always involve a degree of negotiation and creativity' (2003: 5).

After Adnan's hunger strike in 2012, waves of individual hunger strikes were launched over the next five years. The research participants viewed Khadar Adnan as successful because he managed his struggle with efficient techniques, motivating them to follow his example. Yonis Hroub said:

> We notice that there is a new mode of resistance in the Israeli prisons – the individual hunger strike - invented by Adnan, and we wanted to follow such success […] In his second strike, Khader wanted to continue the revolution that was triggered by his first strike in 2012, and it was in this strike that he succeeded in inventing new techniques.

Contrary to the collective hunger strike, where the leadership committee of the hunger strike guides the striking prisoners, individual hunger strikers struggle with the systematic technologies of power by drawing from techniques developed by prior hunger strikers. These techniques are employed to create a moment of crisis in the conflict in order to reach the negotiation stage and agreement with IPA for their release. The hunger strikers manage and control their battle singularly, but the individual draws on the embodied memory of political practices. They are already resistant subjects, they do not become revolutionary out of nothing. We need to factor in the impact of previous collective processes of subjectivation and political movements, to be sensitive to the importance of historical practices in the constitution and conception of subjectivity. The transformation process which accompanies the ordeal of the hunger strike requires creative techniques. While the context I am dealing with is one of extreme domination, there is also a dynamism involved in the potential for negotiations which influences the technology and techniques. By focusing on their techniques and technologies, we can see how the horizon of emancipation and victory that informs the prisoners' anti-colonial resistance is already present in their practice of resistance.

3.3 Technologies of self and practices of resistance

The research participants are able to illuminate how technologies of self operate and how they emerge from a kind of latent energy in the extreme moments of starvation. Mazen Natcheh:

> The hunger strike enhanced our self-confidence. We learnt that the human being should trust his abilities and potential even if it is against nature, even if it transgresses nature. Willpower can result in an explosion of the self […] a human being with a strong will can do a lot of things […] Our God has given us a great mind and huge strength. The human being can release this latent energy which comes from the mind. For those who wonder whether it is possible that a human can endure the hardship and tolerate giving up food for 63 days, I say 'yes, it is possible'. Even the greatest genius uses only 7% of their potential [...] the energy of the mind distinguishes humans from animals and reveals a tremendous potential. A human being can reveal an energy for creativity and self-discovery.

This reflection shows how research participants see themselves

as developing a knowledge about the self which is revealed in extreme moments. This practice of the self does not reveal an authentic self but rather shows the creative transformation of the self. The hunger strikers become resistant subjects as a result of the networks of relationships in their struggle, one of which is the relationship with the self. Natcheh's observation tries to account for what allows the technologies of the resistant self to manage and employ the techniques of resistance at different points in the conflict, for instance by stopping the intake of water to put more pressure on the IPA. The material technique (water strike) is conceived as being under the guidance of the immaterial faculty of one's psyche (will). For the hunger strikers, the powerful weapon is the will and in this sense the body is not the only weapon. The critical and decisive techniques in their resistance that gives them the strength are immaterial spiritual faculties—will, soul, mind or consciousness.

Following Foucault, I have traced out how technologies of resistance are produced and enacted during the struggle. Grasping the technologies of the resistant self illuminates how specific techniques are created and applied. They are related to how the hunger strikers understand themselves, and how they deal with themselves in order to deal with the other, the coloniser. Technologies are concerned with self-knowledge, which in turn determines the use and management of existing techniques of resistance, as well as the creation of new techniques. For example, the participants are aware of the importance of disembodiment and the weaponization of the body in their practice and can explain why they construct the binary of body/mind or body/soul as framing their practice of resistance. Ajour (2021) illuminates that the technologies of resistance used by the hunger strikers operate through creating the duality they created between the body and the immaterial strength of mind and '*rouh*' (soul). This is enacted through weaponizing their bodies, whereby these immaterial resources evolving from the collapse of the body empower them to maintain their hunger strike to the end. She also reveals the hunger strikers' philosophy of freedom and the meaning they give 'victory'. The hunger strikers constitute themselves as political subjects and their hunger strike offers a powerful illustration of how the body may be experienced and used as a political instrument/weapon.

Conclusion

This article traces out techniques of power and resistance in the hunger strike viewed as a protracted battle between the resistant subjects and the colonial power. It illustrates the operation of power and resistance in the trajectory of the hunger strike which is registered chronologically in three stages over the life of the conflict. In every stage techniques of both power and resistance vary and fluctuate according to the decline of the body. The article examines the nature of the resistant subjectivity that is performed and produced in interrelationships with colonial power and its strategies of repression via technologies of the self associated with resistance. It conceptualises the techniques of resistance as instruments developed through the weaponization of the body.

Hunger strikers produce their own techniques of resistance during each stage of the hunger strike. The aim of these is to disrupt the functioning of the technologies of power and achieve freedom. The techniques employed by the striking prisoners are crucial because they determine the path of the struggle, such as the nature of the negotiation process, the length of the strike and the agreement reached at the end. The outcome of a hunger strike depends on the interaction with the IPA. Despite their radical resistance some hunger strikers could not reach the agreements they sought due to the efficiency of the techniques of power. The role of the Palestinian political parties, lawyers, the street and public opinion affected the dynamics of the hunger strike and sometimes the IPA was able to thwart the hunger strikers' techniques by manipulating external factors. However, repressive power and its intensity often created new techniques of resistance. As Mohamad Alan put it: 'When they subjected us to manipulation and humiliation, the striking human has two options, either surrender and submit or invent new methods to deal with them'. But, in turn, this resistance can lead the IPA to invent new technologies, such as offering the temporary 'suspension' of detention with the aim of prolonging the hunger strike, thus precipitating its end due to the pain and suffering caused. Despite the objective asymmetry of power, the hunger strikers feel that they can challenge the state of Israel with their starving bodies, or as they put it, with their 'empty stomachs', and if the Israeli authorities negotiate with them it is regarded as a victory by them, even if, as is true in some cases, they suffer serious and lasting

physical and psychological consequences.[12] The meaning of victory in the eyes of the hunger strikers is linked to the dignity of the soul, as embodied in their liberation and the end of their detention, and this is the ultimate goal of their hunger strike (Ajour 2021). The hunger strikers give victory a meaning related to the collective Palestinian idea of resistance, in which bodies are seen to succumb while ideas survive. This meaning necessitates risking the body in the process of reclaiming their humanity, and affirming self-determination against the domination of colonial power. In their view, they develop a control over their bodies that can disrupt the operation of the IPA's power and claim agency over their bodies.

The hunger strikers' accounts contribute to contemporary literature on the body and embodiment, and provide a critique of mind-body dualism (Butler 2011; Feldman 1991; Fournier 2002; Hammers 2014; Hartman 1997; Spillers 1987). Although the physical body is the hunger strikers' main instrument of resistance, they do not consider it as the decisive factor in attaining their goal. Indeed, they regard it more as an external agent that works against them in that it weakens and, in their words, 'betrays' them. Instead they count on the immaterial strength that develops with the deterioration of the body. Thus the hunger strikers regard their body as both subjective, in the sense of their way of being in the world from the phenomenological perspective developed by Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1996), and objective in the sense of something that they can treat as a weapon of resistance. In this process they accept material starvation and disintegration of the body while accentuating the immaterial power of human will, consciousness, and soul. This split between body and mind is different from the phenomenological concept of the body as both subjective and objective, and the hunger strikers reconcile these contradictory perspectives of the body in their philosophy of freedom. The body is regarded as an instrument for liberation and is conceptualised as part of the collective culture of anti-colonial resistance. For example, the way they conceive the body as 'a bridge of return' reflects the meaning of the body in the Palestinian landscape, and the 'bridge' is symbolic of both a path and method for liberation (Ajour 2021). This discourse shapes their consciousness in that they do not see the martyr's body as an object of loss but rather as a vector of Palestinian

[12] For example Mohamad Ataj lost part of his lungs, Khadar Adnan subsequently had five operations on his intestines and others suffer from heart or memory problems.

freedom and self-determination. Butler discusses Merleau-Ponty's accounts of bodily experience, which defines the body as 'an historical idea' rather than 'a natural species' and is understood as embodying certain cultural and historical possibilities (Butler 1988: 403). The meanings of the bodies in the discourse of hunger strikers, in which bodies are seen to succumb while ideas survive, relates to the collective Palestinian idea of resistance, and necessitates risking the body in the process of affirming self-determination against the domination of colonial power.

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INTERVIEW

The Journal of Resistance Studies' Interview with David Hardiman: Subaltern Studies and Resistance

by **Stellan Vinthagen**, *Editor of JRS, University of Massachusetts, Amherst*,
Conducted online Sep 2020

Introduction to the Subaltern Studies Group and David Hardiman

Based in the UK and India, David Hardiman was one of the historians who created the Subaltern Studies Group, an editorial and research collective that received worldwide recognition for a book series that started in 1982, conferences on subaltern studies, and numerous articles. The Subaltern Studies Group was part of a larger post-structural and cultural turn in the humanities and social sciences, which has profoundly changed how we today discuss history, power, the Subject, consciousness, colonialism, and resistance.

One of the key contributions of the Subaltern Studies Group was the focus on the concept of 'subaltern' (the subordinated), originally introduced by Antonio Gramsci, yet during the 1980s and 1990s made into a key field of study itself. The definition of 'subaltern', its relations to power, dominance and 'elites' (or those above the subordinated) and to various social contexts, as well as the role of subalterns for resistance and social change in history, are some of the key questions that the Subaltern Studies Group engaged with, which this interview will revisit.

The work of the Subaltern Studies Group resulted in ten books between 1982 and 1999, when the Group stopped acting as a collective. However, there were also individual articles and books, emanating from each of the members, that influenced the discussions in ever-widening circles and fields, which continued beyond 1999. The main person linked to the project was Ranajit Guha, whose *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (1983) has been described by James C. Scott as 'the founding

document of what is now known as the Subaltern Studies School' (Scott, p. ix, in Guha 1999).

David Hardiman wrote about his own experiences, and the work of the Group, in the introduction to a recent book, *The Nonviolent Struggle for Indian Freedom, 1909-19*. Here, he highlights several key insights emerging from the 'history from below' perspective developed by the Subaltern Studies Group, something that made me interested to interview him, hoping he wanted to develop further.

David Hardiman was born 1947 in Rawalpindi (Pakistan), but was brought up in England and completed his PhD in history at the University of Sussex in 1975. His sociologically informed history research has focused on the colonial period in India and he is now a professor emeritus of history at the University of Warwick, UK. At the time of the publication of the first volume of *Subaltern Studies*, he was a visiting fellow at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, where much of the development of Subaltern Studies happened. From 1983 to 1989 he worked at the Centre for Social Studies, Surat, in Gujarat, where he was able to carry out research on the Indian peasantry and adivasis (indigenous people)—travelling frequently to their villages to live amongst them and conduct interviews.

The work of David Hardiman is a clear example of what the Group made into its significant contribution; by highlighting the role of subalterns in the historical changes of India they wrote an alternative, new and radical interpretation of liberation struggles, challenging the conventional focus on formal leaders, educated oppositional elites and nationalist frameworks. Hardiman researched mobilisations that were ignored by both nationalists and socialists in India, as for example the mass mobilisation among tribal people during the early 20th century in the form of the Devi movement in Gujarat (*The Coming of Devi*, 1987). In this, his most cited publication, Hardiman documents a major tribal agency, impact and self-organising, which although taking the form of spiritualism and internal reforms of tribal life, had profound political meanings and constituted a strong resistance to different exploiters (moneylenders, landlords, nationalists, and others).

The radical approach and texts of the Subaltern Studies Group had a deep impact on me during my studies of sociology and international relations at the University of Gothenburg towards the end of the 1980s and during the 1990s. Thus, it was exciting for me to meet David Hardiman in 2012 at a Symposium on 'Nonviolent movements and the barrier of fear'

at Coventry University, UK. Then, during the pandemic lockdown at the beginning of 2020, I was confined to my activist-scholar community and our rich reference library at the Irene Residence in the deep forests of Sweden (Sparsnäs, Dalsland), which gave me the opportunity to revisit the complete work of the Subaltern Studies Group. It then felt like the right time to reach out to David.

At the time of the interview, David was working on a follow-up book to the very book I was then reading (*The Nonviolent Struggle for Indian Freedom, 1909-19*), which gave me the idea of the interview. The follow-up book, which was published in March 2021, is titled: *Noncooperation in India: Nonviolent Strategy and Protest 1920-22* (Hurst, London 2021).

Since both David and I were confined to our homes due to the pandemic, we used digital means to conduct the interview. During the process, the author on subaltern studies and my long-term collaborator, Prof. Sean Chabot, generously helped me to develop the questions for David Hardiman.

Stellan Vinthagen: You were involved in the Subaltern Studies Group from the beginning, and stayed on until the end. This puts you in a unique position to tell the history of this remarkable group of historians, who began collaborating in Sussex, UK, and continued to do so in Calcutta, India. Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed on the work of the Subaltern Studies Group, and its implications for us today.

To begin with, I would like to hear your thoughts on the creation of the Group. The intellectual origins of the Subaltern Studies Group are, to my understanding, connected to the preceding 'history from below' approach developed by British scholars such as Eric Hobsbawm and E.P. Thompson, who critiqued the official 'History' of nation states from the perspective of national elites. But, as far as I understand, you were also inspired by radical politics in the 1960s and 70s, when a new wave of anti-colonial movements emerged in Africa, the Middle East and Asia, which sparked liberation movements by students, workers, women, Blacks, and many others in the West. Could you please elaborate on what factors, ideas and perspectives influenced the creation of the

Subaltern Studies Group? Why did people feel it was needed? What was your own motivation for getting involved in the Group?

David Hardiman: The Subaltern Studies Group was inspired by Ranajit Guha, an intellectually charismatic figure who gathered around him a small group of like-minded younger historians and political scientists. Born in 1923 in a village in Bengal, he had been an activist in the Communist Party of India up until the suppression of the Hungarian rising by the Soviet Union in 1956, when he resigned from the Party. In this, he was acting in common with the New Left—a group that included the English Marxist historians. A leading figure in this group, E.P. Thompson, wrote in 1957 that he stood for a 'socialist humanism' that was a 'revolt against irrationalism'—as in Stalinism—and a 'revolt against inhumanity, the revolt against the dogmatism and abstractions of the heart, and the emergence of a warm, personal and humane socialist morality' (E.P. Thompson, 'Socialist Humanism and Epistle to Philistines', *The New Reasoner*, 1, 1957, p. 107). Thompson's approach was epitomised by his notion of the 'moral economy', with its focus on 'lived experience' as being central rather than being merely a 'superstructure' on the supposedly all-important economic 'base'. In this, he was influenced by the sociology of Durkheim and Weber, and an anthropology that brought out the great complexity of the intellectual world of those hitherto labelled as 'backward' peoples. He focused on the way that such people fought to defend their values in ways that went beyond narrow economic interests. He saw class as a human relationship that was made consciously through lived experience and in struggles with ruling groups. Thompson thus restored agency to class. Thompson was however very critical of structuralism, unlike Guha, who admired the work of the French structural anthropologists Claude Lévi-Strauss and Louis Dumont.

Guha was influenced by the Naxalite insurrection in India in the late 1960s that, inspired by the Chinese example, sought to base itself amongst the peasantry rather than the urban proletariat. Accordingly, he studied the history of peasant insurgency in colonial India. In this, he sought to discover a structure of peasant insurrection, as well as a complex politics of the peasantry that went far beyond the crude economism of most existing explanations for peasant revolt. He argued that this politics had a quite different logic than the elite politics that forms the subject of most histories.

Guha taught history at the University for Sussex—where I was a postgraduate student. I was not supervised by Guha for my doctorate but

was inspired strongly by him in my study of peasant nationalism in Gujarat in the 1917 to 1934 period. I gained my doctorate in 1975, and soon after that became involved in the small group of young historians of India that gathered around him—consisting of myself, Gyan Pandey, David Arnold, and Shahid Amin. We thrashed out our ideas in a series of meetings, coming up with the idea that in colonial India there were two separate domains of politics, that of the elite and the subaltern. The latter term was taken from Gramsci, meaning all those who are subordinated. Gramsci wrote in a situation—Italy in the 1920s and 1930s—in which the industrial working class was comparatively weak and underdeveloped, while the peasantry continued to be the chief subordinate group. A project that called for a socialist revolution could not afford to ignore the peasantry, and hence there was a need to understand the politics of this subordinate group. At the time we were developing our ideas—the 1970s—we had before us the examples of the peasant-based revolutions in China and Vietnam. In this, the peasantry could be regarded as a potentially radical force. We were able to apply Gramsci to India as under colonial rule, and indeed for many years after, it was also a predominantly peasant society. We argued that almost all existing histories of India focused either on the elites or took the elites as the chief movers of politics. We held that this led to a frequent misrepresentation of the politics of the subaltern, which operated according to different rules and on different conditions. We sought to focus in our work on the domain of the subaltern. Mechanical and economistic Marxism was rejected, with culture and religion being crucial to any understanding of the subaltern. The project was subjected to strong criticism by many historians of Indian nationalism in India and Britain, and also by many orthodox Marxists in India, but embraced with enthusiasm by the New Left, dissident Indian Marxists, and numerous historians outside Britain—particularly in the USA and Latin America.

> **SV:** In your recent book, you write about the core claims of the Subaltern Studies Group regarding Indian nationalism. There you suggest that members primarily studied the difference between elite groups and subaltern groups within the independence movement, arguing that the subaltern were radical, focused on self-rule, horizontal in their organising, ready to use violence and combining material interests with a belief in 'supernatural powers', in stark contrast with the bourgeois Indian 'nationalist elite'. While the Group's empirical studies focus on

> South Asian, do you feel that its core claims about subaltern politics and history are relevant for subaltern struggles outside of India? In other words, do its core claims constitute a more general theory?

DH: The idea that resonated in other parts of the world was—I believe—the emphasis on the hierarchy of power, with its interplay of domination and subordination, and the analysis of its impact on popular politics and resistance. I think that Dr Suchi Sharma, of Guru Gobind Singh Indraprastha University, Delhi, has put it well recently:

> Society as a whole operates through a power-play which is exhibited by the dominance of one group over the others. This dominance is asserted by and penetrates through the layers of class, caste, race, sex, and gender among others as it imbues the oppression at all levels while denying a voice to those in the subjugated position. The subaltern becomes the invisible being who is unable to articulate its identity amidst the lacunae resulting from the hegemonic silencing and their subsequent marginalisation.

Political theory of both the bourgeois and Marxian varieties had tended to emphasize the economic as the prime driver of popular action, while we sought to highlight a range of social, political, economic and cultural forms of oppression that braided together in different ways in different historical situations, and which provided the focus for action by subaltern groups. Many groups were subjected to multiple layers of oppression. I think that this broad idea could be applied regardless of the specific cultures of oppression of a given society, and it was this that struck a chord.

> **SV:** Within the social sciences and history, the concept of 'subaltern' originates with Antonio Gramsci, being revived through your work in the Subaltern Studies Group and through the emergence of postcolonial theory in the 1980s. Still, despite its popularity, the concept seems pretty unclear for most people, perhaps due to the widely different ways it has been used. It is sometimes used to refer to 'the most oppressed' in a society, something that seems impossible to determine, at least if we accept the intersections of multiple forms of domination along lines of caste, class, gender, sexuality, ability, religion and so forth. Others, like Gayatri Spivak, use 'subaltern' as a placeholder for those made mute by

imperial hegemony. Spivak argues that the subaltern cannot be heard due to hegemonic representations that silence and 'speak for' them, including various counter-hegemonic intellectuals. This seems like an overly totalising position. Take the example of Fannie Lou Hamer's 'Is This America' speech at the 1964 Democratic Convention (Chabot, 2019). While it is true that neither civil rights movement leaders nor scholars listened carefully enough to her message, this does not necessarily mean that 'counter-hegemonic listening' is impossible. By assuming that the subaltern cannot speak—and that as soon as they can speak, they are no longer subaltern—Spivak seems to dismiss the possibility of 'subaltern politics'. At other times, 'the subaltern' is simply a generic concept for all those who are 'subordinated', encompassing everyone subordinated by hierarchies of class, gender, race, sexuality, religion, age, and other social categories. But then the question is, why not just say 'subordinated'?! To complicate things further, etymologically the concept refers to a lower officer in the military, thus not the rank-and-file soldier, which seems to speak to some kind of 'middle' category within a hierarchy. Could you please clarify the meaning of the concept 'subaltern', how it was used originally within the Subaltern Studies Group, how it evolved, and how it matters for our understanding of resistance?

DH: To take your last question first, the English word 'subaltern'. The word itself has been used in various ways, as the Oxford English Dictionary reveals. We however used it in just one of the meanings set out there, namely: 'A person or (occasionally) thing of inferior rank or status; a subordinate'. This is the way that Gramsci understood the term. The dictionary even notes that this usage is now commonly associated with 'critical and cultural theory, esp. post-colonial theory', meaning 'a member of a marginalised or oppressed group; a person who is not part of the hegemony'. In this respect, *Subaltern Studies* has found a place in the English language, and indeed many other languages (it is after all based on the Latin word *subalternus*, and thus easily integrated into most European languages). The usage of 'junior officer' is also given in this dictionary, but as just one of many meanings. In English, before the 1980s, it was the most widely understood use of the term. I remember in the early 1980s discussing my research with the distinguished political scientist W.H. Morris Jones, and he immediately said: 'so you are working on lower-level political leaders'. I had to explain to him the quite different

meaning we accorded to the term.

It is true that the term has been applied very broadly, including to groups that are oppressed or dominated at one level, but who in turn dominate other groups. Thus, white Australians have been depicted as historically 'subaltern' in relationship to the British ruling class, while they in turn have oppressed Australian aboriginals in often genocidal ways. Ramachandra Guha once remarked humorously about this tendency of *Subaltern Studies* to go far beyond its original remit that everyone except the President of the USA is now being defined as subaltern!

Gayatri Spivak sought to delineate the subaltern in a more exclusive way by arguing that they are those who have no voice—that is people who are rendered invisible and mute by the dominant culture. She argued that all we can hope to do is to examine the ways that the subaltern is rendered in the texts of the dominant classes. She applied poststructuralist methods of textual analysis to this task and enjoined on us to do the same. I have discussed this issue in an introduction to a collection of my articles titled *Histories of the Subordinated* (pp. 17-25) and in my book *Missionaries and their Medicine* (pp. 19-32). Briefly, I have argued that although it is true that our knowledge of the subaltern in history is from texts produced almost always by the elites, these texts do reflect a material reality that we can analyse in a way that brings the subaltern centre-stage. For example, in *The Cheese and the Worms*, Carlo Ginzberg uses the transcripts of the Catholic Inquisitions' interrogation of a 'heretic' to uncover the attitudes and beliefs of a sixteenth century miller, Menochhio. As the Inquisition sought to record objectively the specifics of Menochhio's eccentric beliefs, we do—we may argue—have a meaningful glimpse into his mental world. Radical historians such as Ginzberg seek to write about the poor and oppressed with sympathy while bringing out what appears to us today to be the very different ways in which they thought and acted. This is what we should try to do to the best of our abilities.

When applied to their resistance to oppression by dominant classes, we find that subaltern groups were often informed by aims, objectives and beliefs that are poles apart from the driving forces in contemporary movements. There are, for example, notions of restoring a kingdom of justice and godliness. There is a frequent belief that a saviour or messianic figure is coming to sweep away the old order. And so on. My stance on this is that this reflects merely a different consciousness and that it is valid in its own terms, in that it provides a driving force and inspiration for possible radical change.

SV: The Subaltern Studies Group's approach was to study the history, consciousness and resistance of different subaltern groups in India, in order to empirically demonstrate the relative autonomy of the subaltern, and to analyse their conflicts of interest with the national elites leading the anti-colonial struggle. At the same time, as you emphasise in your writings, any 'subaltern' is, per definition, in a relationship with an 'elite', and there are always moments of temporary alliances based on mutual interests and complex entanglements between the subaltern and elites. Firstly, how would you describe these entanglements? And secondly, what consequences do these have for understanding resistance by the subaltern?

DH: Ranajit Guha sought to delineate two streams of politics in colonial India—those of the elite and subaltern. While one was essentially hegemonized by the liberal version of imperialism—that is, the notion that the imperial rulers were creating structures that would allow modern liberal political culture to develop in a 'backward' region of the world, and it is the task of the enlightened Indian to work the new systems so as to advance to self-rule—the other, that of the subaltern, was not hegemonized in this manner, only dominated by force. Their resistance was accordingly informed by very different beliefs and agendas, and was thus relatively autonomous. It was our task as historians to study the consciousness that informed subaltern politics and action, using tools that were available to us from social sciences such as sociology and anthropology. Yet, at the same time, the resistance occurred in a context in which the subaltern was bound up at many points with the dominant classes. Members of the elite could act as champions or agents of the people. The dominant classes might allow a degree of subaltern resistance in order to defuse or neutralise the more radical objectives of the subaltern. In these ways the two streams of politics braided together in complex ways.

What we sought to promote was a mindset that is not patronising towards subaltern groups. In terms of contemporary relevance, we may say that it allows radical members of dominant classes to be open to the aims, objectives and desires of subaltern groups in sympathetic ways. In doing this, they may contribute their owns skills, expertise and ability to communicate with a ruling class in a way that facilitates the resistance. This allows for the building of powerful coalitions. To take a recent example, the support

of large numbers of sympathetic white people to the Black Lives Matter movement undoubtedly make it a much more potent force. Interestingly, one of its central agendas is for Black History to be made mainstream, and in this the historian may contribute to the struggle using his or her own expertise.

> **SV:** In what way does it matter whether it is the subaltern doing the resistance? Is the quality of subaltern resistance different from resistance by other social groups? In what ways are values, consciousness, strategy or tactics, and outcomes of subaltern struggles distinct?

DH: Any movement that hopes to succeed must seek to build alliances of different class groups. By itself, one social group is unlikely to gain much traction. In my opinion, what matters above all is the agenda that is being pursued. One problem found in the original *Subaltern Studies* was the assumption that subaltern resistance was itself characteristically radical in intent. As we now know from hard experience, the subaltern can often be mobilised in support of the most reactionary and oppressive causes. In India, the xenophobic and fascistic Hindu Right has managed to gain mass support by claiming to be the champion of Hinduism. In fact, it supports the most narrow and intolerant form of this religion—one that we associate with the most elite caste of all, the Brahmans. It builds appeal by holding out a promise to the lower Hindu castes that they will gain respectability if they support this agenda. In practice, it involves genocidal attacks on members of the Muslim minority. We have seen this happening in culturally specific ways all over the world. Thus the movement in the UK to dismantle the regulations that impede the crony capitalism of the propertied elite was able to gain popular support for its Brexit campaign by reaching out to working class groups with the fraudulent claim that it was a movement for 'the people' to 'take back control' from the supposedly self-serving bureaucratic apparatus of the European Economic Community. As in many other parts of the world today, its populist agenda was pursued with appeals to the worst prejudices of the subordinated classes—such as xenophobia and racism. Radical activists, by contrast, seek to build coalitions on progressive agendas, such as democratic representation, a rule of law, anti-racism, international solidarity, regulations that protect citizens, the protection of the environment and so on. I would hold, therefore, that it is the agenda that is being pursued that is of primary importance, and what matters is the dialogue between different classes that occurs in the space of such a movement.

SV: In the same time period as the Subaltern Studies Group was emerging in the 1980s, James C. Scott developed the concept of 'weapons of the weak' and 'everyday resistance', based on studies of a village community in Malaysia. While Scott was inspired by the same 'history from below' approach, he mostly drew on peasant studies instead of history. As a friend of Ranajit Guha, Scott's research project was very close to that of the Subaltern Studies Group, but for some reason no explicit connection was made. Do you think the Subaltern Studies Group would have benefitted from incorporating Scott's theory of how subaltern resistance can undermine colonial systems and domination? How does Scott's theory compare with the Subaltern Studies theory of resistance?

DH: Scott's concepts of 'weapons of the weak' and 'everyday resistance' were valuable in that they brought out that the subaltern keeps a mental distance from those who dominate them, and often work in silent and underhand ways to undermine the work or liabilities that are imposed on them. Scott's position is that such obstruction leads to gradual modifications in the system of domination that in time can build into real change. On the other hand, Subaltern Studies focused on active peasant revolt. Scott's writing does not tell us how silent obstruction could escalate into active resistance. Yet, this has happened often in history. Ranajit Guha analysed this process in his work on peasant insurgency in nineteenth-century India. Others in the Subaltern Studies group carried out studies of peasant revolt in other periods of Indian history.

SV: Given that the Subaltern Studies Group as a whole, and Ranjit Guha in particular, valued the role of revolutionary violence by subalterns in the struggle against elite groups, why did it almost totally ignore the Marxist rebellion by the Adivasis, the indigenous tribes in West Bengal? And why did it not devote a single chapter to armed struggles by the subaltern? Wouldn't you agree that in order to show the importance of armed popular uprisings and everyday resistance for Indian liberation from colonialism, it is necessary to systematically study empirical instances of armed popular uprisings in the history of Indian Nationalism?

DH: We sought to change the commonly held view that the Indian peasantry were historically passive, due to their supposedly fatalistic acceptance of their place in the caste hierarchy. We provided an alternative narrative, that of

many past struggles and revolts by the Indian peasantry. Our focus was on the British period of rule—which was our period of expertise as historians — and one of our initial tasks was that of analysing peasant insurgency and the peasant contribution to the Indian nationalist struggle against imperialism. We also wrote about the ways in which such insurgency was understood by the British (for example, Ranajit Guha, 'The Prose of Counter-Insurgency', in volume 2). There were contributions in the first four volumes of *Subaltern Studies* on the history of peasant revolts in the Gudem-Rampa region of Andhra from 1839-1924, the rebels of the 1857 Indian revolt, and the peasant protests in Awadh, Gorakhpur, Kumaon and Bengal during the nationalist agitations of the 1919-42 period. The nineteenth century revolts were indeed 'armed struggles', while the protests during the nationalist period tended to be nonviolent. The chapter by Stephen Henningham in volume 2 on the peasant rising in eastern UP in 1942 was about a campaign that was often violent—though the weapons available to these insurgents were so crude and inadequate compared to the modern weapons of the military as to hardly qualify this as an 'armed revolt'. In general, armed insurgency during the nationalist period was the preserve of small groups of revolutionaries, who carried out bombings and assassinations. They came generally from a relatively well-off strata of society. Theirs was more a theatre of revolt that was designed to shock and rouse fear amongst imperial officials and their supporters, as well as provide inspirational martyr-figures for the nationalist cause. Such groups were not taken as a subject for *Subaltern Studies*.

Although the Naxalite upsurge in Bengal in the 1960s had provided one stimulus to the project, there were no chapters on the movement itself, either in Bengal or the subsequent extension of the movement to the Adivasis of central India. This lacuna was not, so far as I recall, discussed within the group. We were always on the lookout for significant scholarship on any area of subaltern life, and I think that at that time there was nothing that we found particularly striking on the contemporary Maoist revolt. In recent years, the work of Alpa Shah on the Naxalite upsurge in Jharkhand has had such a quality, and we now would have reached out to her to request a contribution had she been doing such research and writing earlier.

It should be noted that *Subaltern Studies* sought to shed light on all aspects of the life of the subaltern and their relationships with the elites. So, resistance was only one theme—though initially an important one. In the first three volumes, eight of the twenty-one chapters were on resistance. After Volume 4 of *Subaltern Studies,* the focus was more on other aspects

of subaltern life, and there was much analysis of the discourses around domination and subordination.

> **SV:** Over time, you became critical of the Subaltern Studies Group's view on the role of violence in liberation struggles, as well as its opposition to Gandhi and nonviolence. In your book *The Nonviolent Struggle for Indian Freedom, 1905-19* (2018), you refer to how the spread of religious violence in India, and the lack of enduring liberation after successful armed anti-colonial movements, influenced your thinking. Initially, it appears that your objections concern the failure of the Group to recognise the historical, political, and pragmatic contributions of Gandhi and nonviolence in the Indian independence movement. But you also seem to have a more fundamental theoretical critique of the Subaltern Studies Group. Could you elaborate on the Group's concept and role of violence, as well as why you think it has not paid sufficient attention to Gandhi's concept of nonviolence?

DH: The first time I met Ranajit Guha, in 1971, he was carrying out research on Gandhi for a multi-volume biography. He respected Gandhi as someone who had strong principles that he lived by, even when they caused him great difficulties. I remember him saying that he admired Gandhi far more than those he characterised as vacillating liberals such as Jawaharlal Nehru. Guha had learnt Gujarati so that he could read Gandhi in the original. By 1971, he had also become engaged with some young Naxalites, and he soon abandoned the project on Gandhi to focus on peasant insurrection. So, Guha had a deep understanding of Gandhi. Nonetheless, because of his belief in the efficacy of violent insurrection, Guha was critical of what he saw as Gandhi quietist stance, which in practice—so he argued—allowed the Indian elites to maintain their power without serious challenge. He took as his cue here the Marxist critique of 'passive resistance'. Gandhian methods were described as a form of 'passive resistance', and indeed in the early years in South Africa Gandhi had initially used the term to describe his protest, before abandoning it as he disliked its implied passivity. He wanted to emphasise the militancy involved, and thus chose the term *Satyagraha*, that is, 'sticking to truth'. Marxists continued, however, to apply their critique of passive resistance to Gandhi's protests.

As I argue in my book *The Nonviolent Struggle for Indian Freedom*, there was a history here that stretched back to the revolutions of 1848.

The term was used initially in Germany to describe the limited form of the resistance adopted by the Prussian bourgeoisie who sought greater power for themselves while blocking any devolution of power to the masses. Karl Marx accordingly described 'passive resistance' as a counter-revolutionary tactic used by the bourgeoisie to augment their own power at the cost of other classes. He understood the campaign in Hungry against Austrian rule during the 1850s and 1860s led by Ferenc Deák in such terms, as being led by the elites while ignoring the working class. In fact, this was better understood as a nationalist reaction against Hapsburg authoritarianism that united a range of classes. Marx was however far more sympathetic to Irish nationalism—which adopted passive resistance in the 1870s—which he saw as progressive and with radical potential. This was ignored by his followers after his death in 1883, who continued to depict nonviolent methods as a counter-revolutionary strategy of the bourgeoisie. In India, Marxists found it hard to reconcile this with the reality that Gandhian nationalism united a range of classes in the struggle against imperial rule.

The Marxian position failed to grasp the way that nonviolence was being applied in progressive ways with, as Chenoweth and Stephan have shown, a much higher success rate than more violent methods. It is notable in this respect that *Subaltern Studies* was conceived at a moment when violent insurrection appeared to be the way forward, with success in China, Cuba and Vietnam. Che Guevara's tragic failure to foment such insurrection more widely in Latin America was not seen as significant in this respect. Subsequently, in the 1980s and 1990s, a range of nonviolent movements—in for example Eastern Europe, the Philippines, Chile and South Africa—brought the downfall of repressive regimes and the creation of functioning democracies. This history was ignored by *Subaltern Studies*. The analysis of resistance had been central to the project in its early years, but this slipped from the agenda. There was much admirable enquiry in other arenas, but not in *Subaltern Studies* anymore. For the analysis of Gandhian nationalism, the tone was set by Ranajit Guha in his chapter in Volume 7, 'Discipline and Mobilise' (1994), where he held that Gandhi's nonviolence was imposed on the people from above in a way that that ran counter to their real class interests. Guha's general position here was that in a semi-feudal society such as India—in which power was derived from the end of a *lathi* and barrel of a gun—there could be no radical change without violence, and that in seeking to stifle this, Gandhi was acting in the interests of the elites. In this, Guha failed to appreciate the great revolutionary potential that popular nonviolence

has for transforming even the most violent and oppressive of societies. In my opinion, Gandhi's failure was not in his advocacy of nonviolence, but in his refusal to support radical movements against indigenous oppressors such as princes and landlords on the grounds that the focus of nationalist struggle should be primarily against the imperial state.

SV: The critique of the Indian National Congress and the dominance by urban, intellectual and economic elites within the independence movement is a clear thread in the work of the Subaltern Studies Group. The elites are criticised for seeking liberal-constitutional independence from the British, a very limited freedom and liberation for most of the subaltern in India, and rejecting struggles for communal autonomy from landlords, corporations, and wealthy capitalists. The populism of the Congress, particularly during the 1920s and 30s, made possible by the village- and peasant-orientation of Gandhi, is basically seen as a way to exploit the masses to gain a liberal-constitutional independence, while maintaining elite dominance in a post-colonial India. Why would the Subaltern Studies Group aim much of their critique at Mohandas K. Gandhi, the very person who believed (like the Group) not only in the key role of the masses and ordinary people for creating independence, but who also (like the Group) worked against the hegemony of the urban, professional and Anglophile middle-class in Congress? Gandhi could very well be seen as an early proponent within anti-colonial politics of similar points made later by the Subaltern Studies Group within academia, for example in his attempt to empower poor Indians and transform the modern British system of capitalism and state power, instead of merely replacing bourgeois British with bourgeois Indian elites. It seems to me that Gandhi was closer to the thinking of the Subaltern Studies Group than to the members of the Congress and Nehru, the future prime minister of post-colonial India. Still, it seems that the Group largely dismisses Gandhi as a charismatic politician manipulating the masses in the interests of the Congress Party, a view that has spread to the wider field of postcolonial studies, where Gandhi is still largely ignored or dismissed as a postcolonial thinker (for an exception, see Jefferess 2008). Is it time to reinterpret Gandhi and his

role in the anti-colonial struggle, and to take him more serious within resistance, postcolonial and subaltern studies today? If so, what is his contribution?

DH: As I have argued in the previous section, Gandhian nonviolence was understood as counter revolutionary. This understanding was never challenged within the pages of *Subaltern Studies*. There was an interest within the field of postcolonial studies in Gandhi as a radical alternative thinker. This was associated above all with Ashis Nandy, who never contributed to *Subaltern Studies*. In *Subaltern Studies*, the only piece published in this respect was by Faisal Devji, 'A Practice of Prejudice: Gandhi Politics of Friendship' in Volume 12, the final one. His subsequent book, *The Impossible Indian: Gandhi and the Temptation of Violence*, elaborated on this theme, namely that Gandhi sought to forge a society built on nonviolence, with India providing in this respect a beacon to the world. Devji sought to show how Gandhi brought together very different groups within his nonviolent struggle by reaching out with friendship, embracing people with respect, even when he did not follow their way of life. One other member of the editorial collective, Ajay Skaria, was also engaged in this area of enquiry. His book on the subject, *Unconditional Equality: Gandhi's Religion of Resistance*, was published only in 2016, long after *Subaltern Studies* had ceased to be published.

While it is true that Gandhi provided the tools for popular assertion and resistance, he became very wary of opening the gates to subaltern protest due to his experience of mass participation of the Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919, which had been marked by rioting that he had witnessed in person in Mumbai. He abhorred such violence that he saw as counter-productive. Over the next two decades, he demanded very careful preparation before any mass protest was launched, normally at a local level. He also discouraged protests against fellow-Indians, however oppressive they might have been. He thus refused to support powerful protests by peasants and adivasis against Indian princes and landlords during the Noncooperation Movement of 1920-22, even though they were overwhelmingly nonviolent. This I believe to have been a historic mistake as the princes and landlords were generally British quislings who only survived because they were propped up by the imperial state.

SV: It seems to me that there was a shift within the Subaltern Studies Group at the time when Guha resigned from the leading editorial role

(after issue VI, 1988). From then on, the orientation of the Group seemed to change. The editorial team of the book series incorporates more contemporary materials and discussions, brings in other disciplines within social science and humanities, and also discusses contexts outside of South Asia, such as Palestine and Ireland. It also makes gender as a concept and category more prominent within subaltern studies. How would you describe this shift? And what caused it?

DH: As I see it, *Subaltern Studies* was from the start always evolving, searching for new ways of analysing the subaltern and developing new theory. It sought to raise questions and doubts rather than provide facile solutions to difficult problems. It critiqued itself, as with Gayatri Chakraborty Spivak's contribution in Volume 4 that brought a feminist perspective to bear on the project. Feminism had been a major blind spot for many Marxian and socialist theorists, and indeed in our work, the 'peasant' had been an unstated male figure. This point was well taken, and Guha himself responded with a harrowing chapter in Volume 5, 'Chandra's Death', about a low caste Bengali woman who was killed through a botched abortion. Spivak also introduced us to deconstructive techniques for textual analysis. These called into question the whole idea that was central to the earlier volumes, that of understanding peasant consciousness. How could we, members of an elite intelligentsia, hope to achieve this by reading texts composed almost exclusively by members of administrative and other elites? All we could do was show in a critical way how the subaltern is depicted in such texts. Once this move was made, there was far less focus on peasant resistance and the consciousness that informed it.

Spivak's contribution in Volume 4 was included in a new 'discussion' section that was started in this volume, and it became a regular feature of subsequent volumes. Questions were raised about the project, it was defended, and there were theoretical reflections on it. Initially, the project was conceived by scholars trained as historians, with Partha Chatterjee, a political scientist, being incorporated before Volume I was published. His important contributions were however largely historical in content. Volume 2 had two pieces by political economists on post-independence agrarian conditions in Bihar and Bengal respectively. Volume 4 had input from a literary theorist (Spivak) and a historical anthropologist (Bernard Cohn). This mix of predominantly historians with contributions from social scientists and literary theorists continued in subsequent volumes. There were

no contributions on non-Indian subjects until Volume 7, when the leading historian of Africa, Terence Ranger, provided a chapter on Matabeleland. Subsequently, there were only three other contributions on non-Indian topics. David Lloyd wrote on Irish history and subalternity in Volume 9, Rosemary Sayigh on Palestinian women in Volume 10 and Pradeep Jeganathan on Sinhalese masculinity in Volume 11.

Ranajit Guha acted as the sole editor up until Volume 6 (1989), though the eight other members of the editorial collective were heavily involved in reading and selecting contributions. Even after this, Guha provided important chapters for Volumes 7 and 9. The editorial collective expanded, with some of the original members dropping out. Rather than shape our research and writing for the project, we developed our own different interests, leading to an inevitable loss of focus. An attempt was made to overcome this problem in the final two volumes, which were thematic; Volume 11 being on community, gender and violence, and Volume 12 on Muslims, Dalits and history.

> **SV:** Why did the Subaltern Studies Group dissolve? Did it continue in some other way, once the book series was discontinued? Did people stay in touch, organise any similar activities or projects together?

DH: The last volume appeared in 2005, and it was apparent by then that the project had run its course. The members of the editorial group had gone their own ways, publishing in many settings. Several became active in the field of Postcolonial Studies. We did stay in touch. For example, many of us met up at Emory University in Atlanta in 2006 to discuss Gyan Pandey's interest in the place of the subaltern citizen in modern societies. The 'hyphenated citizen' is seen as somehow a less legitimate member of the society than majority groups. This is the case with Dalits in India and African-Americans in the USA. Pandey brought out an edited collection on this subject in 2009 titled: *Subaltern Citizens and their Histories: Investigations from India and the USA*. This was the first title in a series on Colonial and Postcolonial Histories that Pandey established and edited. In many respects, it was the successor to *Subaltern Studies*, with themes covered that we had already started exploring already in the project, such as subalternity and religion (Volume 2 in that series) and communalism (Volume 3). Projit Mukharji and myself edited the sixth volume in the series on *Medical Marginality in South Asia: Situating Subaltern Therapeutics*. This volume came out of two workshops that we held in Delhi and Warwick in 2009 and 2010. We were

critical of the way that many popular forms of therapeutics and healing have been discussed in the literature on India, arguing that the most important feature was the marginality of such systems. They existed in subordination to practices that were considered legitimate; besides modern western medicine, this has included Ayurveda, Yoga, Naturopathy, Homeopathy, Unani Tibb and Siddha medicine. While these systems all receive some support from the state, subaltern practices are considered illicit, 'backward', and are discouraged.

> **SV:** Today there is an almost mythical aura of Subaltern Studies for radical scholars and researchers. On the one hand, Subaltern Studies is seen as an inspirational example of one of the more radical academic approaches in the world, illustrating how academics can be integrated within and contribute to counter-hegemonic struggles. On the other hand, it has been criticised for romanticising the (violence of the male) subaltern, creating a simplified dichotomy between subaltern/elite, and undermining national coalitions in anti-colonial struggles. What is the remaining legacy of the Subaltern Studies Group today? According to you, what has been its impact and weaknesses?

DH: As I stated at the start of this interview, *Subaltern Studies* grew out of New Left History. The significant difference was that New Left historians such as Eric Hobsbawm understood popular action in pre-capitalist societies as 'pre-political', whereas we characterised it as being a different type of politics—one that grew from the experience of subordination. At that time, historians and social scientists—both on the left and right—generally understood popular action as being driven by economic need. We stressed that there was a complex politics involved that went well beyond crude economic urges. We argued that the complex mental worlds of the subordinated and their solidarities were created out of a constant process of differentiation from the dominant classes. This all occurred, however, within spaces that were controlled ultimately by the elite. This permitted elite politicians to appropriate the subaltern in certain situations, as in the Indian nationalist movement. How this worked out in practice was set out as an agenda for research. We need not claim to provide easy answers or a clear historical formula. In this, we differentiated ourselves from some influential studies of modern India of that period that sought to provide a key to the understanding of this historical process; for example, the idea

that Indian nationalists used ties of patronage to mobilise the masses, or that the mass movement was driven by the 'dominant peasantry'. The openness of the project in this respect gave room for many contributions, and for its evolution and growth over time. Issues such as the gendered nature of the subaltern or the idea of a unified 'subaltern consciousness' were addressed. The valorisation of subaltern violence in acts of armed insurgency was not however considered problematic. Indeed, in India many radicals continue to uphold such revolt, as with Naxalite armed struggle. This is an issue that I have examined in a critical way in my recent writing.

One major theme developed by Ranajit Guha that I feel has needed modification is that of the braiding of elite and subaltern politics at different historical junctures. The two, he argued, came together in one moment but drew apart at another. There was a tendency here to envisage two monolithic structures interacting. In my view, the process was a lot more complex. In India, the elites, who came from different social groups (ranging from maharajas to semi-feudal landlords, industrial and finance capitalists, intellectuals and professionals), reached out to the people in a variety of ways, and there was also a braiding of different subaltern streams of politics. Some of the latter were rooted in semi-feudal style polities, others engaged with the oppressions practised by the imperial rulers, while some represented imaginative responses to nationalist initiatives. In his book *Doctoring Traditions*, Projit Mukharji has provided us with a useful way of approaching this issue in his discussion of Indian medical history during the colonial period. He argues that rather than focus on the engagement between what is supposed to be two archetypical forms of medical practice—the 'western' and the 'Indian'—we need to look at the way that different threads within a wide range of practices from both Europe and India became braided into new and unstable forms. Following from this, I would argue that it would be wrong to try to delineate any single structures of either elite or subaltern politics that came together in, for example, the Indian nationalist movement. Rather, a range of disparate threads in both streams became intertwined in varying ways for limited but disruptive periods before they then unravelled. The process nonetheless changed future social relations and politics in important respects. In this, we cannot distinguish any uniform subaltern mode of politics, for there were clearly many differences in the ways that people participated in protests—depending on class, community, religion, region and so on. If we approach the issue in this way, we can, I believe, gain

many insights into the way that movements in all parts of the world have managed to build powerful coalitions of resistance.

The main legacies of the project were that it challenged old assumptions about the poor and oppressed, providing a space for far more nuanced and detailed studies of their experiences and life histories. For example, I believe we were able to address issues such as the religiosity of the subaltern classes in new and more productive ways. The volumes also provided a corpus of excellent scholarship that was able to inspire a new generation of radical historians and social scientists. That has, for us, been particularly gratifying. Many of the forms of analysis that were first proposed in the pages of the series became in time mainstream.

> **SV:** How might the Subaltern Studies Group serve as an example, and possibly a warning, for other critical and radical research interventions, such as Queer Studies and Resistance Studies? What is your advice to young academics trying to create counter-hegemonic orientations within mainstream social science and historical fields?

DH: The informing passion of the project was a commitment to the poor and powerless, and this attracted radical historians and social scientists. This commitment is of course just as relevant today, at a time when the subordinated face continuing racism, misogyny, homophobia, religious hatred and other forms of discrimination in their own countries or are being forced into exile from wars and environmental collapse. In his book *Postcolonial Resistance*, David Jefferess refers to Ben Okri's statement that the people must change the 'stories' they live by in order to change the world. Jefferess glosses this to understand 'stories' as the historical and literary narratives that represent 'discourses of identity and power through which subjectivity is constructed and within which action is understood'. I think that this sums up a lot of what *Subaltern Studies* has tried to do.

On a warning note: I learnt personally from my observation of politics in India in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s that we overestimated the radical potential of the subaltern. Being braided so closely within elite culture and religious systems, they were always open to being co-opted by reactionary interests. The lesson is that it generally takes many decades of ideological and cultural struggle to build radical movements. The Indian nationalist movement had in fact done this in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, to the point at which it became a mass movement under Gandhi's

leadership. The reactionary counter by the Hindu Right similarly took decades to become a mainstream force. I think that we can see this now with Extinction Rebellion—it has taken a long time to create such a critical mass behind environmental issues. Similarly, education in nonviolent strategy that has been continuing for many years has borne dividends over the past decade.

SV: Thank you so very, very much for your generous participation in this interview.

Some key publications of Subaltern Studies

Bourke, Angela. 'Reading a Woman's Death: Colonial Text and Oral Tradition in Nineteenth-Century Ireland'. *Feminist Studies* (1995) Vol. 21, pp 553-86.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 'A Small History of *Subaltern Studies*', in Dipesh Chakrabarty (ed), *Habitations of Modernity*, Chicago 2002, 3-19. A look-back at the *Subaltern Studies* project twenty-years-on by a member of the collective. Also, in Henry Schwartz and Sangeeta Ray, *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies* (2000)

Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 'Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts?' *Representations* (Winter 1992) No. 37, pp 1-26.

Guha, Ranajit. 'On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India'. *Subaltern Studies I* (New Delhi 1982), 1-8. Set out the agenda for the series.

Guha, Ranajit. 'The Prose of Counter-Insurgency', in Ranajit Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies II* (New Delhi 1983), 1-42. Examines how historical narratives were constructed by colonial officials, in the process building an account of popular insurrection that accorded with the ideological needs of the colonial state in India.

Guha, Ranajit. 'The Small Voice of History', in Shahid Amin and Dipesh Chakrabarty (eds.), *Subaltern Studies IX* (New Delhi, 1996), 1-12. Guha examines the histories that are ignored in what he calls 'statist' history, which, in his words, 'authorises the dominant values of the state to determine the criteria of the historic'.

Guha, Ranajit. 'Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India' (Durham 1999). Foreword by James Scott.

Iggers, G. G. *A Global History of Modern Historiography* (London, 2008), 284-90. For a brief review of *Subaltern Studies*.

O'Hanlon, Rosalind, 'Recovering the Subject: Subaltern Studies and histories of resistance in colonial South Asia'. *Modern Asian Studies* (Feb. 1988) Vol. 22 No. 1.

Some key publications by David Hardiman[1]

Hardiman, David. 'Adivasi Assertion in South Gujarat: The Devi Movement of 1922-23', in R. Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies III*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi 1984, pp.196-230.

Hardiman, David. 'From Custom to Crime: The Politics of Drinking in Colonial South Gujarat', in R. Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies IV*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi 1985, pp.165-228.

Hardiman, David. *The Coming of the Devi: Adivasi Assertion in Western India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi 1987.

Hardiman, David. *Gandhi: In His Time and Ours*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2003 (paperback edition 2004).

Hardiman, David. *Histories for the Subordinated*, Permanent Black, New Delhi 2006, pp. 392; Seagull, London, New York, and Calcutta. This is a collection of previously published major articles by David Hardiman, with a specially written 28-page introduction, and with the addition of one previously unpublished article.

Hardiman, David. *Missionaries and their Medicine: A Christian Modernity for Tribal India*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 2008.

Hardiman, David. *Medical Marginality in South Asia: Situating Subaltern Therapeutics* (edited with Projit Bihari Mukharji), with introduction by the two editors, Routledge, Abingdon, 2012.

Hardiman, David. *The Nonviolent Struggle for Indian Freedom 1905-19*, Hurst, London 2018.

Hardiman, David. *Noncooperation in India: Nonviolent Strategy and Protest 1920-22*, Oxford University Press, London 2021.

[1] See a more complete collection here: https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/people/staff_index/dhardiman (Visited April 15, 2021).

CLASSICAL BOOK REVIEW

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: The Communist Manifesto A catechism becomes a manifesto

Reviewed by ***Sven-Eric Liedman,*** *Professor Emeritus of history of ideas at the University of Gothenburg,*

The Communist Manifesto is the most translated, most widespread and most well-known of all the writings by Marx and Engels. It was first published early in 1848, just before the wave of revolutions all over Europe. Its immediate influence was, however, limited. It was only some decades later that it formed the first step in almost all introductions to the political theory of Marx.

In 1847, Marx and Engels had gained a crucial base of support in London, where the international Communist League had it headquarters. Both Marx and Engels lived at that time in Brussels. Marx was seen as the great rising star by the leading personalities in the London group, which had just changed its name from the League of the Just to the more militant League of Communists. Now, they needed a declaration of their political intentions. Marx was the man they choose for this task.

Engels had, however, already written a draft of around 20 pages on his own, called 'The Principles of Communism'. But there would be no final version without Marx's contributions. Engels also realized this, and there is nothing to indicate that Marx himself held any other opinion.

But Engels's draft would form the basis for the final text. It had the form of a traditional catechism, with questions and responses like 'What is communism?' and 'Will it be possible to bring about the abolition of private property by peaceful methods?' The programs of many radical groups had looked like this for a great many decades. As late as 1884, the Swedish playwright August Strindberg could write *A Small Catechism for the Underclass*. The Swedish historian of ideas Adrian Velicu has shown how

secular catechisms flooded the market during the French Revolution.[1] The form had obvious advantages: it was clear and simple, and it was well-known to gen*e*rations of women and men who had in years gone by been primed with various Christian catechisms. For Engels, with his strict religious upbringing, it was certainly a particular delight to use it for purposes other than Christian edification.

At the same time, the long series of questions and responses sounded both stiff and repetitive. Engels himself realized these limitations. In a letter to Marx, in which he enclosed his draft, he proposed that the final version should not be a catechism, but that the thing (*das Ding*) should be called a manifesto instead. The reason he gave was that historical development needed to be taken up, and it would be difficult to keep to such a rigid form. Nor was he satisfied with what he himself had achieved. The result was 'quite unsuitable', he said bitterly.[2]

It is entirely too harsh a judgment. As always, Engels had written a clear and lucid text that flowed elegantly and naturally. On the other hand, it is not at all on the level of the final *Manifesto*. Comparing Engels's 'Principles'with the final text, both in form and in content, is of some interest.

There was actually also another reason to speak of a 'manifesto' – a reason Marx and Engels themselves gave in the preface to a new German edition published in 1872. The Communist league had been a secret organization, but it would now no longer be so. It was time to *manifest* – to make clear what the organization stood for.[3]

Linguistically speaking, the *Manifest der kommunistischen Partei* (Manifesto of the Communist Party) bears the stamp of Marx in all essentials. Engels was also prepared to ascribe the fundamental ideas to Marx – they belonged 'solely and exclusively to Marx', he wrote in the preface to the 1883 German edition.[4] This is certainly an exaggeration. On the other hand, the

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[1] A. Velicu, *Civic Catechisms and Reason in the French Revolution* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

[2] Engels in a letter to Marx, 23–24 November 1847, MEGA III/2, 121f; CW 38:149.

[3] Engels's 'Principles of Communism' can be found in MEW 4:361–380; CW 6:341–357. On the need to 'manifest' according to the 'Preface to the 1872 German Edition', 57, which corresponds to MEW 4:573; CW 23:174.

[4] Engels's preface to the 1883 German edition in MEW 21:3; CW 26:118.

wording is not Engels's. The only person who could have influenced this is Jenny Marx. This is at least what her biographer Ulrich Teusch wants to have us believe; a few lines in the only preserved manuscript are unmistakably written in her handwriting.[5]

But it is still without a doubt Karl who was responsible for most of the wording. What is most striking is the impact of the incomparable art of his writing in the small introductory preface and in the first section, 'Bourgeois and Proletarians'. Stylistic heights are reached there that Engels never even came close to but where Marx could find himself when neither the complicated diversity of the textual abstract nor the gravity of the preciseness of terms weighed down what he wrote.

The best pages in the *Manifesto* are unsurpassed in their kind; rarely, if ever, has anyone written so brilliantly on societal issues. The very first sentence has attained iconic status: 'A specter is haunting Europe – the specter of Communism.' (The background is the panicked alarm of the contemporary European regimes at communist conspiracies; dangerous secret societies were suspected in every nook and cranny.) The memorable sentences follow in quick succession. Despite their being quoted *ad nauseam* and having served as lumber for countless book titles, they have never lost their radiance. Like all classical texts, they have also preserved their topicality. It is still possible to recognize our own time in the most well-known paragraph:

> The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his 'natural superiors' and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment'. It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom – Free Trade. In other word, for exploitation, veiled by religious

[5] On Jenny Marx's possible contribution to the wording of the Manifesto, see U. Teusch, *Jenny Marx: die rote Baronesse* (Zürich: Rotpunkt Verlag, 2011, 74 and the facsimile in the picture section (between 110 and 111).

> and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

Or stop a moment before the sentence: 'All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.' We still live in this world.[6]

But this also says that the promises for the future that the *Manifesto* contains have never come true. Russia's October Revolution never came close to what Marx pointed out in advance, and its results now belong entirely to the past. The Chinese analogue was at least equally as far from the prototype of 1848, and the more than sixty-year dictatorship there has been alloyed with an equally implacable capitalism. In today's China, Marx's words about the solid melting into air and the holy being profaned are just as applicable as they are in most refined capitalist countries.

But with this, we are already well into the content of the *Manifesto*. Let us stay here.

It is striking that the *Manifesto*, with its just over thirty pages of text, contains so much more than Engels's 'Principles' does in seventeen. This is due in part to the fact that the *Manifesto* discards the catechism's responses to questions of the kind 'In what way does the proletarian differ from the slave? From the serf?' and so on, which take up a lot of space. Tellingly enough, Engels provided no answer to a question that he nonetheless asked regarding the difference between the proletarian and the craftsman; the question may simply have been a sensitive one, considering that craftsmen made up the majority of the text's immediate recipients.

Such matters were settled in the *Manifesto* with a few terse formulations. The question of the relationship of the craftsman to the industrial worker is given a response in one sentence, which also provides information on a range of other societal classes. It speaks of '[t]he lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the artisan, the peasant', all of which are now on the path to sinking down into the proletariat because their capital is too little to cope with the competition from modern industry.[7]

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[6] The quotes are taken from CW 6:483, 486f and 487. In MEW 4 the corresponding pages are 461, 464f and 465, respectively.

[7] 'The lower middle class…', MEW 4: 472; CW 6:494.

The *Manifesto* portrays contemporary society as an enormous centrifuge. From its violent movements, some are pushed upward, becoming members of the ruling class: the capitalists – or, in another word, the bourgeoisie. Many more are on the way down, more quickly or more slowly; farmers, craftsmen, merchants – all are gradually proletarianized. They seek to preserve their position in vain; they become reactionary.

The implacable path downwards that most are compelled to take is common to so many. Nor are the well-educated spared. Once they were surrounded by respect, but now the bourgeoisie has 'converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-laborers'.[8]

The phrase 'wage laborer' rouses wonder: are the doctors and the others becoming proletarians? Are all wage laborers simply workers – the doctor and the dean, the lawyer and the novelist? The reader finds no answer. This is not that strange. The *Manifesto* depicts ongoing development but is always hurrying on ahead in the direction of what awaits in a nearer or more remote future. The perspective in time is undetermined. The tense is at the same time the present and the future.

The same thing thereby also applies to the revolution that stands in focus further on in the *Manifesto*. It seems that the bourgeoisie's fateful hour could strike tomorrow, but the text can equally readily be interpreted so that the great upheaval will only take place in a more far-off future when society has been transformed even more radically. The workers join together in this process, and they struggle to keep their wages up. Here and there, it leads to riots. 'Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time.' In the long run, their situation continuously worsens.

The authors of the *Manifesto* are still adherents of 'the iron law of wages'. There is nothing strange there; the doctrine was entirely predominant at the time, especially among economists. Only later would Marx – and following him, Engels – abandon it.[9]

The important thing about the workers joining together is instead that their combined forces increase, the more people are pushed down into proletarian impoverishment from development. Even their intellectual

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[8] 'converted the physician…', 465 and 487 respectively.

[9] 'Now and then...' 471 and 493 respectively. Marx later distances himself from the iron law of wages.

capacity is improved when people who previously found themselves higher up on the class ladder are forced to climb down. The fact that a small part of the ruling class joins the revolutionary workers is also part of the advantages (Engels must be counted among this minority).

But the working class not only grows – it is also feminized. This fact, which Marx only gave intimations of in a few figures without notes in the *Manifesto*, is given a few lines of attention here. It says that men's labor 'is superseded' by women's because labor through machinery no longer requires great bodily strength. Gender and age have become inessential in general, and women and children cost less (it is unclear why women do). 'All are instruments of labour.'[10]

The second chapter of the *Manifesto*, 'Proletarians and Communists', is shorter than the first one and contains a number of interesting explanations. It observes, for example, that communism does not abolish property in general, only 'bourgeois property' – ownership of the means of production such as machinery, purchased labor and so on. But on the other hand, this property tends to push out all others to become the only kind. – The capital is not a personal, but a 'social power'. The capitalists do not appear as a number of concrete individuals but as the bearers of the impersonal power that both supports and permeates the society where capitalism reigns.[11]

In the *Manifesto*'s day, communists were accused of their battle against private property also being a battle against the family. Of course, the authors responded; the bourgeois family must be abolished. Only among the bourgeoisie was it fully developed. The proletarians were forced into breaking up their families, and prostitution flourished in contemporary society.[12]

Engels's 'Principles' are much more illustrative on that point. Engels said that the relationship between the sexes would become completely private and would only be the business of those it immediately concerned. Women would no longer be dependent on men, nor would children be dependent on their parents. The accusation that communists would decree

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[10] 'All are...', 469 and 491 respectively.

[11] 'bourgeois property', 475 and 498 respectively. – 'a social power', 475 and 499 respectively.

[12] The *Manifesto* on the family, 478f and 502 respectively.

women to be owned in common strikes back against bourgeois society, in which prostitution flourished.[13]

The reason for the *Manifesto*'s more evasive statements can only be the subject of speculation. We know that Engels and Marx had different views on marriage in the age in which they lived. Is that why the answers are so vague in the text Marx was responsible for? Perhaps so. But we know nothing for certain.

On the other hand, both the original and the final *Manifesto* are equally unambiguous as regards upbringing and education: it will become a common affair.

The accusation that communism would destroy eternal values such as freedom and justice are emphatically dismissed. The coming upheaval would cast off 'certain common forms, or general ideas, which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms'.[14]

This statement also lacks clarity, and above all gives rise to a number of questions. Even after the revolution, people will be conscious beings – but what will then fill their consciousness? We are given no information about it.

But another question is even more pressing: *What are the ideas that engage those opposing contemporary society? Where do they get their ideas and ideals from?* They are obviously borne by a pathos that has its roots in the distant past. Ideas of resistance turned against the reigning power can be traced back for millennia. No one knew that better than Marx himself, who throughout his life regarded Prometheus, who defied the gods, as his ideal.

What will remain of this after the revolution? Would Prometheus and what he stood for – the eternal spirit of revolt – lose their urgency? Would Aeschylus, Shakespeare and Goethe sink into an indifferent past? Would Balzac's depictions of a cynical social apparatus that bred careerists and losers become only a curiosity?

In other texts both before and later, Marx made use of Hegel's key concept of *Aufhebung* – sublation – which meant that something was both abolished and raised to a higher level. In that case, the best of the inherited culture would certainly lose its earlier, class-based holdings but at the same time be refined and deepened.

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[13] Engels, 'Principles'; MEW 4: 377, CW 6:354.

[14] 'certain common forms', 480f and 504 respectively.

Perhaps Marx had found these forms of thought entirely too complicated for a text that, in principle, could be read and understood by everyone. But the consequence was that society after the revolution only appeared as a total contrast to the world Marx and Engels were living in. It was otherwise featureless. Everything would be good, yes—but how?

The unsurpassed depiction in the first chapter of capitalist society is succeeded by a second chapter that raises more questions that it gives answers. Greater clarity only makes an appearance with a ten-point program on what the communist party wanted to achieve. The list, which modifies but in all essentials agrees with its counterpart in Engels's 'Principles', contains everything from the expropriation of landed property, equal obligation for everyone to work, and the centralization of the transport system in the hands of the State to free public education of all children and strongly progressive taxation. On a few points, the enumeration of the *Manifesto* diverges from the one Engels stood for. It is perhaps telling that Engels was satisfied with heavy taxation of inheritances, whereas the final version—the one Marx wrote—simply demands that the right of inheritance be abolished. Engels's idea on large palace where residence and work would be combined, and industry and agriculture meet, disappeared.[15]

But all these measures, whether in the one version or the other, are only steps on the road towards a future society—the one only described through a series of negations: it is classless, without exploitation and without the kind of morals born out of the rule of one class over all the others.

Medieval philosophy spoke of a *via negativa*, a road to knowledge that ran through negations. It is the same road Marx and Engels embarked upon, in an entirely different area.

One reason for the reticence on the society of the future is the fear of fancifully depicted utopias that were prevalent at the time, which both Marx and Engels had also found a great attraction in not so long ago. That fear, which at the same time contained a great fascination, found expression in the third chapter of the *Manifesto*, which deals with various kinds of socialist and communist literature. There was a model here in Engels as well, but the difference in comparison with the final version in the *Manifesto* is great.

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[15] The enumeration of measures after the revolution in 'Principles', MEW 4:373f and CW 6:350f; in MEW 4:481f and CW 6:505 respectively.

Equally as strong as the first chapter, it bears completely the stamp of Marx's singular style of writing with its brilliant details.[16]

The description begins with the one furthest from the *Manifesto*'s own standpoint, namely what is here called 'Feudal Socialism'. Capitalism is criticized here for having broken the feudal bands and also for having called forth a revolutionary proletariat. There are crucial similarities between this kind of socialism and Christianity, and Marx is not surprised:

> 'Has not Christianity declaimed against private property, against marriage, against the state? Has it not preached in place of these, charity and poverty, celibacy and mortification of the flesh, monastic life and Mother Church? Christan Socialism is but the holy water with which the priest consecrates the heart-burning of the aristocrat.'[17]

'Petty-Bourgeois Socialism' is treated with greater sympathy, pointing out a hero: the Swiss political economist and historian Jean Charles Léonard de Sismondi. Sismondi, who was born back in 1773 and died in 1842, belonged to a different generation than Marx. He had been influenced by Adam Smith, but objected to the passion of Smith and other economists for constant growth. Humanity, not production, should be at the center. The current system bred constant crises and created poverty for the many in society. Sismondi's ideal was, rather, a system in which smallholders and petty bourgeois could live a good, secure, and relatively equal life.[18]

In the following section, Marx and Engels drew nearer themselves, or rather their own development. The subject is 'German, or 'True', Socialism'. This, the authors said, was the inevitable result when German philosophers and aesthetes met French socialist and communist literature. France had undergone the bourgeois revolution that the Germans still had before them, which is why the Germans would devote themselves to 'interests of Human Nature, of Man in general, who belongs to no class, has no reality, who exists only in the misty realm of philosophical fantasy'.[19]

The criticism is ruthless. But Marx, with good reason, had to count himself among the Germans who had begun their wanderings toward

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[16] Engels on the various socialist movements in MEW 4:377F and CW 6:355f.

[17] On 'Feudal Socialism', 482ff and 507f respectively.

[18] Petty-Bourgeois Socialism, 484f and 509f respectively.

[19] 'German, or "True", Socialism', 485–488 and 510–513 respectively.

socialism and communism with ideas about the essence of humanity and its alienation. The chief expression for this entire stigmatized literary genre is and remains the *Manuscripts*. The world did not yet know about them.

Proudhon, once the object of Marx's admiration, was dismissed under the heading of 'Conservative, or Bourgeois Socialism'. It was his book on the philosophy of misery that was being pilloried. Proudhon's dream, it was said, was a bourgeoisie without the proletariat. It is a crushing judgement, but not a fair one. Proudhon's ideal society was a society in which no one lived in misery or was subjected to oppression.[20]

More positive is the description of 'Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism'. Of all the sections in the chapter, this is the one that likely influenced the age they lived in and the future the most. It was through this section that the term 'utopian socialism' became a natural component of the political vocabulary. Saint-Simon, Owen, and Fourier have been nailed to this term. They were utopians. They built castles in the air.

The reader who has only this idea with them will certainly be surprised that the picture being painted here has such markedly light sides. The early socialist and communist systems certainly belonged to a time when the proletariat was still in an immature stage of its development. The path to liberation lay in the gloom. Fourier and the others were not prepared to carry out any politics—least of all anything revolutionary—but were inspired instead to various experiments with miniature societies that were doomed to fail.

But this kind of socialism or communism was not only utopian. It was critical as well. The word *critical* has a central place in Marx's vocabulary, as it had during his entire Young Hegelian period and in other respects in the entire tradition from Kant. Being critical did not mean simply being negative. Someone developing criticism in Marx's meaning illuminates an object or a phenomenon so that its anatomy and method of functioning are exposed. Critical analysis thereby indirectly opens the path for a program of action.

In the *Manifesto*, it says that authors in the tradition from Saint-Simon and Fourier 'attack every principle of existing society' and that they thereby 'are full of the most valuable materials for the enlightenment of the working class'. What they say about future society, on the other hand, is to be regarded

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[20] 'Conservative, or Bourgeois Socialism', 488f and 513f respectively.

as pure utopias—for example that the antithesis between town and country is to be abolished, that the institution of the family is to be dissolved, and that the State alone will administer production.[21]

There is much to say about this brief text. As regards the elements pointed out as purely utopian, their counterparts can be glimpsed in quite many texts by both Marx and Engels—in fact, even in the *Manifesto* (at least concerning marriage). The utopian in them had to be attributed to the lack of concrete ideas about how all these new things would be realized. The authors of the *Manifesto* pointed out in particular that the critical utopians had had no idea of the crucial significance of the class struggle.

It is also worth nothing that the nuanced assessment of the critical utopians had no counterpart in Engels's 'Principles'. It was Marx's point of view that found expression in these pages. Only he could also create a sentence like this: 'They still dream of experimental realisation of their social Utopias, of founding isolated 'phalanstères', of establishing 'Home Colonies', of setting up "Little Icaria" – duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem…'.

This lingering dream turned the followers of Fourier and the others into reactionaries who did not want to know about the rapid development of recent years but dreamt back to the time when their teachers lived and worked.

These crushing formulations get their acerbity against the background of the 1840s being a great decade for a singular number of small-scale social experiments. Many people – particularly in France – dreamed of realizing Étienne Cabet's ideal society of Icaria. *Phalanstères* sprang up in many

[21] 'Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism', 489–492 and 514–517 respectively. – The numerous attempts at small utopian societies is dealt with in Manuel & Manuel. One account of the specifically American experiments is Berry 1992. Especially interesting are the experiments in the spirit of Fourier (83–92) and the attempt to realize Cabet's Icaria, for which Cabet himself – having left Europe, where it was difficult to work – was (as time went on) the increasingly dictatorial leader (107–115). The especially American variant that arose under the name of 'perfectionism', created by John Humphrey Noyes, is also of particular interest. Its ideology was called 'Bible communism', and the experimental society practiced common property and general promiscuity under the name of 'mixed marriage'. Each member had to submit to the criticism of the others in a way that is reminiscent of the Cultural Revolution in China. But the leader himself was exempt from that kind of ordeal (92–98).

quarters, especially in the New World. Owen's ideal society, New Lanark, still existed in southern Scotland and inspired many. The second- and third-generation followers of 'the Critical-Utopian Socialists and Communists' were important competitors of the communist movement that Marx and Engels were part of constructing.

These movements are the subject of the very last pages of the *Manifesto*. The authors mention developments in a series of different countries. The account is quite succinct, and the main attention is directed towards Germany because 'that country [was] on the eve of a bourgeois revolution'. That revolution was particularly eventful because it would take place at a higher level of development than the analogous upheavals in seventeenth-century England and eighteenth-century France. The proletariat had managed to go farther than the workers in both of the other times and places.

There and everywhere, the communists wanted to make common cause with other democratic forces. But they did not conceal their goal: a society that could only be created 'by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions'. The proletarians had nothing to lose but their chains. They had 'a world to win'. That is why they had to unite, wherever on earth they were located.[22]

The *Manifesto* was published in late February, 1848. Its triumphal march did not begin immediately. Quite the opposite—the pamphlet long remained largely unnoticed. Only decades later did it become an important introduction, not only to Marx's view of society and political programs but also to socialism and communism in general.

But a series of translations of the pamphlet were published during its first few years. Marx and Engels spoke proudly of them in the preface to the new German edition, published in 1872. The enumeration concluded with information about a Danish translation.[23] But that was a mistake—the translation was Swedish and done by Pär Götrek, an eccentric bookseller who early on introduced socialist and communist ideas to Sweden. It is possible that he had help from a few journeymen with experiences from the rebellious metropoles of the Continent. The translation had the placid title *Kommunismens röst* (The Voice of Communism), and it replaced the militant

[22] The last pages of the *Manifesto*, 'Position of the Communists in Relation to the Various Existing Opposition Parties', MEW 4:492f, CW 6:518f.

[23] On translations according to Marx and Engels, see MEW X:573, CW 23:174.

'Working men of all countries...' in the original with the somewhat more stylish but still deeply controversial motto 'Folks röst är Guds röst' (The voice of the people is the voice of God). These words had tradition on their side, at least; ultimately they go back to Hesiod, the oldest named Greek poet, who in his *Works and Days* asserted that even the speech of common people is divine in its way.[24]

The first English translation came out in 1850. It was done by Helen Macfarlane, a Scottish Chartist, journalist, and philosopher, and was published in four parts in George Julian Harney's newspaper *Red Republican*. Macfarlane had a splendid knowledge of German philosophy, especially as regards Hegel. Marx esteemed her highly and was indignant when she was treated poorly by Harney. She was 'the only collaborator on his insignificant little rag who really has any ideas. On his rag, a *rara avis*'. Macfarlane's translation is lively and imaginative. In her version, the famous first line runs: 'A frightful hobgoblin stalks throughout Europe. We are haunted by a ghost, the ghost of Communism.'[25]

But in the year 1848, it was rather quiet regarding the *Manifesto*. Nor did Marx have time to reflect particularly much on the pamphlet that had just come out into print. It so happened that revolution—the revolution he had just pointed out in advance—broke out in Paris during the days the *Manifesto* had left the printing presses.

With the exception of the two first paragraphs, this text is a part of the English translation of my biography A World to Win: The Life and Works of Karl Marx (transl. by Jeff Skinner, London & New York: Verso Books, 2018).

[24] As far as I know, the only literature on Götrek is in Swedish, above all Gamby 1978; regarding the translation of the *Manifesto*, see 200–211. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, verse 763.

[25] Marx's letter to Engels, 23 February 1851, CW 38:295f. On Helen Macfarlane's life and work, see Black 2004.

REVIEWS

adrienne maree brown: [1] Pleasure Activism: The Politics of Feeling Good

AK Press, 2019

Reviewed by **Artemis Duffy**, ***University of Massachusetts, Amherst***

Pleasure Activism is adrienne maree brown's call to action for everyone to intentionally engage with the process of recognizing the power of the erotic, utilizing it to guide their personal and public liberation practice and to do the work necessary to honor ourselves and our comrades in our fight for liberation by centering pleasure.

The first piece in this anthology is 'Uses of the Erotic' by Audre Lorde, wherein Lorde provides our initial exposition to the erotic as a source of power, one not exclusively sexual but inherently pleasurable. Lorde aids the reader by categorizing the erotic into multiple categories of function, which are visited in many ways by brown and others throughout the book. The first is as a form of power that is found when sharing in joy with another person which can be used as 'a bridge between sharers which can be the basis for understanding much of what is not shared between them' (Lorde, 2019, 31). The next is our 'erotic knowledge,' which is the personal usage of our senses to understand our full propensity for joy and satisfaction. From this knowledge of the self—this knowledge of our ability to feel and live joy—comes a refusal to settle for less in all areas of our life. As Lorde notably writes:

> For as we begin to recognize our deepest feelings, we begin to give up, of necessity, being satisfied with suffering and self-negation, and with the numbness which so often seems like their only alternative in our society. Our acts against oppression become integral with self, motivated, and empowered from within (Lorde, 2019, 33).

This idea that once we can see, understand, cultivate and harness our erotic knowledge of the self we will then be able to engage in the difficult work

[1] adrienne maree brown writes her name with lowercase letters as a personal and aesthetic choice regarding hierarchies, which I am respecting throughout this review.

necessary to be a part of liberatory movements—with a joyousness that is intrinsic to the self—is a recurring theme throughout the piece. Pleasure activism attempts to create a new way of engaging with liberation work, an engagement that focuses intently on how we can devote ourselves to this work in a way that values our needs and centers our pleasure. It focuses on strategies to re-imagine how we do liberation work—work that is characterized by constant over-extension of the self, burnout, and exploitation of the most marginalized in the space—by creating a pleasure ethic that centers creating pleasure for the organizer/activist/general participant in every and all revolutionary efforts.

While centering pleasure can look a lot of different ways, adrienne maree brown compiles essays and interviews that all center around two notions introduced by Toni Bambara (1980); these are made clear in the essay by Alexis Pauline Gumbs (2019). First, Gumbs references Bambara's novel, *The Salt Eaters,* to explain the purpose of writing: 'writing was a tool for the revolution, that our task was to make the revolution irresistible' (Bambara, 65). Second, and one that strikingly holds true through out every piece, is that: 'if we want to have a revolution, we have to have revolutionary relationships, in action, not simply in rhetoric' (Bambara, 71).

This is where *Pleasure Activism* departs from much of revolutionary literature in that it focuses—with microscopic intensity—on the ways in which revolution is enacted by us upon our own bodies and in our relationships to live a life in honor of the post-revolutionary world. In the opening to their article, 'Toward Non-Violent Economics,' Chuck Matthei and Joanne Sheehan point to Gandhi's approach to beginning nonviolence by addressing needs. They write, 'unmet humans needs are the economic roots of violence and dominations, their fulfillment is central to conflict resolution' (Matthei, Sheehan, 2001, 22). Unmet needs that range throughout the article apply to any number of material effects necessary for survival and, to some extent, for comfort. It is notable that when speaking of unmet needs as the root of violence and domination that furthers inequality, they never speak of the deficit of joy and pleasure in one's life. Often, we are referring to housing, food, clothing, or medicine, which are undoubtedly necessities without which the search for pleasure or joy may be entirely impossible. Still, this does nothing to speak of the importance of centering the pleasure of the person who has obtained these unmet needs to prevent the same taproot of violence and domination in all areas of one's life in the form of things such as interpersonal violence, self-shame, as well as internalized racism. If we do

not continuously reevaluate even the very spaces we claim to be liberatory, we run into the real danger of simply recreating the same structures, or of limiting our ideas of what a revolution can be. *Pleasure Activism* invites the reader to look for more, not just a revolution of economy or of classes, but of the bodies that make up our communities. brown writes:

> 'We could say on the spectrum of pleasure, yes, I like to get touched, I like to get fucked, but also, what about for my community, for my people? What is pleasurable in finding a place of grace and well-being and transcending oppression? If we are not imagining where we are going, then it will constantly just be pushing back outside from inside cages, as opposed to imagining what outside the cages (39).

Finding what causes us to say YES to the movement, to ourselves and to our future is pivotal to the accessibility of the contemporary liberation movement. Without the conscious effort to hone our own senses (not simply the senses of the theorists that we read from) of what is working towards freedom and what is not, it is incredibly easy to be sucked into organizing and change work only to be exploited in those spaces as well. Micha Cárdenas writes in her essay, 'Beyond Trans Desire,' that 'I have, in recent years, finally been able to build a deep self-love and self-respect that I did not learn from queer communities or radical political communities, where I often felt further devalued, excluded, and objectified' (Cárdenas, 2019, 289). As our liberatory movements grow, it is important to take note of whose judgment and enthusiastic yes's are we looking for to validate our work, who do we consistently make space for and accommodate, and whom do we leave behind? Is change work less legitimate if those that are most marginalized within a space (typically trans or cis women, Black, Indigenous and disabled folks, and so forth) do not feel pleasure in those spaces? adrienne maree brown uses *Pleasure Activism* to argue yes, that when we as individuals identify and honor what keeps us coming back to a movement beyond the dedication to our revolutionary imaginations of a world beyond what we know now, we are better equipped as a community to hold the needs of others and force this revolution from the margins of books into our daily interactions with ourselves and others.

To demand so much from ourselves and the organizing spaces we occupy can be extremely daunting; having a pleasure ethic involves processing internalized practices of exploitation, recognizing privilege,

addressing trauma, demanding something of the space we exist in—honing senses many have been taught their whole lives and within the revolutionary movement to view as nonessential, like joy, anxiety, fear, grief and, most importantly, pleasure. However, brown has a simple line that comes to mind as the reader moves from the tenets of a pleasure-oriented ethic into the last pages, enumerating some steps to being a pleasure-oriented practice: 'We are what we practice. We become what we do over and over again' (brown, 269). It is through the enacting of a pleasure ethic that brown says one will:

> Be unconditional in your commitment to the movement, be transformational in every area of your life and work […] When people find movements that meet their needs, welcome them whole, affirm them, commit to their transformation and actually feel good, they stay, and the movement grows (brown, 433).

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Walid Daqqa: Consciousness Molded: or the Re-Identification of Palestinian Torture Jalbu'a Prison

Reviewed by **Dr. Ashjan Ajour, *Brown University, Rhode Island***

Walid Daqqa is a Palestinian political prisoner currently spending his 34th year in Israeli prisons. Born in 1961 in Baqaa' al-Gharbiyeh, he affiliated with The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in 1983 and was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1986, for planning the kidnapping of an Israeli soldier as collateral to free Palestinian prisoners. Subsequently, the Israeli authorities refused to release Daqqa in prisoner exchange deals. He has become a prominent figure in the Palestinian prisoners' movement, and his sophisticated interdisciplinary writings include politics, philosophy, and literature. Whilst in captivity he obtained his BA and Master's in political science and is currently pursuing his doctorate in philosophy. He has written a number of works about his life in prison which are smuggled out for publication. Regarded as a threat by the Israeli Prison Authority (IPA) he was placed in solitary confinement.

Walid Daqqa published *Consciousness Molded: or The Re-Identification of Palestinian Torture* in 2010. It investigates the technologies used by the IPA to mould prisoners' consciousness and their collective resistance values. Incarceration is an integral part of the broader system of Israeli colonial repression; he uses this case study to illuminate the way in which the Israeli state implements its colonial social engineering more generally on the Palestinian people. The book is written in Arabic and has not been translated into another language. Efforts to decolonise resistance studies need to bring to light indigenous activists and intellectuals who write from the depth of the experience of resistance and this is an important book within this domain. Daqqa's intellectual writing is an everyday form of resistance (*Sumud*) in the Israeli prison system. Abdul-Rahim Al-Shaikh comments that 'The writings of Walid Daqqa are not only a rich example of revolutionary poetics but also a philosophical trial in demonstration of the popular politics of hope in the heavy presence of hapless official Palestinian politics' (2019:5). Daqqa's writings represent intellectual products that come from what he coins 'parallel time'—time in captivity as opposed to social time lived outside the prison's bars—and the revolutionary aesthetic of his writing engages culture as a political practice.

He argues that Israel has created a system based on the most updated modern theories of human engineering and social psychology in order to mould Palestinian consciousness by shattering its collective values: 'The occupier derives his ideas, theories and tools of repression from a postmodern civilized reality or as what Bauman terms 'Liquid Modernity" (2010:22). He posits that modern oppression techniques are hidden, masked and difficult to be seen or defined. They are a compilation of small, fragmented procedures which are hard to define separately as tools of torture. Modernist repression is disguised, hidden and presented as a response to human rights; in this book he attempts to 'realize the overall framework and logic behind this system […] The prisoner's body is no longer the direct target: the spirit and the mind are' (2010:21). Such techniques make prisons a replica of the segregated and thoroughly controlled Palestinian lands, and the prisoners become laboratory mice for the experiments of taming Palestinians. The conditions of Palestinian citizens are identical to the conditions of Palestinian prisoners, not only in the form of oppression and torture, but also in the way they are held in segregated geographical cantons and isolations. This fundamental similarity allows the study of the prisoners' lives to reveal a picture of how the Palestinians live in the occupied Palestinian territories and it enables us to understand the entire Palestinian scene—from the small prison to the big prison.

Daqqa asserts that Israel's practices exceed its security needs: 'Since 2004, Israel has implemented a comprehensive and dangerous scientific system that adopts the latest theories in human engineering and group social psychology in order to mould Palestinian consciousness by deconstructing the Palestinian collective national values' (2010:29). He derives this from statements by Moshe 'Bogie' Ya'alon, the former Israeli Chief of Staff of the Israel Defense Force, who during his military service in the Intifada argued that Palestinian consciousness must be moulded, and that the military plans of his army were focused on achieving this; the target is not the body in the collective genocide but the soul as a way of cultural and moral genocide. In this light, Daqqa contends that the term 'occupation' is no longer sufficient, nor even 'settler occupation' to describe the comprehensiveness and depth of the situation in Palestine, particularly after the Oslo agreement.

The author develops a theoretical framework utilizing both Michel Foucault's D*iscipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977) and Naomi Klein's *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (2007), for his own analysis of the modern forms of torture that occur in Israeli prisons, and

beyond in historical Palestine, with the aim of moulding and destabilising the collective moral. Foucault's panopticon is applied in Israeli prisons as a tool of control and discipline. Israel has established isolation and segregation in the prisons and more generally in the occupied territories, to create the threat of constant surveillance over each citizen. This system of control and isolation aims to make the prisoners passive submissive objects so that there is no need for the authority to embody itself. This apparatus is a machine for creating power independently of the person who exercises it, to the point that the prisoners exercise this power over themselves. The driving force of this system is that power must be visible and intangible, with prisoners being constantly under a watchful gaze.

Drawing on *The Shock Doctrine*, Daqqa discussed the techniques of Dr Ewen Cameron, the psychiatrist who used electric shock treatment. Funded by the CIA, he experimented on patients to find a way to reprogram and reshape human beings, with his methods including all kinds of sensory deprivation. Daqqa explains how Dr Cameron recreated prisoners through making them lose a sense of time and place, thus transforming them into a whiteboard onto which he could instil the concepts and behaviours he wanted, commonly referred to as brainwashing. The physical torture of prisoners paralyzes the ability of logical thinking and weakens resistance to the administration's will. In a similar manner, traumatized societies tend to compromise their principles and thus resistance. The primary goal of this strategy is not simply to put an end to armed Palestinian resistance by making the idea of resistance costly, it also aims to erase the set of concepts and values that constitute the moral infrastructure of the resistance and the national values protecting the struggle:

> Israel wanted the destruction and killing to create a shocked and traumatic state that would cause Palestinian society and the national elites to lose the ability to think logically so as to facilitate the brainwashing process without resistance. This is to achieve through introducing concepts and ideas that are empty of their resistant content (Daqqa 2010:42).

Daqqa uses the collective hunger strike in 2004 as an example of the shock doctrine to mould the prisoners' consciousness and to strike at the moral infrastructure of the prisoners. He sees the hunger strike as a turning point in the prisoners' lives, which was exploited by the IPA to establish new policies and procedures. The IPA used the hunger strike as a second shock after the

shock of invasions and arrests, following it with a process of brainwashing and reformation of consciousness:

> We were facing a system of repressive measures that are frightening in their logic and science. The Israeli government supported them (the IPA) politically at the highest levels, and the Israeli minister of prisons stated that the prisoners on hunger strike can die, as he does not intend to respond to their demands (Daqqa 2010:51).

Although the author utilized Michel Foucault's framework in his analysis of the technologies of power, in contrast to Foucault he emphasises the possibility of resistance and sheds light on the agency and resistance subjectivity of the political prisoners:

> The Israeli targeting of the moral infrastructure of the Palestinians with the aim [of] mold[ing] their consciousness expresses a psychological and moral structure that makes *Sumud* (steadfastness) under the oppression of the Israeli military machine possible, and even made the passive steadfastness possible, as well as the positive and proactive steadfastness (Daqqa 2010:28).

The author's positionality is both as an object and a subject. Daqqa indicates in his introduction that sometimes language is inadequate to convey the torture and suffering experienced in the Israeli prisons. The prisoner faces the option of being an object for the jailor or transforming the self to redefine this suffering and its reasons:

> To be the research subject and the subject of research at the same time means to be the victim under torture and the reporter of torture, to be the scene and the witness, to be the details and abstraction together (Daqqa 2010:19).

Therefore, he stresses the necessity of writings because he believes that 'the success or failure of the Israeli plan to mould Palestinian consciousness depends on our ability to uncover it' (Daqqa 2010:24).

The significance of this book, along with the other writings of Waleed Daqqa is that they enable him to exercise *Sumud* to transform the colonial system into a generative Palestinian site for constructing national resistant consciousness. Despite Dr Cameron's efforts to erase the individual's mind

and instil new patterns of behaviour, and the Israeli state attempts to erase Palestinian national consciousness, Waleed Daqqa emerges as an example that demonstrates that Palestinians are not stripped of soul—the creation of 'parallel consciousness'. For him, Palestinians will continue to fight and struggle, so that their existence is not drowned out by the plans and visions of the settler coloniser—a vision articulated by the former Israeli prison director Jacob Janot in the yards of Gilboa prison in 2006, when he boasted to his superiors 'I assure you that you will be confident that I will make the prisoners raise the Israeli flag and sing the 'Hatikvah" (Daqqa 2010:58).

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Brad Evans & Natasha Lennard: Violence: Humans in Dark Times

City Lights Books, 2018

Reviewed by **Craig Brown**, ***Journal of Resistance Studies***

Violence: Humans in Dark Times is a compilation of interviews comprising the authors' series on violence in the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Review of Books*, still ongoing in the latter. This is a rich, engaging and indeed disturbing account of the nature and dynamics of contemporary violence. However, as the authors state, they were 'acutely aware that there was no point in discussing violence unless something could be done about it' (Evans & Lennard, 2018, p.5). Therefore, I will focus here on the contributions made by the text to understanding resistance to violence, which despite the somewhat ominous title is an area where practical application is informed through the varied individual contributions and experience. As the title of the book alludes to, Hannah Arendt's work provides some philosophical underpinning to the exploration of violence in the work (see the interview with Bernstein, p.132), which draws attention to the significance of Arendt's analysis of violence having a parallel in the development and understanding of resistance, including nonviolent resistance (see Schell, 2005, p.223; Brown, 2019). Ultimately, this text offers an introduction to work on resistance that I would suggest warrants engagement and potential collaboration with by the body of researchers working around the *JRS*.

The 'Aesthetic Turn' as Resistance

In Evans and Lennard's (2018) introduction, the authors caution against the 'so-called "aesthetic turn" in politics' being undermined 'if the work of artists is merely appropriated to make a theoretical point'; rather, 'the call for more compassion, dignity, and love in the sphere of the political demands seeing art itself as integral to the political field' (p.8). Many of the interviewees make robust cases for the role of various arts; Simon Critchley argues that understanding the damage of the cycle of violence and counterviolence, and the 'deep history and tragic complexity of political situations' may be strengthened through theatre—specifically Greek theatre, but also 'the best movies and TV dramas' (pp.23-24).

The contribution of such art to resistance is emphasised particularly when we consider the political context within which many of these interviews were carried out, with increasing right-wing populism and complexities of online communication seeming to make 'truth' increasingly precarious. This is not, as certain managers of late capitalism would say, the erosion of values by 'postmodernism', rather it is a political project of individualisation and fracturing of solidarity where the most marginalised are further victimised, as this book effectively exposes (for example George Yancy interview, p.41; Henry Giroux interview, p.75). Part of the remedy and indeed resistance to this project would be to see art forms such as theatre as invoking ancient shared stories. Thus while opera revives many stories of the Greek theatre which are couched in warnings against the cycle of violence (See Christopher Alden interview, chapter 21), these narratives in some cases have intertwined origins stretching back to the world's earliest civilisations. Considering Evans and Lennard's position that 'a conversation on violence demands creating an ethical platform based upon reciprocity' (p.6), furthermore and quite simply, the presentation of ideas and experiences through art is a convincing way in which the suffering of 'the other' may be brought to attention and lead to strengthened solidarities.

Everyday/Multitude of Resistance

Various interviewees acknowledge the seemingly insurmountable nature of challenging structural violence, yet remain optimistic regarding their efforts and the resistance that may be offered through art (for example Gottfried Helwein interview, chapter 15; Bracha L. Ettinger interview, chapter 10). However, the interview with Oliver Stone (pp.147-158) is notable and almost poignant in what seems to be the resignation to his own failure in challenging violence through his films. One may well disagree with his personal evaluation, although it is worth assessing a bit further why this might be the case. Stone acknowledges how his films anti-war stance may have been missed (pp.149-150), although a significant issue is the US film industry's closeness to the military industrial complex, as well as the lack of funding and exposure to a broad audience for independent filmmaking (p.157). Yet other interviewees point to positive interventions through independent or grassroots initiatives (Gottfried Helnwein interview, pp.162-163), including cinema (Michael J. Shapiro interview, p.305; John Akomfrah interview, p.209), pointing to the potential advantage of a multitude of resistance

or everyday resistance, which may feed into broader, more pervasive and dynamic trends and movements.

Here it is necessary to highlight Evans and Lennard's (p.10) suggestion there are 'two distinct types of violence' at work, although they acknowledge their interrelationship 'in subtle yet complex ways'. The first is a 'widespread disposability of human populations, those countless, nameless, and faceless victims, who experience violence often', and 'live out a wide range of human insecurities, indignities, oppressions, and hardships' (p.10). Against this, the authors suggest the 'often contained' and "disposable' populations' may 'at times overspill their confinement to reveal the violence of the hidden order of politics', giving the examples of Black Lives Matter or bodies of child refugees such as Aylan Kurdi (p.10). The second type of violence as 'more orchestrated spectacles of violence, from real events to cultural and entertainment productions', are fundamental to: 'the normalisation of violence and in producing the conditions for violence to come. We can explain this in terms of the interplay between disposable lives and sacrificial violence, onto claims for militaristic forms of justice' (p.10) Sacrificial victims become part of 'the spectacle of a truly intolerable moment' which is 'politically appropriated to sanction further violence in the name of the victims' (p.11).

Returning to resistance then; if, as Evans and Lennard suggest, that post 9/11 violence has become 'more intimate and individualising', and 'there is something about the raw realities of intimate suffering which affects us on an all too human level' that is pervasively replicated across popular culture (pp.4-5), the strength of what is revealed about resistance is this. Aylan Kurdi's horrifying death 'overspilled' confinement largely because of his individualised or specific resonance within an image that was finally able to move many over the far greater violence and daily comparable deaths which it encapsulated. Thus, understanding violence in this manner may again inform our understanding of the subtleties of everyday resistance to it, perhaps allowing greater cognisance of the basis of solidarity particularly when 'overspills' of violence occur that trigger overt outrage, finding ways to sustain concerted resistance in the face of individualised violence and making the spectacle of violence backfire.

The 'Quantitative Turn' in Nonviolence

Engagement with theories and the practice of power and the development of the resistance literature has made significant steps in strengthening the understanding of nonviolent resistance. However, one notable strength of Evans and Lennard's book in dealing with contemporary violence is that it that it may be read as a warning against complacency in the wider field of nonviolent literature. This concerns Evans and Lennard's (2018) criticism of 'the methodological trap set by the likes of [Steven] Pinker', where:

> Attempts to offer quantitative reflections on violence in fact lead precisely to the forms of utilitarian calculations through which some forms of violence are continually justified or presented as the 'least worse'. As a result, the human dimensions to the violence—for example, the qualitative aspects of it—are often written out of the script (p.14).

The justification of liberal violence is but one facet with which we might join the confident quantitative claims over nonviolence's effectiveness, which are excessively prescriptive and too content to define 'success' within a narrow set of measures and norms within a liberal democratic paradigm (Jackson, 2015, p.31-37). A number of articles in *JRS* (see Brown, 2018; Case, 2018; Sorensen 2017) have drawn attention to the problems with the 'strategic' or 'pragmatic' position on nonviolence that is insufficiently nuanced or glosses over violent aspects. Furthermore, nonviolence's political cultural nuances in different contexts has been stressed as neglected (Chabot & Vinthagen, 2007, p.94; Vinthagen, 2015, p.111-112; Jackson, 2015, p.31-37), something which may be tied substantially to the quantitative nature of much recent research, particularly since Stephan and Chenoweth (2008). In building constructive nonviolent alternatives both of these trends are damaging, while it will not do to leave violence uncritiqued or unengaged with philosophically, however awkward, as there is a risk of theorisation and abstraction with the loss of concerted practical solutions.

One consideration in this regard is the complexities of violence in resistance which is expressed by certain interviews in Evans and Lennard's book; Bernstein (pp.128-29) argues an increasingly held position that Frantz Fanon offers a critique rather than condoning of violence through his work, something that is readily sustained through a close reading. Meanwhile, the right to resist violence through violence (Spivak interview, pp.78-79; Bernstein interview, pp.128-129) and the extension of solidarity to such

violent resisters—often when they are facing far greater means and systems of violence—is of increasing significance to nonviolent resistance activists and academics, not least in the wake of events over the past year where resistance methods in places such as Hong Kong have clearly operated in the significant grey areas between 'nonviolence' and 'violence'. Indeed, in Evans and Lennard's (2019) interview for this violence series, Lennard raises the issue of solidarity with violent resistance and suggests nonviolence is a privilege. Moreover, as Spivak observes, 'There is a difference here between condoning such a [violent] response and trying to understand why the recourse to violence becomes inevitable' (p.78).

Solidarity with violent resisters, the potential privilege of nonviolence and how violence is treated by other activists or analysts are all crucial issues, particularly given the growing arguments and evidence offered through research in favour of nonviolence's superiority as a strategy (Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011, p.27; Chenoweth & Lewis, 2013, p.416). Again, the tendency in some of this literature to quantify, for example, the effects of 'violent flanks' during resistance (Chenoweth & Lewis, 2013, p.422; Chenoweth & Schock, 2015, p.282), avoids contending with questions over the very inevitability of violence in resistance and the implications (see Brown, 2018; Case, 2018). Furthermore, in the rush to consolidate nonviolence's 'superiority', there is much to debate within the realm of morality and principled action, both concerning nonviolence and violence; Evans and Lennards' *Violence* is a strong contribution in this regard.

Concluding Remarks

Although not writing a conclusion for the book may have been a conscious decision to avoid reducing the varied ideas of the authors into prescriptions, providing an index would have assisted the reader with linking concepts throughout the book. This may have been particularly useful for those newly engaging with violence and indeed resistance. Additionally, with the aspiration of a trans-disciplinary approach in mind (Evans & Lennard, 2018, p.6), this could have offered some direction of fields' relevance to violence and resistance. The upshot is again that readers across various disciplines may perceive the text as having relevance; in terms of exploring the myriad forms and dynamics of violence, yet the myriad forms and dynamics of resistance to it, *Violence* speaks to current debates in resistance studies.

Overall, Evans and Lennard's text is a very powerful and necessary compilation of interviews on the subject of violence and resistance. As noted in the introduction and as is worth emphasising again here, this is an ongoing project of great value to both academics and practitioners in the resistance field, for example interviews with Mark Duffield (Evans & Duffield, 2018) and Todd May (Evans & May, 2018). Despite some of the interviews likely being rather academic for a newcomer to the field, they are justifiably challenging in dealing with the complexities of violence and rewarding to engage with, such as the interview with Jake Chapman (pp.237-247). Indeed, of the books and articles in the broad critical theory field that are dealing with violence and indeed resistance, the interview style and variety of responses make for a highly accessible text overall. Ultimately, the urgency of the subject does require—and the responses within the book reward—concerted engagement, and they complement the work of nonviolence theorists particularly over the past decade.

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Bill McKibben: *Falter: Has the Human Game Begun to Play Itself Out?*

Wildfire/Headline Publishing Group, 2019

Reviewed by **Joseph Geraci**, ***Satyagraha Foundation for Nonviolence***

Our world is beset. The corona pandemic, massive fires engulfing tens of thousands of acres, hurricanes of record force have brought global crises into our most private spaces, our living and bedrooms, our homes and states of mind. That a lack of respect for and understanding of the natural world is a contributing factor to this global crisis is ever more obvious and of critical importance with every disaster. It is not as if we have not been informed and forewarned. Many in the peace, nonviolent, and climate change movements for decades have been making the argument that the 'war against nature' and indeed the 'end of nature' is our most critical issue.

Some might argue that nuclear weapons proliferation better occupy our attention, but that is in a way to say the same thing. Both climate change and nuclear proliferation pose threats to our survival. Indeed, Naomi Klein and others have made the case that climate change be considered a form of war, unleashing as it does devastating, if preventable, forces of violence against life and property (Klein 2015). We are accountable for the 'Sixth Extinction' of countless species; the devastating Australian fires of 2019, according to a BBC News report (2020), accounted for the death of 3 billion animals, as well as over thirty human lives. The logic of nuclear weapons raises the stakes of war from devastation to mutual annihilation. Left unchecked, does the logic of climate change lead to extinction, and is survival the necessary framing? In a leaked report to *The Guardian* (Greenfield & Watts, 2020), JP Morgan, the world's largest investor in fossil fuel companies, concluded that climate change could have 'catastrophic outcomes where human life as we know it is threatened.' And they are among the supporters of climate denial.

Given the enormity of climate change, posing risks to our survival, the means for combating it is of central importance. Would it not be self-defeating to employ or justify means that mirror the cause, use violence to combat violence when violence has been one of the reasons we are at such a juncture? It is heartening, therefore, to see climate change organizations such as Extinction Rebellion, Greenpeace, 350.org, and organizers such as Bill McKibben, embrace nonviolence as their strategic modus operandi.

But what exactly is their nonviolence? Is it the nonviolent civil resistance model articulated and enacted by Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr., sometimes referred to as principled nonviolence, or is it perhaps Gene Sharp's (2012) model of strategic nonviolence? Are climate change groups closer to the Occupy model of 'diversity of tactics,' in which nonviolence is one tactic among many? The degree of loyalty these groups might command, and the degree of their success, is dependent upon their strategy and tactics. Diversity of tactics divided the Occupy movement. We need only think of Chris Hedges' (2012) controversial article, 'The Cancer in Occupy,' passionately warning against diversity, or the destructive impact of the violence in the Oakland Occupy movement to understand how important it is to be clear in our definitions. Thomas Merton's famous statement bears repeating, 'For nonviolence to be effective (it) has to be extremely careful and clear' (Peters 2012).

Two new books give us clues as to the type of nonviolence intended. In his contribution to Extinction Rebellion's new anthology, *This Is Not a Drill: An Extinction Rebellion Handbook*, XR co-founder Roger Hallam writes:

> The rich and powerful are making too much money from our present suicidal course. You cannot overcome such entrenched power by persuasion and information. You can only do it by disruption […] There are two types of disruption: violent and non-violent.

He rejects the violent model and states that 'the message is clear; if you practice non-violence, you are more likely to succeed. We call this the 'civil resistance model" (*This is Not* 2019; p. 100). In his six-point general outline of disruption, Hallam also reasserts the need for nonviolence: '[Civil resistance…] has to stay non-violent' (*This is Not* 2019; p. 101). Meanwhile, XR's Media and Messaging coordinator, Ronan McNern, underscores their civil resistance model: 'Our media messaging is based on research by Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan,' namely their influential,

groundbreaking book, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (*This is Not* 2019; p. 126; see Chenoweth & Stephan 2011). Extinction Rebellion is also proposing a Citizens' Assembly that would advise and pressure governments on climate change, and would also build Local Councils, namely democratic citizens groups that distinguish themselves from official political parties, espoused by Mahatma Gandhi (his Constructive Programme) and by Martin Luther King, Jr. (his 'Beloved Community' and Poor People's Campaign).

XR's website (www.rebellion.earth) further clarifies their commitment: 'At the core of Extinction Rebellion's philosophy is nonviolent civil disobedience.' The website further states:

> We work from the perspective of strategic nonviolence, meaning that we are choosing it primarily because it is the best strategic choice as clearly demonstrated by the social science research. One of our main references for this is the work of Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan […] Nonviolence is our primary stance, but some rebels may have a spiritual and faith-based stream which contains a principled stance when it comes to nonviolence. Both positions are welcome within XR and help us to guide our actions.

Hallam also directs a blunt question to the climate change movement: 'Why have we failed so miserably to stop climate change?' (*This is Not* 2019; p. 101). Carbon emissions are continuing to rise despite all the protests. Chenoweth and Stephan's research is relevant here. In their study of 'over one hundred major nonviolent campaigns since 1900' they concluded that, 'nonviolent resistance campaigns were nearly twice as likely to achieve full or partial success as their violent counterparts' (Chenoweth & Stephan 2011; pp. 6, 7). Perhaps most relevant to the climate change movement is their contention that:

> Nonviolent campaigns fail to achieve their objectives when they are unable to overcome the challenge of participation, when they fail to recruit a robust, diverse, and broad-based membership that can erode the power base of the adversary and maintain resilience in the face of repression (Chenoweth & Stephan 2011; p. 11).

Climate marches and protests have rallied large numbers. Indeed, in 2009, 350.org organized 5200 rallies in 180 countries, which CNN called the

'most widespread day of political action in the planet's history' (Center for Biological Diversity, 2009). Given such numbers, and success, is the best strategy going forward mass mobilization, raising consciousness, or reduction of carbon emissions? Numbers are important. Citing Chenoweth and Stephan's research, XR's website also maintains that: 'XR is aiming to grow the movement to a critical mass of 3.5% of the population: Throughout history, a mass movement that has mobilised more than 3.5% has never failed.' But must these numbers now be in the service of a greater goal, which Hallam suggests is reduction of carbon emissions? Is a shift of strategy now necessary?

Bill McKibben expresses a similar concern about the failure of the climate change movement in his most recent book, *Falter: Has the Human Game Begun to Play Itself Out?* McKibben is a co-founder of 350.org, and has been one of the foremost climate activists for over three decades. His first book, *The End of Nature* (1989), is considered one of the movement classics. It is of especial significance, therefore, that he considers nonviolence as one of the two hopes for solving the climate change crisis, the other being technologies such as solar and wind power. In *Falter* he comes the closest of any in the organizations mentioned to give a definition of nonviolence. He writes, and it is worth quoting in full:

> When I say 'nonviolence,' I do not mean only, or even mainly, the dramatic acts of civil disobedience that end in jail or a beating. I mean the full sweep of organizing aimed at building mass movements whose goal is to change the zeitgeist and, hence, the course of history. (Indeed, Gandhi made it clear that his satyagraha also included 'constructive work' to build local economies) (McKibben 2019; p. 223; brackets in original).

McKibben also calls nonviolence, 'One of the signal inventions of our time—perhaps, if we are lucky, the innovation for which historians will revere the twentieth century' (McKibben 2019; p. 219). It is startling and challenging to read his phrase 'this technology of nonviolence' (McKibben 2019; p. 223). And he cites the source of his inspiration: 'One of the finest theoreticians of nonviolence was Jonathan Schell,' namely, Schell's *The Unconquerable World: Power, Nonviolence, and the Will of the People.* As McKibben describes Schell's theory, 'Violence is increasingly dysfunctional, [Schell] wrote, and 'forms of non-violent action can serve effectively in the place of violence at every

level of political affairs'. Or, more eloquently, it was the method by which '*the active many can overcome the ruthless few*" (McKibben 2019; p. 219; italics in original). McKibben finds Schell's work 'the best' American work on nonviolence.

In what way is Schell's theory especially applicable to the climate change movement? Schell thinks that nonviolence turns conventional political theory on its head, namely that political power proceeds from the top down. He argues instead that Gandhi and King were proposing an 'inverse', grassroots model, and that the first principle of nonviolent civil resistance, therefore, and the force behind nonviolence, might be stated as: We the people hold the reigns of power, not those who 'govern' us. Schell states unequivocally that the 'consent of the governed is the 'bedrock in Gandhi's political thinking". He further cites Gandhi's belief that all government, 'depends for its existence on the cooperation of the governed. If that cooperation is withdrawn, the government will be helpless.' Gandhi was citing Thoreau's essay 'Civil Disobedience', but as Schell points out this inverse theory of political power was articulated as early as the sixteenth-century by the French thinker de Boétie, and later by the English philosopher David Hume, as well as by Thoreau, Tolstoy, Gandhi, and King (Schell 2003; pp. 128-129).

Schell, paraphrasing Gandhi, states that 'The central role of consent in all government meant that non-cooperation—the withdrawal of consent—was something more than a morally satisfying activity; it was a power weapon in the real world' (Schell 2003; p. 129) He quotes Gandhi directly as saying, 'I [Gandhi] believe and everybody must grant that no Government can exist for a single moment without the cooperation of the people, willing or forced, and if people withdraw their cooperation in every detail, the Government will come to a standstill' (Schell 2003; p. 129). Schell cites another important quote by Gandhi, that, 'Some Englishmen state that they took and they hold India by the sword […] The sword is entirely useless for holding India. We alone keep them' (Schell 2003; p. 129). This people-based theory of political power alters our perception of government. Not only are we equal partners in our governance, but we are also the final arbiters. Schell's nonviolence shifts the political relationship away from the dependency or co-dependency of the governed, to responsibility and activism. In other words, climate change is in our hands, in our demands and protests and insistence. It is the stagnant mindset of tacit complicity that Extinction Rebellion, McKibben and 350.org, would change.

That Extinction Rebellion and 350.org stress the central role local organizing must play in the climate change movement also has a parallel history in the nonviolent movement. Gandhi is an important example. He was the leader of the Congress Party, and decided not only to resign but also no longer to belong to any political party. The CP was the largest political party in India, and his resignation would have been as momentous as it would be today for, say, Nancy Pelosi not only to resign as Speaker of the House but also from the Democratic Party in order to organize locally. Gandhi's consciousness of nonviolence had shifted. If nonviolence were truly rooted in the power of the people then nonviolence had to stay rooted in the people. It was one of the motives for Gandhi's Constructive Programmes. McKibben and Extinction Rebellion want to mobilize the base, across the political spectrum, because we hold the power, not the political parties, central government, presidency, or ruling state.

The model of nonviolence that Extinction Rebellion and McKibben would seem to embrace, therefore, is one that privileges strategic nonviolent civil resistance over violence, and would also mobilize the people directly through councils and assemblies, thereby recognizing a people-based model of political power that upends the standard view. By framing climate change as a matter of survival, and by also acknowledging failure, Extinction Rebellion and McKibben are challenging their movements to rethink fundamental strategy and resolve the tension between winning hearts and minds, and reducing carbon emissions, between drawing attention to, and ending. Their recent call for boycotts of those banks and financial institutions financing carbon industries, their advocacy of divestment and a rapid transfer to alternate energy sources indicate that a multi-faceted strategy, rather than a reliance on one solution, might be the best way forward.

What does this mean for the peace and nonviolent movements? Given what is at stake, the climate movement's radical faith in nonviolence has now placed nonviolent civil resistance at the heart of the battle for survival and the preservation of life. In *Falter*, McKibben makes an observation, which, for its humility and modesty, is well worth pondering: 'Nonviolence is a powerful technology, despite the fact that we still know very little about it' (McKibben 2019; p. 224). And yet, despite the little we know he still would pin his hopes on nonviolent civil resistance. His comment is an invitation not only to the climate change, but also to the peace and nonviolent movements, to reinvigorate their commitment to nonviolence, while acknowledging failures

and ignorance. The limitless creative and spiritual potential of nonviolence may be our most powerful weapon. Could the stakes be higher?

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Jennifer A. Reich: Calling the Shots: Why Parents Reject Vaccines

New York University Press, 2016

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Summary

In *Calling the Shots: Why Parents Reject Vaccines*, sociologist Jennifer A. Reich examines vaccine refusal from a variety of perspectives, seeking to offer a 'middle ground' analysis that resists the polarization that often occurs within discussions between pro-vaccination and anti-vaccination views in the United States. To do so, Reich focuses on the ways by which different people understand and make meanings of vaccines, as well as notions of risk, rights, benefits, responsibility, and necessity. Drawing upon a wide range of qualitative data—including in-depth interviews with parents who refuse vaccines for their children, pediatricians, and complementary healthcare providers (for example chiropractors) in the Colorado area, ethnographic observations of meetings, lectures and conferences, and content analysis of emails, newsletters, and blogs from different stakeholders—Reich presents a multifaceted analysis of parental vaccine refusal, which expands beyond the thoughts and actions of individuals to also consider the social, historical and cultural contexts in which such decisions are being made.

After giving a general historical overview of vaccine developments, mandates and controversies, Reich focuses on how the parents in her study define themselves (i.e., as experts on their own children) as well as the vaccines (i.e., unnatural and inferior to 'natural' immunity). Then, she analyzes parents' relationships and interactions with different authorities (including healthcare providers and schools) and the parents' management of risk and social disapproval in their everyday lives. Ultimately, the organization of the book (i.e, the move from internal, self-definitions and individual understandings to the more external, micro-level interactions of the everyday) enables Reich to highlight the contradictory forces and commitments at play when parents attempt to resist state power on the one hand, yet support individualism and class-based, intensive parenting on the other.

Analysis: Entangling Powers

Reich's work calls to mind a Foucauldian analysis of the state and biopower. For example, several parents spoke of their resentment of state intervention in their families, with one respondent referring to immunization records as 'womb to tomb tracking' (230). To circumvent this tracking, one parent, who allowed some vaccinations for their children, avoided documentation in the statewide vaccine registry by going to the health department for the vaccines, instead of a family doctor, who must submit records (228). In this way, parents try to manage access to their information and subsequently resist the surveillance and documentation embedded in the concept of biopower. Further, parents also shared advice and information online with each other about strategically using vaccine exemptions, both personal and religious. Some parents utilized blogs and online forums to seek advice and/or share tactics about evading state intervention (for example vaccine mandates).

Although refusing vaccines pushes back against biopower, it also reinforces the ideology of individualism, and in doing so presses the class privilege of many parents who reject vaccines. As Reich writes, the United States fosters a 'regime of the self,' which in this particular context informs an 'ideology of individualist parenting' (11). This ideology 'prioritizes individual choice for one's own children over community obligation' and 'ignores how some families with fewer resources have fewer options' (12). For example, when parents spoke about conducting their 'own research' on vaccinations, some lamented the 'unconscious decisions' other parents would make by following the medical guidelines (73). This may appear at first to be a challenge to medical authority, but it also supports individualism and often class-based intensive parenting. In other words, the efforts reported by the parents in the study—including navigating exemptions, creating alternative vaccine schedules, and promoting health through organic foods—are time and resource intensive practices, which are not available to all parents. Questions of vaccine choice, as well as vaccine access, for less advantaged families are largely ignored. Accordingly, parents who reject vaccines—who are often white and of a higher socioeconomic status—wield their privileges in order to disrupt hegemonic state and medical powers.

Overall, resistance can undermine a specific form of power, while simultaneously building, accommodating, or reinforcing another form. In *Calling the Shots*, the interplay between two hegemonic powers or dominant ideologies in the U.S.—that is, systems of state power and the rhetoric of

individualism/parent autonomy—is particularly salient, as parents who refuse vaccines are often reinforcing the latter to resist the former.

Concluding Remarks

In *Calling the Shots*, Reich provides a comprehensive account of the different meanings that people attach to vaccines and their risks and benefits. Reich is clear about her position in the book and discloses that her children have received all recommended vaccinations. Although she is not 'neutral' on the decision to vaccinate, her arguments are balanced, as she looks beyond individual thinking and choices to also consider the contexts in which such individuals are acting. In other words, decisions do not happen in a vacuum. Rather, Reich highlights the tensions that can occur from the entanglements of different power structures with contradictory ideologies, imperatives and norms. On the one hand, 'good parenting' is often viewed through an individualistic lens, emphasizing personal responsibility and parental authority. On the other hand, the power of the state in the context of vaccines requires parents to forego personal choice for the health of the community. Though the breadth of the analysis allows for such patterns to be drawn out, the particularistic dimensions within the regimes of uptake for *certain* vaccines may get lost. For example, the human papillomavirus (HPV) vaccine often generates questions around adolescent sexuality, morality and cancer prevention that can add further nuance to parental vaccination decisions.

It is particularly interesting to be reading this book now in the winter of 2020, as vaccines for COVID-19 are currently being produced and distributed. Though written in 2016, Reich's assertion that public health campaigns 'requires individuals to give up some personal liberty or freedom to protect the well-being of the population' (8) is eerily relevant at this time, especially as her conclusion asks the question, 'What do we owe each other?' Further, given Reich's insights into vaccine meanings, confidence and uptake, this is a book that people—academics, medical professionals, and parents alike—could be turning and returning to as more information develops, in order to begin to untangle questions around how we will make sense of the coronavirus vaccine and the factors that explain high or low vaccination rates.

Music Review
Dorian Electra: My Agenda

Self-released, 2020

Reviewed by **Jordan M. Sanderson**, ***University of Massachusetts, Amherst***

A Textual Review of Transgender Resistance in Music Performance and Nerd Culture

In sociology and resistance studies, music has received very little attention with regards to analysis and understanding of various groups of people. However, it has not been completely excluded from the sphere of these disciplines. In *The Souls of Black Folk*, sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois incorporated the lyrics of 'The Sorrow Songs' at the start of each chapter. Du Bois used these spirituals to both better understand the *souls*, or consciousnesses, of black folk and to reinforce the reality that black folk were essential in the development of America as a society. Almost ninety years later, William Barlow, in his book *Looking Up At Down: The Emergence of Blues Culture*, argued that blues music 'remained on the cutting edge of African-American cultural resistance to white domination'. In this work, Barlow engaged in discourse with musical lyrics, provided context to the experience and identities of blues artists, and described how blues as a genre has provided African-Americans with a platform to express their identity. Music can be used as method and an empirical example, especially in resistance studies and the discipline of public sociology. In the following paragraphs, I provide a review of Dorian Electra's latest project released on October 16th, 2020. Their queer, experimental pop album, *My Agenda*.

The musical style of *My Agenda* aligns closely with the current movement towards the electronic dominated genre of hyperpop by the likes of 100 gecs, Kim Petras, the late SOPHIE, and other queer artists. The sound itself is genre bending, consisting of fleeting synths, distorted bass drops, and pop surrealism. While the musical component of *My Agenda* is deserving of its own review, there have been plenty of reviews published that go in depth on these aspects of Dorian Electra's art. Instead, I will review the textual lyrics of the album and its connection to everyday resistance. First, it is important to contextualize Dorian Electra's intentions behind *My Agenda.* Dorian Electra identifies as non-binary, explaining that they are 'not

a woman dressing as a man' and that 'it's so much more complex than that (Beaumont-Thomas, 2019).' Additionally, they believe that the fluidity of gender is one that reflects their experience, saying:

> When I came across 'gender fluid', I was like: that term actually really resonates with me. But the core of my being is not gendered at all – even 'gender fluid' is a form of identity that can put somebody in a box (Beaumont-Thomas).

When working on *My Agenda*, Electra continued to address gender roles, expectations, and toxicity, challenging the online 'incel'[1] subculture of misogynism and white-male entitlement. They explain that 'there's this rampant kind of misogyny and self-loathing, [that] overlaps with the alt-right, and people getting radicalized through YouTube and 4Chan (Kim, 2020).' With this in mind, much of *My Agenda*'s tracks work to satirize, challenge, and connect with alienated, young white males.

The opening track, 'F the World,' begins the album by directly addressing these feelings of alienation. According to one interview, Electra explains that it is 'written from the perspective of male outcasts' (Enis, 2020). The main chorus repeats the song title on each line while following it up with sentiments like 'because I love it … I want to hug it … I want to kiss it … because you made me … because it pains me … because it hates me … so I can get laid.' 'F the World' illustrates a crisis in masculinity for young males who blame society for their lack of intimacy and closeness with others. This song is followed by the title track, 'My Agenda,' which parodies the homophobic and transphobic fear of the LGBTQ+ 'agenda' through Dorian Electra declaring their own agenda. One verse goes as follows: 'Have you seen my pamphlets? Have you read my blog? Have you seen my army marching down to city hall? You can always spot us, by the way we walk. As we're plotting to take over and destroy you all.' Electra satirizes this anti-LGBTQ+ hysteria by playing into their fears, implying that their agenda is to replace compulsory heterosexuality and cisgender norms with a

[1] *Incel* refers to the subculture of self-described 'involuntary celibate' males who place blame on women, feminism, and modern society for their sexless, isolated lives. Most males who are associated with this subcategory consider themselves nerds and are typically engaged in alt-right movements that desire a return to Western traditional family structure (Tomkinson. Atwell & Harper, 2020).

militant, queer ideology. One version of the main chorus reaffirms this, with Electra saying 'My agenda, my freaky gender, out here flexin' in my rainbow suspenders. My agenda, will infect ya, out to getcha.' Even the featured artists on this track allow for intergenerational and cross-cultural relevance and resistance. By including the 70's disco group Village People and Russian protest punk group Pussy Riot on the title track, Electra is able to connect with other listeners from various paths of life. Lastly, the song 'My Agenda' concludes with a reference to an infamous rant by alt-right commentator Alex Jones. The lyrics go: 'Poison in the water, you lap it up. I know you're very thirsty baby for this drug. We mind control you just for fun. We're out here turning frogs homosexual.' Here, Electra reveals and reclaims the absurdity of homophobic conspiracy theorists by directly incorporating their conspiracies into Electra's agenda, regardless of how infeasible it is.

After diverting away from the album's main theme, Electra returns to commentary around toxic-masculinity and misogynism prominent among socially isolated young males. The following two tracks, 'Gentleman' and 'M'Lady,' work in tandem with one another. 'Gentleman' emphasizes the incel subculture's obsession with the appearance of chivalry and being a 'gentleman' despite disregarding respect, boundaries, and consent. In contrast, 'M'Lady' describes the incel male's ideal woman. Not only does this description include a hyper-fetishized expectation of a woman' physical appearance, it also references patriarchal expectations for women to behave submissively and accept a subjugated position in relation to men. While Electra uses the incel male's perspective to convey these issues, they also stress how these expectations are impossible to realize. They write 'M'lady can't find her. M'lady's not real. M'lady's a dream. M'lady's a deal. A deal with the devil, a very good price. The price of my soul, my heart is like ice.' The conclusion of this song emphasizes how these misogynistic expectations are unrealistic and damaging for both the female victim and the incel male perpetrator. By embracing this viewpoint, incel males become desensitized and isolated in search for a fantasy that they created.

There are many more songs on *My Agenda* that could be commented on, such as the theme of objectification in 'Barbie Boy', as well as 'Iron Fist,' 'Ram It Down,' and 'Give Great Thanks,' which explore BDSM culture/behavior. However, I primarily want to focus on two more singles from the album. The song 'Edgelord' continues the exploration into the incel subculture, with a twist. Electra uses incel aesthetics and the subculture's language of being social outcasts to position their experience of being

genderqueer. As someone who is not cisgender, Electra is an 'edgelord' in cishet[2] society. I read the song as if they feel like they are being 'pushed… to the edge' by the societal pressure to conform. Rather than conforming, they reject the behaviors, norms, and perspectives associated with the gender assigned to them at birth. They resist these expectations and prioritize their personal identity. The song's featured artist, Rebecca Black, of 'Friday' fame, reinforces this point with the line 'Told you I could smash your petty trash labels.' The last song I want to visit is '*Sorry Bro (I Love You)*.' In this track, Electra satirizes the heteronormativity and hypermasculinity associated with male friendships. The pre-chorus is clearly homoerotic, with the masculine perspective singing 'I know, I know, we always wrestle. I know sometimes I put up a fight. I know, I know, we always tussle. But maybe it's because I love you.' However, the singer backtracks, stating to his friend, 'And when we're kickin' it you know I think it's chill. 'Cause I can count on you to always keep it real. That's why I'm singin', man. 'Cause I want you to know bro, no homo.' The conflict that is being conveyed here is that of internalized homophobia. In '*Sorry Bro (I Love You)*,' Electra attempts to uncover the masked internalized homophobia and reveal these homophobic fears to the listener. By doing so, it oddly normalizes this experience. Those who suffer from internalized homophobia can work toward accepting their sexuality despite its association with masculinity and gender.

As a work of media that provides commentary on misogyny, toxic-masculinity, and heteronormativity prevalent among young males, *My Agenda* acts as an expression of everyday resistance. In their book *Conceptualizing 'Everyday Resistance'; A Transdisciplinary Approach*, Anna Johansson and Stellan Vinthagen democratize James Scott's original perspective of 'everyday resistance,' defining it as 'a practice/technique (not an intention, consciousness, ideology, recognition, or outcome/effect) … always oppositional or related to power/dominance/hegemony' (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2019). Applying this definition, Electra is engaging in everyday resistance as a technique in their preferred medium, music. As a transgender artist, Electra stands in opposition to cisgender norms, compulsory heterosexual expectations, and homophobic/transphobic

[2] Abbreviation of the combination of cisgender and heterosexual. In this particular use of the word, I am referencing the concept of compulsory heterosexuality and cisgender identification as the hegemonic ideology in modern Western society.

narratives. Regardless of intention (or lack thereof), *My Agenda* provides an antithesis to the incel subculture while using nerdy/angsty aesthetics typically associated with this group. While satire is predominately thought of as a means to exaggerate and make fun of something, it can also be used as Electra uses it. They use satire as a way to criticize a particular group's hegemonic views of LGBTQ+ people, confronting the powerful transphobic and homophobic incel discourse within nerd culture (Forbes, 2010). For someone who identifies as a nerd themself, Electra is resisting these harmful narratives by exposing the violence and reclaiming their nerd identity (Kim, 2020).

Electra's *My Agenda* also provides an appeal to those who may be transgender themselves but possibly fear violence from incel males in the broad nerd community. Throughout the album, Electra normalizes the relationship between nerdiness and queerness. In several of their music videos, Electra references and draws from several aspects of nerd, gaming, punk, and internet culture (Droke, 2020). *My Agenda* works to undo many of these transphobic and homophobic norms, either by directly criticizing them or by Electra embracing themselves as an agent of transgender representation. Electra understands that there are transgender people everywhere. They make transgenderism more accessible, which Patricia Gagné and Richard Tewksbury (1998) provide some insight into in their article, 'Conformity Pressures and Gender Resistance among Transgendered Individuals':

> When immersed in a community of like-minded others, the perceived norms of that community can be very powerful, and in the case of transgenderism, could be defining elements in identity transformation. When the community of presumably similar and accepting others suggests that membership is conditioned upon achieving certain characteristics and behaviors, new members have a tendency to accept the judgments and perspectives of existing members. When individuals exploring transgenderism and searching for a comfortable identity and style of presentation first locate and initiate interactions with a transgender community, they often believe that they have found the only few others who 'truly understand' and accept them for who they are. Therefore, being accepted by these others is highly valued, and the norms that structure this newly discovered community become

> important. Perhaps more importantly, the community's values and belief systems are believed to be correct and to deserve conformity (97).

While Gagné and Tewksbury are speaking about a generalized 'transgender community,' Electra is applying the same line of thought to the nerd subculture within the queer community. They appeal to both the closeted nerd who suffers from internalized queerphobia and the nerdy queer person who does not 'fit in' with 'passing' or 'normal' LGBTQ+ culture. *My Agenda* reinforces a queer space for nerds while also providing a familiar arena for one's queer identity transformation.

Overall, Dorian Electra's *My Agenda* is a hyperpop album that explores themes around gender, misogyny, and queerness. Despite being a work of music rather than an academic article, book, or study, Electra is able to engage in everyday resistance as well as present a way to resist the violence of incel subculture. While some social scientists may question the validity of the musical, non-academic nature of *My Agenda,* its unconventional form of analytical expression provides a substantive examination which may reach demographics that would not have otherwise heard these perspectives. To this point, I doubt Electra would be any more concerned about this than I am. Everyday resistance is meant to be polarized from the hierarchical and hegemonic order. Resistance studies, sociology, and academia is not exempt from resistance by those who lack power, agency, or a platform. While this review did not use music as eloquently as W.E.B. Du Bois did in *The Souls of Black Folk*, the methodological sentiment is shared. Music can provide sociological insight on a community, culture, and social group while also being more accessible than conventional scholarly media.

Another struggle for music is the question of an artist's intent. However, Johansson and Vinthagen's (2019) conceptualization of everyday resistance allows for a lack of intent, ideology, and recognition. Regardless of Electra's intent, *My Agenda* opposes homophobic and transphobic power dynamics in a way that can be practiced every day. That being said, Electra does provide some insight into their framework for *My Agenda*. They explain:

> From a sociological perspective, we really need to look at what is the root cause of this new version of the right and the alt-right. Why has this come about and how do we combat this and how do we try to communicate to these people that there are more positive solutions to their problems than some of the ideology that is found on these corners of the internet?

> I'm a very pragmatic person, so when I find solutions, I want to look for things that work and ask how we heal the cultural divide that we have going right now—the growing division between the left and the right and culture wars that we're in the middle of experiencing right now. To me, it starts with just learning, researching, and understanding. The best way to communicate with someone on 'the other side' is to first understand them and know where they're coming from to be able to better communicate with them as opposed to just shutting them out, shutting them down, preventing communication, preventing basically any possibility for change, learning, growth, or development on their part. I think that we need a renewed sense of openness and duty to have civil discourse because online it can just get so [complex] so quickly (Droke, 2020).

Electra's position is to resist this alt-right movement within nerd culture. While many academic researchers would rather interview individuals associated with this group or build an elaborate quantitative test, Electra speaks as a member of this community. They are a nerd and grew up surrounded by nerd culture. This is a strength that no outside researcher could replicate since they understand the nuances, aesthetics, and cultural identifiers associated with this group. Additionally, using the accessibility of music as a platform follows the tradition of other marginalized peoples, fostering resistance for themself and other queer people listening to, discussing, and recommending the album. On October 24th, 2020, shortly after *My Agenda's* release, Dorian Electra performed their album at a virtual event. The event itself hosted thousands of viewers, all of whom engaged in mutual everyday resistance, and fundraised for Black Trans Femmes in the Arts., *My Agenda*'s greatest strength as a work on everyday resistance is its accessibility and impact. I assert that these two characteristics are fundamental to the spirit of everyday resistance. *My Agenda* serves as both an act of everyday resistance from Electra and a resource to resist misogyny, toxic masculinity, transphobia, and compulsory heterosexuality championed by the alt-right.

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A. Rafik Mohamed: Black Men on the Blacktop: Basketball & the Politics of Race

Lynne Rienner, 2017

Reviewed by **Risa F. Isard**, ***University of Massachusetts, Amherst***

Introduction

This book review of *Black Men on the Blacktop: Basketball & the Politics of Race* uses a resistance studies lens to review sociologist A. Rafik Mohamed's ethnography about Black men's everyday resistance through pickup basketball. Mohamed demonstrates that pickup basketball is a cultural phenomenon that illuminates socio-political issues, specifically politics of race and gender. The book review places Mohamed's arguments in conversation with foundational texts of everyday resistance, namely James C. Scott and Asef Bayat. Further, the book review notes Mohamed's contributions—making a compelling case for sport as a site of everyday resistance—and limitations, namely a singular focus on Scott's theories and a limited exploration of masculinity.

Summary of Main Arguments.

At its core, *Black Men on the Blacktop* shows how and why pickup basketball and everyday resistance intersect. Given the history of sport as a way for white, upper-class men to maintain their gender, class, and racial status (pp. 45-52), the 'Ballers' enact everyday resistance when they '[take] over public spaces' (p. 56) on the Southern California courts where this study mostly focused. It is not just the existence of such public games that resists traditional power structures, but the way Ballers play the game. Through the enactment of *'Black Man's Rules'* (the culture of Black men dictating the terms of the game, p. 68), *'Blacktop Expressionism'* (part playing style, part emotional outlet, pp. 26, 41), and the *'Cool Pose'* (making basketball skill look easy, p. 84), pickup basketball becomes a 'resistive sphere' for Black men (p. 111). That is, the Ballers create pride in Blackness and reject dominant white culture—without risking social or legal repercussions (pp. 71, 162). In sum, the hidden box score of the pickup game measures winners and losers by disrupting the status quo of racial privilege (pp.72, 75). Despite these opportunities, Mohamed argues that the stereotypes of black male athleticism (what he calls '*Mandingo Syndrome')* that Black men themselves

sometimes perpetuate for momentary gain may hinder the advancement of racial equity in the long run. If the goal is social progress, understanding pickup basketball through the lens of everyday resistance is a place to start.

Everyday resistance. Mohamed explicitly and singularly relies on James Scott's conceptualization of everyday resistance to make his analysis (p. 15). His explanation of why Scott's framework fits his study is appropriate, though he would improve his analysis by at times adopting ideas from Asef Bayat, especially to examine the dynamic relationship between power and resistance.

Black Men on the Blacktop builds a case based on Scott's framework. Mohamed writes that the acts of everyday resistance in pickup basketball are 'ritualistic' (p. 15), which aligns with Scott's assertion that everyday resistance is a 'pattern' (Scott, 1989, p. 36). Mohamed also specifically likens contemporary Black men in America to a peasant class (p. 11), a direct reference to Scott (1985). As Mohamed applies everyday resistance to the context of pickup basketball, most of his arguments stay close to Scott's. Notably, Mohamed (2017) shows that pickup basketball is at once a public and 'hidden transcript' (pp. 13, 71; Scott, 1989, p. 59); argues that resistance happens through pickup basketball because it is one of the only places where Black men can assert themselves (pp. 45, 158-162; Scott, 1989, p.35); demonstrates that acts of everyday resistance on the court are invoked with 'tactical wisdom' (Scott, 1989, p. 36; Mohamed, 2017, pp. 79, 83); and recognizes that the victories on the court may at most lead to de facto equality advances (Mohamed**,** p. 56, Scott, 1989). Evidently, Scott's framework is critical to Mohamed's analysis.

Limitations

Mohamed might have enhanced his analysis by using Bayat's work to explain the dynamic negotiation of power between the Ballers and the white locals as described. In Chapter 4, Mohamed chronicles the variety of ways that white, upper-class suburbia tries to maintain their position of power in response to the Black-dominated pickup games happening at the local park. From increased police patrols that include stop-the-game-and-frisk (p. 93), to the conspicuous absence of lights at only the basketball courts (p. 94), to affixing a metal bracket atop the baskets after 5pm on weekends (p. 94), white, wealthy neighborhood residents used municipal resources to push back against the vibrant Black pickup basketball culture. Still, the Ballers played

into the weaning hours of light and continue to show up at other regular play times. Subsequently when they played, they would take out these injustices on the white players who showed up to play (p. 97)—resulting in many white players relocating to other spaces (pp. 98-100). This cycle of resistance and power is not one that Scott addresses, but is central to the work of Bayat (2000). Accordingly, Mohamed's allegiance to Scott's framework limited Mohamed's analysis of the 'basketball element' (p. 91) to which white locals responded with force.

Black Men on the Blacktop would have been enhanced further by a more meaningful exploration of the role of gender in these men's acts of resistance. Despite claiming a gendered lens (p. 17) and a brief explanation about the invisibility of women in his ethnography (they largely do not participate in the pickup games he studied, p. 27), Mohamed does not fully explore or articulate the role of masculinity in his book. In doing so, *Black Men on the Blacktop* paradoxically becomes yet another book in which '[men's] experiences in sport *as men* have been obscured' (p.17, italics in original). This is most obvious by Mohamed's assertion that 'Blackness is, for most intents and purposes, as master status […] Before anything else, African Americans are seen as black' (p. 81). This perspective plays out throughout the book. Readers only must ask themselves, 'How likely is it that a Black woman on the blacktop would be treated with the same deference (p. 102) as the Black men in the ethnography?' to see that using an intersectional approach is critical, not merely convenient. It's not *just* the Ballers' race that underpins their everyday resistance—but their gender, too. This explicit recognition is missing from Mohamed's analysis, rendering his ethnography to be limited in its understanding of race (missing the experiences of Black non-men) and of gender (missing the exploration of these Black men's *manhoods*). As gender hegemony and heterosexism work together, the absence of a single mention about sexuality is similarly limiting.

Conclusion

Its limitations notwithstanding, *Black Men on the Blacktop* makes a compelling case for how Black men enact everyday resistance through pickup basketball. In doing so, Mohamed makes a significant contribution to the understanding of sport in America and of everyday resistance.

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The UMass Amherst Resistance Studies Initiative

The Initiative seeks to Develop "resistance studies," and support the efforts of activists worldwide that are employing direct action, civil disobedience, everyday resistance, digital activism, mass protest, and other kinds of nonviolent resistance. Its essential goals are to help create a more humane world by fostering social change and human liberation in its fullest sense. It will study how resistance can undermine repression, injustices, and domination of all kinds, and how it can nurture such creative responses as constructive work, alternative communities, and oppositional ways of thinking.

The Initiative hopes to do all of this by:

- Working closely with the other members of the international Resistance Studies Network to encourage worldwide scholarly, pro-liberation collaboration
- Maintaining strong ties with activists worldwide, documenting their activities, and providing critical analysis upon request
- Offering academic courses in Resistance Studies at UMass Amherst
- Offering resistance-themed workshops, lecture series, and symposiums
- Publishing the international, interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed **Journal of Resistance Studies.**

Rebecca W. B. Lund & Ann Christin E. Nilsen: Institutional Ethnography in the Nordic Region

Routledge, 2020

Reviewed by **Sarah Murru**, *UCLouvain & Université libre de Bruxelles*

Why Resistance Studies Should Pay Attention to Institutional Ethnography

Is there a scholar whose works forever changed your perspective on the world or about your own academic work? Dorothy E. Smith is one of those for me. As a PhD student, discovering her works on Institutional Ethnography (IE)—Inspired by Marx and ethnomethodology (see *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology*, 1987; *The Conceptual Practices of Power: A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge*, 1990; *Institutional Ethnography: A Sociology for People*, 2005)—truly opened my eyes to new structural realities and ways of conducting academic research. Spoiler alert: this might also happen to you, if you read through to the end of this review. Throughout my work in Resistance Studies, IE has always been useful in designing research and making sense of realities and experiences observed in the field. Too often in Resistance Studies, we are provided with grand theories on conceptualizations of 'resistance' (Murru, 2020). However, we are rarely given practical tools to operationalize research, decipher meaning and enable understanding of the manifestations of resistance, especially those occurring in everyday life (for an exception, see Johansson and Vinthagen, 2019, and the special issue of the Journal of Resistance Studies on *Researching Resistance: Methodological Challenges, Ethical Concerns and the Future of Resistance Studies*).

In this review of Lund and Nilsen's collective volume, *Institutional Ethnography in the Nordic Region,* I argue that IE is a useful method of inquiry for scholars of Resistance Studies. In the 21st century, we are witnessing a resurgence of fascism and right-wing governments' promotion of nationalism in countries across the globe. Notably, the confrontation between the Trump administration and the Black Lives Matter and abolitionist movements, or the increasing popularity and electability of far-right political parties all over Europe. In this context, the connections between IE and Resistance Studies, and the many contributions made by Lund and Nilsen in this volume,

are incredibly timely. This book helps understand the interconnectedness of institutional domination and everyday life, encourages the discovery of resistance in these daily experiences, and provides many case studies exposing how to unveil relations of power. With this in mind, I will first describe the IE approach, as it has some foundational differences with core sociological thinking. I will then present the scope of the book under review and emphasize its interest both for scholars familiar with IE as well as for newcomers. I close with a discussion of the relevance of IE for studying resistance.

For those unfamiliar with IE, Lund and Nilsen (2020b) spell out the key elements : 'Institutional Ethnography (IE) is a methodology-of-inquiry […] designed to discover, unpack and challenge the social organization of everyday life and involves commitment to doing research *with* and *for* people, rather than *about* them (Smith, 1987, 2005) [original emphasis]' (Lund & Nilsen, 2020b, p.3). So far, you might say, there is nothing new here. Other feminist or post-colonial/anti-imperial research methods have this at heart (see for instance Strega and Brown's *Research as Resistance: Revisiting Critical, Indigenous, and Anti-Oppressive Approaches,* 2015). However, what is particular with IE is how the ontology is put into practice. In IE, 'people are understood as essentially social beings and the social, in turn, is understood as people coordinating activities' (Lund & Nilsen, 2020b, p.3). This involves a re-definition of some core concepts in sociology and tends to render IE somewhat unintelligible to someone who has not spent time reading the whole collection of Smith's works, or other's applications of IE into various research areas. However, Lund and Nilsen do a very good job in the introduction to the book of summarizing the core principles of IE in a very practical and clear way that is accessible to newcomers—whilst staying true to the original IE definitions and meaning.

The term 'social organization' in the above-mentioned quote is key. IE aims to start inquiry from the standpoint of people (in line with many feminist research perspectives) and seeks to problematize their everyday life experiences in order to understand *how* they happen the way they do. In other words:

> Through people's everyday embodied experience and *work-knowledge*, understood generously as *'everything people do, from they get up till they go to bed, that takes time, effort, and emotion, as they participate in or resist institutional orders'* (see Smith 2005), we may learn how institutions are

> made to work and shape people's lives in ways that are not necessarily in their own best interests [original emphasis] (Lund & Nilsen, 2020b, p.4).

In IE, the concept of *institution* is to be understood broadly, such as the functioning of heath care systems, family, education, capitalism, policy making and so forth (Smith, 2007). IE will thus start from the local site of people's embodied practices, which are considered to be coordinated by something beyond their own motivations and intentions, and will move to uncover, or connect these practices to, the *translocal* site of objectified social relations such as the discourses, ideologies, or rules that shape the local activity. In other words, IE does not consider discourse and concepts to be descriptive of experience; rather, it understands them as *organizers* of it. As such, IE presents itself as a critique of theory-driven research and defines as its purpose to understand and challenge processes of objectification (Lund & Nilsen, 2020b).

This 'organization of the social' happens and is practically studied through the unveiling of what Smith calls *ruling relations*. These ruling relations are analysed through the connection between what people know about their everyday lives and the *textual material* available. 'Texts' are to be understood here as any material object, sound or image that 'create as they are read, watched or listened to connections with others who are not present to us. Texts' capacity to replicate the same words, images or sounds in multiple settings is essential to the very existence of institutions' (Smith, 2007, p.412). Think, for example, how important schoolbooks are within the institution of education, and how they will organize students' everyday experiences of knowing what matters as, say, 'history'. IE emphasizes the idea that the capacity to rule depends upon carrying messages (texts) across sites, coordinating someone's action here with someone else's there (Campbell & Gregor, 2002). In the end, as Lund and Nilsen emphasize, 'speaking of the social as 'coordination', rather than 'structure', 'rules' or 'system' […] challenges structure-agency, micro-macro and individual-society distinctions and dualisms' (2020, p.3). This, as I will later demonstrate, is of interest for Resistance Studies.

Now, the originality of Lund and Nilsen's book is that they build on the foundational writings and research in IE, which are mostly produced in North America, and reflect on how conducting IEs in the Nordic Region impacts on the way the method is understood and mobilized. The Nordics,

as the authors stress, is a region characterized by its social-democratic regime, encouraging a universalistic system marked by social welfare, gender equality, employability and a high level of state intervention enabled through high taxations. If the system is far from the perfect image that is portrayed, as is made clear throughout many chapters of the book, it has nevertheless created a rather positive and reliable image of the State among its citizens and, consequently, a low level of civil society opposition. This is something that contrasts with other contexts, for example the North American one marked by popular suspicion of the State apparatus. Thus, this highlights the interest of observing the effects of regional contexts on the usages of IE.

For scholars already familiar with IE, the book will strike as a breath of fresh air, because it opens up a dialogue about how IE might be combined with other approaches and theories. This is somewhat controversial within the IE field, as proponents typically are not keen to include other theories and concepts in explanations. Although Smith often insists that IE is not a set of guidelines to be followed but more of an ontological re-framing of the social (Smith, 2007), I personally have often thought of IE research to be somewhat hermetic to the questioning of its fundamentals—discussing theory being one of them. With their volume, Lund and Nilsen encourage this debate, and the chapters serve as examples and avenues to do so. The book is organized into four different sections: (1) the effects of contextualizing IE within the Nordics and the questions that emerge from this; (2) how IE *can* dialogue with other theories (namely, Scandinavian Neo-Institutional Theory, Organization Theory, Actor Network Theory, Feminist Studies of Technoscience, Discourse and Interactionist approaches, or Nordic Postcolonial and Critical Race Studies); (3) actual case studies of IE in Nordic countries and the societal observations that the method enabled; and (4) the 'transformative potential' of IE in the Nordics.

For scholars in Resistance Studies unfamiliar with IE, you will likely apprehend the book in one of two ways. Either you work on issues or themes that are similar or connected to some of the chapters and those will be helpful by showing the type of new information that can come out of an IE on this subject. This will be the case if you work on area studies such as social work, work inclusion, gender and family policy, or even development aid. Or, you might be seeking for ways to document resistance, to operationalize your research linked to resistance. In that case, the volume as a whole will be an inspiration. All of the chapters feature cases where relations of power

are challenged and present truly rich, comprehensive and detailed accounts of *how* this happens and what this tells us about institutional and social organizations. For instance, in chapter 8 entitled 'Exploring 'whiteness' as ideology and work knowledge. Thinking with institutional ethnography', Lund uses the tools of IE to re-examine interviews she had led for a previous research project with white feminist scholars. This time, she focused on these scholar's *work knowledge* of race, which was a theme that appeared in the interviews but was not the entry point of the previous project. The contradiction that sparks Lund's current analysis is the acknowledgement that these scholars had not been aware of race prior to engaging with the concept in scholarly work, and at the same time, her own quiet acceptance (a white scholar herself) of this information at the time of the interview. Through this problematic, she is able to unpack how whiteness operates; how the domination of whiteness happens the way it does by appearing as a non-subject, and through not claiming its own (dominant) place inside *the social relation of race*. This chapter highlights how, through an analysis of individual experience and the practice of the work of these white scholars, the textually mediated discourse of race becomes organized and connected to the dominant Nordic discourse of race blindness. This case, like many others in the book, demonstrates how a fine inquiry into work practices, and how these connect to other's practices elsewhere, reveals ruling and the organization of institutional dominance.

Cherry on the cake, the book ends with a chapter by Sørensen, Nilsen and Lund, 'Resisting the ruling relations: discovering everyday resistance with Institutional Ethnography'. It highlights the similarities between the concept of everyday resistance and the practice of IE. It engages in the discussion about how institutional ethnographers might understand some acts of 'oppositional or critical talk', or acts of non-compliance, as everyday forms of resistance. As stressed by the authors:

> 'The concept [of ruling relations] is relational, not functionalist or structuralist, and as such agency and ultimately the possibility of resistance, is central to IE discovery. Despite this, it seems to us that many empirical studies drawing on IE are good at meticulously unpacking how everyone—be they in the upper or lower echelons of institutional hierarchies—is caught up in webs of ruling, but they speak in less detail about how people challenge and resist the ruling relations in which they are entangled' (Sørensen, Nilsen & Lund, 2020, p.207).

Alongside other scholars (among which Baaz et al., 2018; Sørensen, 2016; Johansson & Vinthagen, 2016), my work in Resistance Studies has led me to emphasize the need to depart from a conceptualization of resistance that is dualistic or dichotomous, such as, resister/dominant, active/passive, strong/weak, men/women. In that same vein, one can think of Scott's concepts of *infrapolitics* which is something that sits in-between hidden practices and overt, public dissent (Scott, 1990). IE uncovers this interstitial space. And it can be useful to document and understand resistance *as an experience* that happens along a continuum of practices throughout various spaces and times, rather than a moment to be analysed on its own (Murru, 2020; Murru & Polese, 2020).

If this book ends with an encouragement for proponents of IE to look into the concept of resistance, this review is aimed at throwing the ball the other way: inciting scholars in Resistance Studies to look into IE. Lund and Nilsen have provided a volume that is true to the foundational works of institutional ethnography, yet engages critically its current usages and contemporary importance. Most importantly, it addresses a difficult but important debate inside IE: the dialogue with context and various theories. In the end, if you are a scholar in Resistance Studies reflecting on how to make sense of a social reality, IE is a very useful avenue for this, and Lund and Nilsen's collective volume on *Institutional Ethnography in the Nordic Region* is a great place to start from—as it is, in my view, one of the most up to date, critical, and useful piece of work currently available.

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Liz Castro: Many Grains of Sand: A Sourcebook of Ideas for Changing the World, Tried and Tested in Catalonia

Catalonia Press, 2017

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In the region of Catalonia, the Catalan people identify as a nation and are trying to obtain freedom from the state of Spain. Liz Castro documents the creativity of the multitude forms of protest adopted by Catalans in their struggle for Catalonian self-determination, especially during the recent surge of mobilizations since 2010. Castro herself is a key member of the national movement, and as such this is a book is from 'within', articulating an activist narrative. At the same time, it is a book that is of general interest, as an inspirational catalogue of creativity and activism. It is a book with a very appealing, accessible layout, with lots of photos, a clear structure, and inspirational short texts, outlining the different impressive actions of the Catalan movement. In it we learn about how the Catalan question in Spain emerged to become a mass movement, moving from being a non-issue to perhaps the top issue on the political agenda in Spain.

The Catalan movement for a self-governed society has existed for a long time, sometimes focused on gaining more of an autonomous region, sometimes, like now, on gaining an independent nation state. A key historical event is the military invasion and occupation in 1714 that forced Catalonia to join Spain. Today the Catalan economy is growing and is among the strongest in Spain. The national identity has grown politically due much to a combination of the increase of Catalan language learning among the population, and when several proposals for increased autonomy for Catalonia were met with repression and perceived humiliation of Catalonia by Madrid (pp. 9, 11).

The many examples of activism Castro outlines also give the history of the Catalan 'process' (not struggle), and how nationalism in Catalonia has grown. In the book it becomes clear that the movement has many of the key elements of a successful mobilization: creativity, energy, unity, and mass participation, and it is organized, disciplined and nonviolent. Still, I think there are fundamental problems, something I will return to.

Key to the Catalan national awareness and collective identity has been the Catalan language. Here it is important that Catalan immersion schooling was adopted already in the 1980s (p. 36). Today the language is very established and a common part of everyday interactions. In one of the early protests, 10,000 participants marched in Brussels in 2009 to try to influence the EU to support Catalan freedom. That was also the year when the people's assembly was created: the Catalan National Assembly (ANC) (p. 40), which since then has been a key organizer of much of the activism. An important turning point was when the Constitutional Court in 2010 rejected the negotiated Catalan Statue of Autonomy from 2006. This rejection of autonomy became the starting point of a more mass based movement and the demand for independence. A sign of this has been the annual mass demonstrations, which for example in 2012 gathered 1.5 million out of 7 million Catalans (pp. 56-58). Many demonstrations have also been held on particular issues, as for example in 2014 when about 100,000 participated in favor of maintaining the Catalonian form of schooling.

A key part of 'the process' has been to vote. The first popular referendum on independence was held in the Arenys de Munt district of Barcelona in 2009. It was organized in a private space by a citizens' group, not by the city government, due to pressures from Madrid. That inspirational example started a two-year wave of referendums or 'Arenys-style 'consultations' in more than 500 towns all over Catalonia' (pp. 25, 22-29). Thus, the Catalan national movement begins from below, via language immersion and local referendums. Since then, Catalans have voted in many different ways to show their resolve. A breakthrough happened when the politicians took the lead with the Declaration of Sovereignty by the Catalan parliament in 2013, which declared that the Catalan people had the right to decide their own future themselves, something that clearly upset Madrid. Subsequently, 750,000 petitioned the Catalan parliament to take the next step and hold a referendum, then in 2014 nearly all city halls in the region (as many as 96% of them) also voted in favor of holding a national referendum. When the Catalan parliament then decided on having a referendum in 2014, it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, so they changed it into a 'consultation'. When the consultation led to protests from Madrid, and yet another declaration from the Supreme Court of Spain saying it was unconstitutional, the Catalan Parliament decided to go ahead anyhow. 2.3 million voted on the decisive day of November 9 ('N9'), 40% of all voters. 80% of them voted yes to independence. Since the consultation

was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, 6,000 persons signed papers of their 'guilt' to vote, and turned themselves in to the police (p. 170). The following Catalan election in 2015 was then declared as a plebiscite on independence, an election that confirmed the consultation with 48% voting for independence parties (and 39% for those against). It resulted in the Catalan parliament having close to a majority of pro-independence seats (p. 195). This parliament then decided to have a binding referendum in 2017, which once again confirmed the results. About 43% voted, with 90% of these voting for independence. During that referendum, which of course again was declared unconstitutional, Spanish police intervened and tried to stop the voting. The situation was very tense and confrontational, a full-blown political conflict between Madrid and Catalonia. It led to politicians being arrested, with the leader of the independence movement in the Catalan parliament, president Puigdemont, fleeing to Belgium to enter a life in exile in Brussels. In the fall of 2019 tensions flared again, when several of the leading independence-promoting politicians were sentenced to between 9 and 13 years in prison. At the time of writing, nine politicians are in prison, while president Puigdemont continues to live in exile.

During the last decade of increased activism, the creativity the Catalan people have shown is impressive. Still, the protests have been mostly symbolic articulations, although there have been things like refusing to pay highway tolls, yet this also seems to have been a largely symbolic gesture (see p. 45). This symbolic protest movement has shown much fantasy in creating all their action forms. Singing has been important as it was in the Baltic states (p. 48), with for example a mass movement of 'lib dubs'; videos with a large group of people singing along to a famous song. People have, like the Icelandic protesters that ousted their government, been banging pots in coordinated actions, and they have used 'flashmobs'; coordinated activity by people who appear suddenly in a crowd on a given signal, and after doing their thing, quickly disappear into the crowd again (p. 54). The Catalans have used social media as a tool of course (p. 66-73), as well as selling merchandise for the cause (p. 75). The matches of the world-famous Barcelona soccer team (FC Barça) have also been drawn into this nationalism. At the exact time of 17:14 into a match, the audience make a large noise, since it was in 1714 that Madrid used military force to compel Catalonia to join Spain.

Obviously, the Catalan independence flag is key in many of these examples. The flag is, like in most nationalist struggles, an important symbol,

and it celebrated 100 years in 2008, in the midst of growing nationalism. The flag comes in two versions: one red starred and one blue starred, but both with the prominence of yellow color and red stripes. One popular form has been to have a mass lighting of thousands of candles in the shape of the flag (p. 50). There have been big flags displayed all over Spain, bike tours inside Catalonia with the flag displayed, and tours in all US states. Some got inspiration for this after 'a city councilperson was being fined for having a Catalonia sticker [with the flag] on their license plate' (p. 78). Athletes have celebrated their wins by displaying the flag (p. 80), while farmers have festooned their hay and displayed their apples at markets with the colors of the flag (p. 98). The flag has taken the shape of lighted bubble cubes (p. 126), and one sail boat, with the flag on display, has been named 'the Independence One' and carried out sailing tours. The colors of the flag have also been used in other actions (with yellow color paintings of walls and crosses, and heaps of yellow shoes on display in town squares). In 2011, the city San Pere de Torelló became the first to take down the Spanish flag and only fly the Catalan independence flag (p. 42).

People have formed human chains up to 400 km long (p. 104), similar to the protest movement in the Baltic states in the 1990s. They have formed human towers (p. 116) and V-formed mass figures for victory. They have painted murals (p. 92), which is a popular form of political messaging in Northern Ireland. Moreover, like so many others, they have used concerts and music for their cause. They have carried out bicycling tours for the cause, as well as motor cycle parades, as well as calling the attention of world leaders via super large banners. They have developed slogans for 9N (the voting day of November 9) and declared 'no matter what,' implying that Catalans are prepared to take on the vote no matter what Madrid threatens them with. Again like so many other movements, they have used books in the struggle (p. 86), drawings and cartoons, as well as folklore sayings for the cause.

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Thus, we can see an impressive amount of protests and creative fantasy in designing popular participation and variation of protests. It is consistent, nonviolent, mass based and persuasive. Nevertheless, it is fundamentally symbolic and fully focused on the demand for independence (or self-governance). The question is whether this is enough? It is already clear that the Catalans have an ethical case; like all people in the world they have the right of self-determination, as is stated in the principles of international law and

the UN. However, the more difficult question is whether the Catalans have a political case, which is to say, such a powerful proposal that it can make other people and institutions compelled to change their relations with the Catalans and treat them as independent. Another way to say this is: The Catalans have already won the discussion, yet will they get the decision they want? Every movement needs a strategy; a plan of how they are going to succeed and achieve their goal. The obvious challenge for the Catalan liberation struggle is to create sufficient acceptance for their demand among the Spanish state and population (and the European Union and its populations), to make a self-governed Catalonia possible. Any state, particularly Spain and the EU, is worried about a domino effect following the permission of self-governance for one people. There are about 200 nation states in the world, and at least 2,000 nations, people with their own language and culture. Canada, Russia, France, Germany, China, India, Brazil and the US are just some of the main examples of states that live with multiple and severe tensions from different peoples, who could break out and create new states. How will the world manage all these demands without ending up in endless civil wars? How will the Catalan people make all these non-Catalans either so supportive or so coerced that they will grant their permission or accept the de-facto situation that Catalonia is independent? If the strategy is one of maximum creativity, joy and colorful protests and mass-based demands on Madrid (and Brussels), as it seems from this book, I see two problems; not with the book necessarily, rather with the movement that the book presents.

Firstly, there is a contradiction to demanding self-governance, asking the authority of the state for permission to be free. Autonomy cannot be given from the dominant power, it can only be gained through practicing autonomy, in other words by creating a de facto situation which the dominant power has to accommodate to, negotiate or accept. This would mean: practicing self-governance long before it is accepted by the dominant power; managing self-governance in politics by creating Catalan laws and ignoring Spanish ones; withholding Spanish taxes and creating a functional Catalan tax system; marking and managing borders with Catalan border security and rules; practicing a Catalan school and health system, as well as creating new passports, identity cards and so forth. In all kinds of ways, Catalans must institutionalize and act as-if Catalonia was already free and do this irrespective of what Spain or the EU think about it. This would mean turning the table around and instead of protesting against Madrid, letting Madrid come and protest what the Catalans are doing. Even if this

would lead to imprisonments, military occupation and repressive measures, such an autonomy movement would have to continue their practice of self-governance. Such a movement would include Catalan political, economic, cultural and social institutions, on all levels, not just formal decisions about independence by Catalan parliamentarians. If the Catalan movement was practicing self-determination in this manner, Madrid would in principle have to choose between imprisoning, killing, or permanently occupying and forcing its governance on millions of people—or they would have to concede and let Catalonia be free.

It might sound more 'realistic' and a 'quicker' way to (firmly and consistently) 'demand' independence, yet this does not work even when it seems to be effective. If 'sovereignty' could be given to a people, it would not actually be 'sovereignty'; it could always be rescinded. Ask the Native Americans; they know this. Repeatedly they have been given self-rule and been recognized as independent nations that form international agreements with Washington, yet this has been repeatedly ignored, violated, changed and withdrawn when it has suited Washington. Recognized nations have become unrecognized, while designated 'self-governed' reservation territories have been redesigned, diminished, cancelled or moved when profitable natural resources have been found, or when infrastructure and new territory were 'needed' by the non-Native population. Virtually every single negotiated treaty between Washington and Native American nations has been violated by the US state.

Secondly, the demand for self-governance is empty in itself, if it is not filled with practiced political, social, economic and cultural content. Where is the content of this demanded new society? What will it look like? Besides the fact that all people want to be free, what will this freedom be used for? The only really different type of resistance I can see in the book is the practice of the Catalan language, since it is a practice of self-determination within a Spanish speaking nation. Yet Catalan is not forbidden to be used by Spain. Thus, it can be practiced without permission from Madrid. If the Catalan nation gets their freedom, in what way will the state of Catalonia be different to Spain? What exactly is it the Catalans will do with their freedom? Why is it necessary? These questions are important since it seems untenable to advocate thousands of new nation states in the world, while 'self-determination' does not necessarily mean the creation of a 'nation state.' Autonomy can take many different and negotiated forms. Furthermore, if the Spanish and European populations are supposed to support this (which

seems necessary for it to function), it is simply not enough to claim the right of self-determination, as this does not necessarily make non-Catalans impressed, enthusiastic or supportive.

However, if the Catalans did in fact practice de-facto self-governance, instead of just making the demand for it, the content of an autonomous Catalonia would at the same time become visible, since however limited it would be in the face of Spanish repression, it would be a prefigurative example of an autonomous Catalonia. Then there is a chance that non-Catalans could be engaged, supportive and even enthusiastic. That is what has happened with, for example, the Kurdish experiment in Rojava (until it was crushed by a combination of acts by the US, Turkey, Syria, and Russia), or the Zapatistas in Chiapas, Mexico, or the landless workers movement MST in Brazil. Since these people experiment with, develop and show alternative ways of organizing a society, with a different economy, politics and culture, they make outsiders compelled to act in solidarity and lend them support politically.

Therefore, it seems to me that either the book is misrepresenting the movement, or the movement still has a very long way to go before their demand can become reality. However, the ingredients are there; besides the fundamentals of creativity, energy and mass participation, there are also the immersion schools that promote the Catalan language, the locally self-organized referenda in hundreds of towns, the defiant decisions of the Catalan parliament, the boycott of Spanish highway tolls and so forth. Yet much is lacking, perhaps most importantly a strategy of de facto self-governance.