Constructive Resistance

Repetitions, Emotions, and Time

Mona Lilja

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To my husband, Mikael Baaz

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Foreword

We are familiar with representations of resistance: massive events that confront oppressive forces head on. These dramatic acts of dissent range from public rallies and street marches to labor strikes and civil disobedience campaigns. Sometimes they are brutally repressed, sometimes they go unnoticed, sometimes they lead to revolutionary change.

Mona Lilja's impressive book on *Constructive Resistance* is part of a scholarly movement that urges us to think of resistance in broader and more productive ways. It is part of a body of literature on everyday forms of resistance that ranges from early influential conceptual contributions (such as Scott 1990) to more recent empirical studies (such as Sombatpoonsiri 2015). Lilja writes in the wake of such inquiries and stresses, with them, that the most powerful forms of oppression are not necessarily institutional structures but societal norms that determine what is acceptable, moral, and rational, and what not.

I am deeply honored by the opportunity to offer a few opening remarks to *Constructive Resistance*. They are designed to contextualize and introduce the key themes of Lilja's timely and compelling book. There is no space here to engage in detail either her arguments or the meanwhile extensive and complex bodies of literature on the issues at stake—except to note that we do, indeed, live in an age of resistance. For several years now resistance movements have emerged in all parts of the world, from the Arab Spring to Occupy Wall Street and widespread street protests in Hong Kong (Wight 2019). They are symptomatic of a larger malaise that emerges when existing institutional structures and decision-making processes are unable to deal with and solve major political tensions and problems (see Carter 1970; Solnit 2019).

Constructive Resistance urges us to look not only at dissent that opposes existing forms of domination and exclusion, but also, and primarily, at

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resistance practices that open up thinking space and allow us to imagine a different future. Doing so entails making a number of theoretical and empirical shifts, away from focusing on direct challenges to the existing order and away from understanding power as purely oppressive. Instead, the key is to see and appreciate the productive sides of power and resistance: the potential that lies in generating sociopolitical change.

Lilja calls such practices "constructive resistance" because they are primarily about exploring how we can imagine the world differently and how these alternative visions can eventually become acceptable and form the bases of new sociopolitical relations. These counter-visions and counter-discourses have a lot of parallels with what decolonial scholarship seeks to do: to go beyond exposing the legacies of colonialism and, instead, focus on validating different ways of being and knowing, as, for instance, those that are entailed in largely neglected Indigenous epistemologies and political orders (see, for instance, Capan 2017; Mignolo 2009; Graham et al. 2011).

Understanding how constructive resistance can yield power and generate change is rather daunting and requires addressing several conceptual and empirical challenges. Two stand out.

First: everyday forms of dissent are, as Lilja acknowledges, inevitably entangled with the complexities of life. They may produce as much acquiescence as they entail resistance. Compromises have to be made. Does a young graffiti artist in the West Bank engage in resistance when spaying a subversive slogan on a public wall under the cover of darkness (see Ball 2020; Weitzel 2019)? Or is this covert act ultimately legitimizing the occupation and strengthening what Herbert Marcuse (1965) called repressive tolerance: providing an illusion of dissent and, in doing so, further legitimizes forms of domination?

Second: constructive resistance can only work over time, by changing how we—as collectives—think and imagine the word differently. This slow transformation of values cannot be understood through conventional notions of human agency and the types of causal models that prevail in much of the social sciences. A constructive everyday act of resistance—whether it is a graffiti sprayed anonymously on a wall or a refusal to use racist language—does not cause a particular political event. Its effects cannot be measured in terms of direct and immediate outcomes. Most people will not even notice. But taken together, countless acts of constructive resistance, enacted over a long period of time, can spread through society and open up the potential for new ideas and values to become acceptable. In doing so, constructive resistance provides the preconditions for meaningful social and political change. This is how opposition to slavery eventually turned into the abolition movement and generated new societal norms and new political practices (see Hutchison 2020). This is how the women's movement emerged and

moved from the margins of society to a powerful force of social transformation (Lerner 1993). And this is how countless political struggles are waged today, from same-sex marriage campaigns to attempts at addressing racism and structural violence.

Lilja engages these two challenges in a fascinating manner. To illuminate the power of constructive resistance she explores the role of representations and how they enact an interactive relationship between time, emotion, and repetition. Representations are important because they are one of the most important ways through which individual experiences become collectively meaningful and acquire political significance (see Hutchison and Bleiker 2014). Such representations go way beyond the obvious, such as media depictions of protest movements. They come in visual, verbal, and performative forms and include, as Lilja outlies, museum exhibitions, photographs, stories, or reproduction of cultural artifacts. Representations shape how we view the world: they delineate what we can see and feel and conceptualize from what lies beyond our vision and comprehension. The political nature and consequences of this division of the visible and invisible are meanwhile well recognized and widely discussed (see Rancière 2004).

Lilja enters these discussions by showing how repetition is at the core of how we see, feel, and represent the world. They are crucial to how power and productive resistance work. Repetitions entrench alter and transform values. They are part of how our collective values are communicated, handed down from generation to generation. The relationship between domination, resistance, and change is an inevitable and daily part of these sociopolitical constellations. It is in this constant interaction between sameness and difference that the potential for imagining new worlds lies. The world never stays still. Even if we keep repeating the same representations these very representations take on different meanings and political significance as time moves on. Take a fourteenth-century painting of the Madonna and child. When displayed in a museum today this painting is seen and perceived in completely different ways than when it was originally painted over half a millennia ago in Europe. Things get even more complex when we look at different visual representation of this paining, such as imprints on posters, book covers, or T-shirts, for instance. These forms of repetition entail, as Lilja puts it, "both sameness and difference." They refer to the same artifact, but each repetition adds a different layer of representations and so do the societal interpretations of these representations, which both reflect and enact changing values, from religious norms to gender assumption. This is why Lilja stresses that to get the same message across a form of representation cannot just repeat its message. One has to slightly alter the message in order to account for how previous representations have been viewed and absorbed collectively. Look, for instance, at the much-discussed phenomenon of compassion fatigue. Susan Moeller (1999)

looks at images of suffering victims that lie at the core of media coverage of humanitarian crises. She argues that viewers who regularly see these suffering victims, again and again, get to the point of feeling numb and indifferent. As a result, the very same image of a suffering victim has a different effect when it is seen the first time (evoking pain and empathy and compassion) than when it is seen the hundredth time (evoking emotional overload, fatigue, and indifference).

Lilja does not offer easy answers to these difficult questions about the relationship between constructive resistance and repetitions, emotions and time. And this is precisely one of the key strengths of her book: it addresses important and complex issues in a way that does not reduce them to scholarly caricatures. Particularly significant is that Lilja explores the issues at stake by going back and forth between engaging sophisticated theoretical discussions and presenting meticulously conducted empirical research that documents constructive resistance from corners of the world as diverse as Japan, Cambodia, Thailand, Sweden, and the Western Sahara. In this rich intersection of theory and practice lies the potential to explore the complexities of constructive resistance.

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Chapter 1

Constructive Resistance

Emotions, Repetitions, and Time

Studies of resistance have gone through different stages; an early focus has been on the more obvious and dramatic forms of resistance, and later there was recognition of subtle and diffused articulations. In spite of this development, studies on collectively organized, confrontational, and violent forms of resistance to state power and capitalism still dominate the field of resistance studies (Baaz, Lilja and Vinthagen 2017). As a response to this, this book argues that, following the work of Roland Bleiker, the most powerful practices of dissent "work in discursive ways, that is, by engendering a slow transformation of values" (Bleiker 2000, 276).

Considering the above, the forthcoming sections elaborate on more constructive forms of resistance, which bring about what has been addressed as "subversive knowledge," "counter-history," or "knowledges otherwise" (cf. Foucault 1990, 1997; Grosfoguel 2013; Lilja and Vinthagen 2014, 2018; Mignolo 2009; Lilja and Vinthagen 2007; Koefoed 2017; Sørensen 2016; Sørensen & Wiksell, 2019; Wiksell, 2020; Vinthagen 2005). The next-coming chapters disentangle the undertakings of different epistemic battles. Probing how, for example, figurations, posters, photos, artifacts, and buildings matter in establishing contemporary discussions, I inquire how and why they are (re)imparted with meaning and to what effect. Among others, I will consider "authentic" artifacts and "fake" replicas as representations, which, when analyzed in their contexts, provide crucial insights on how meaning is produced as resistance. I suggest that constructive resistance is sometimes complex and subtle. When this kind of resistance is enacted, it is not always obvious what relations of power are being challenged. It is thereby often difficult to distinctly carve out one particular governing technology and thereafter argue for a direct link to a specific practice of resistance; still, there is

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clearly a correlation between how power is applied and the resistance that is performed (cf. Baaz and Stern 2015, Stern, Hellberg and Hansson 2015).

James Scott is one scholar within resistance studies who has moved his focus in order to capture non-organized and more subtle practices of resistance. His research on resistance, however, does not, according to his critics, allow for more symbolic approaches to power or the conceptualizing of resistant subaltern subjectivities. Scott seem to embrace domination as mainly repressive acts, and his research could be understood as elaborating, primarily, how peasants are dominated while their minds remain free and, at least to some degree, unpersuaded by hegemonic arguments (Butz 2011; Mitchell 1990, 562, 564). Is it so then, that in this regard, Scott assumes a subjectivity that preexists and is maintained despite dominating discourses? This would mean that even though Scott, occasionally, conceptualizes resistance through symbols, these symbols are not a means of resistance against the discourses that form subjectivities, truths regimes, and realities, but rather against more direct forms of power (Lilja and Vinthagen 2018).

The constructive resistance discussed in this book departs from a different conceptualization of power than Scott's (Scott 1977, 1990). Rather than being mainly repressive, power is understood to also function through the production of truths, subject positions, and subjectivities. Truths are constructed in a complex interplay between discourses and materialities. Artifacts, buildings, and bodies are not embraced as passive vessels of different meanings, but rather as discursive materialities, and as such they partake in the ongoing processes of producing different discourses (Martinsson and Lilja 2018; cf. Butler 2015; Barad 2008).

An important point of departure in this book is that in order to understand our conceptions of "reality" and how they emerge, we must look closer at different forms of constructive resistance and the "whats" and "hows" of that which is being performed, displayed, and repeated. How do micro-practices of resistance produce new and emerging realities? How is resistance played out by various strategies such as repeating statements and "things," performing certain identities, circulating emotions, or by making specific artifacts hypervisible?

Resistance practices, in this regard, slide into, mix with, and resemble other aspects/behaviors, such as compliance, passivity, avoidance, and survival strategies. Resistance must be understood through its entanglement with power, affects, agency, temporalities, spaces, and other forms of resistance. It should also be added that resistance might be parasitic on power and/or nourish as well as undermine it. Power is, for example, sometimes created or recreated exactly through the very same resistance that it provokes.

The concept of "constructive resistance" moves beyond noncooperative forms of resistance that primarily oppose the "one-dimensional"

decision-making or "sovereign" power (Vinthagen 2005, 2007; Lilja and Vinthagen 2007; Sørensen 2016; Koefoed 2017). Minoo Koefoed proposes an alternative definition of constructive resistance, namely: "as subaltern practices that might undermine different modes and aspects of power in their enactments, performances and constructions of alternatives" (Koefoed 2017, 43).

The main focus of this book is not the construction of unorthodox institutions or movements, "nowtopias" or the enactments of noncapitalist alternative societies, but rather, it uses the concept of constructive resistance to denote resistance that aims to produce discourses "otherwise" that thereby negotiate truths and subject positions. It is resistance practices that come to "produce and structure subjectivities, ways of life, desires and bodies, by destabilizing, displacing or replacing such production" (Lilja and Vinthagen 2018).

By taking the notion of constructive resistance seriously—and suggesting that it might be the most powerful form of resistance—I use this book to elaborate on different strategies of representation, which function as resistance in relation to time, emotions, and repetition. Given that the kind of constructive resistance expanded upon in this book is about processes of significations, the time aspect—how alternative truths are repeated and thereby established over time—becomes crucial. And, resistance has a temporality of its own; for example, close authorities are instantly resisted here-and-now, while meaning-making resistance suffers from the inescapable time lag of processes of signification. In all forms of resistance, emotions prevail as an important engine of political struggles. Emotions also often turn out to be as a means of constructive resistance. I would also like to suggest that different materialities (bodies, artifacts, pavements, etc.) are important when considering resistance. In this book, matter will be discussed and incorporated as an important dimension in all chapters.

Resistance could be a matter of repeating things differently or talking from new venues (Lilja and Lilja 2018). In *The History of Sexuality* (1990), Michel Foucault emphasizes how resistance appears as discursive, creative, and small-scaled occurrences when power and knowledge are joined together in discourse, yet it has the ability to create social change. Through different strategies of representation, it is resistance that alters and negotiates knowledge regimes. Political struggles and subversive acts, then, occur as micro-complexities. It is scattered signs that, when reappearing, can be thought of as amassed resistance. A single act of resistance, which to a great extent is interwoven with power discourses, might be hidden and negligible, but when accumulated—for example, when resistance inspires other acts of resistance—it might lead to social modifications and transformations (Foucault 1990, 96–101; Lilja 2019; Lilja and Wiksell 2019).

One example of this kind of resistance was revealed in interviews carried out in Japan in 2013 and 2014 (see chapter 6 in this book). The respondents suggested that Japanese civil society organizations must use specific tactics of narrating and apply specific representations in order to make their recipients understand, embrace, and act upon issues surrounding poverty and pesticides. Foremost, when narrating "poverty," they argued that it is essential for the organizations to use signs (images, videos, descriptions, bodies) that are seen as corresponding to, composing, or depicting the real, thereby creating a "reality effect," while simultaneously evoking emotional reactions. In other words, different, but supporting, discursive practices of the organizations together produced the epistemic impressions of a situation where poverty became "the real." "Realistically" outlining the precarity of the farmers' situation was a strategy of the organizations to challenge ignorance structures or cultures of silence. The strategies of representation of the Japanese organizations prevail as resistance that promotes new truths and makes constructive use of different representations. This kind of constructive resistance can be a matter of producing ongoing small-scale differences that might look trivial, but sometimes have major impacts (cf. Sørensen 2016).

Discursive change can be quite fast and have a significant impact. One example of such a discursive change that is currently being undertaken and sweeping all over the world is the different, yet interacting, anti-gender mobilizations, which revolve around the politics of more conservatively oriented subjects who direct themselves against "gender ideology," "gender equality," gender mainstreaming, and/or gender studies (e.g., Kuhar and Paternotte 2017, 256, 258–59). Roman Kuhar and David Paternotte (2017), among others, have argued that despite national specificities, common patterns in the mobilizations can be identified across borders, including the rhetoric of anti-gender activists and a similar repertoire of actions and strategies. Gender studies, abortions, or lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) rights are repeatedly resisted by anti-abortion groups, religious groups, family associations, nationalists and populists, and far-right groups as well as by individual subjects on social media and newspaper editorials (Kuhar 2015; Kuhar and Paternotte 2017, 256, 259; Peto 2016; Lilja and Johansson 2018). Overall, different voices from different conservative discourses support each other. This could be exemplified by the anti-gender discourses that are repeated by straight, "involuntarily celibate" men who call themselves "incels." These men often subscribe to notions of white supremacy, which is expressed on different internet pages and sometimes turns into violence. The representations of the "incels" are different but still correspond to some of the views that were expressed by, for example, Pope Francis in 2016 when he made it clear what he thought was theologically at stake by arguing that "God created man and woman; God created the world in a certain way . . .

and we are doing the exact opposite" (Butler 2019). Also, Damares Alves, Brazil's Minister of Women, Family and Human Rights, has enhanced more conservative discourses by tweeting, "Attention, attention! It's a new era in Brazil: Boys wear blue and girls wear pink." She also stated that under President Bolsonaro's administration, "a girl will be a princess and a boy will be a prince" (Foust 2019).

Transnationally, anti-gender mobilizations, which often intersect with notions of racism, have created new discourses and collective identities; been able to formulate joint—and sometimes successful—attacks on gender studies or the rights of women and sexual minorities; hinder the passing of progressive laws; and cut state funds for work on gender equality. This enormous (symbolic and material) impact, which has been brought about by different representation of these groups and subjects, highlights the importance of different practices of representation.

In this book, I do not elaborate on anti-genderism norms, but discuss other examples of norm-changes and constructive resistance; for example, the discursive struggle around migrant bodies, where artifacts that pertain to the struggle are presented in Swedish museums; the Preah Vihear temple conflict between Cambodia and Thailand; the border conflict in West Sahara; the self-making of (self-defined) women politicians in Cambodia, and climate activism. The strategies of representation that are used in these, and other cases, are investigated through a closer look at "the visual," "the heard," and the things that are performed, displayed, and repeated. The book then moves beyond the visual turn, which, in the words of Bleiker, can be understood as a study of:

> the polities of visuality (which) involves understanding not only the role of images—still and moving ones—but also how visual artefacts and performances take on political significance. The spectrum of visual phenomena here ranges from photography, film, video and television to art, videogames, satellites images and computer vision, to name just a few random examples. (Bleiker 2019, 117)

Visual phenomena, such as the ones mentioned in the above quotation, are linked to different overlapping aspects such as "vision, visuality, in-/visibility, visualizing, visuals, visual representations, and performances as well as icons, images, and pictures" (Schlag 2019, 107). In this book, however, linguistic representations are also embraced, and by including the heard (words, sentences, musical tones, etc.), a broader unit of analysis—rather than just the "visual turn"—is in focus (Bleiker 2000). This is motivated by the idea that different realities—a reality being that which one comes to comprehend and read as true or real, and that one embodies and realizes—are constructed

through strategies of representation that involve bodies, images as well as words and sounds. Or, as put by Gabi Schlag (2019), this book refers to the "multiple communicative practices that are used to produce and convey meaning, e.g., textual, aural, linguistic, spatial, and visual modes of expression" (Schlag 2019; cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 1996). Moreover, single representations are not in themselves effective in meaning-making but depend upon repetitions of similar representations in order to have an impact. In the forthcoming chapters, I elaborate on how material and linguistic "repeats" are performative; that is, how they do things and direct bodies and resistance (or compose resistance).

As indicated above, representations gain their currency through entanglements with emotions. Practices of representation must also be understood as being played out in a time–space nexus, in which all meaning-making practices have their own temporality. Overall, this book takes a distinct look at three different aspects of epistemic battles, namely: (1) the role of repetition(s) in meaning-making processes; (2) the emotional aspects of different contestations; and (3) the temporality of constructive resistance. These aspects are further elaborated in the sections below, in order to provide a background for the rest of the book.

REPETITION AS A MEANS OF CONSTRUCTIVE RESISTANCE

Repeated words, artifacts, images, and sounds are all a copy of and, simultaneously, a reinvention of earlier linguistic or material representations. Repetition means the establishment of patterns and a steady return to previous styles, practices, discourses, and so on. According to Victor Turner, social action requires a performance that is repeated. This repetition is a reenactment and a re-experiencing of a set of meanings that have already been socially established (Turner 1974). Just as a play requires both text and interpretation, the body also acts within the limitations of preexisting directives: "One is not simply a body, but, in some very key sense, one does one's body and, indeed, one does one's body differently from one's contemporaries and from one's embodied predecessors and successors as well" (Butler 1990/1999, 272). Thus repetition, similarity, and difference are three dimensions of the same process. The repetition of different figures, practices, and linguistic statements is crucial for the governing of subjects and populations, as well as the resistance against it. Thus, the repetition of signs must be embraced as a powerful practice of dissent, considering that

discourses are powerful forms of domination. They frame the para-meters of thinking processes. They shape political and social interactions. They disregard national boundaries and take on increasingly transversal and global dimensions. Yet they are not invincible. They may be thin. They may contain cracks. (Bleiker 2000, 277)

We more or less tend to deliberately reproduce discourses and take the repetition of representations (images, sounds, artifacts, sentences, etc.) for granted. By repeating various representations, which do not simply represent but also reconstruct different world views, we partake in the network of power. However, there are also several examples of how governing takes place through the intentional repetition of words. The practice of governing through repetitions can be illuminated by the example of the Preah Vihear temple conflict on the border area between Cambodia and Thailand. Respondents in Cambodia told us that government employees visit newspaper offices to give them lists of words that they must use when writing about the Preah Vihear temple conflict. Yet another example could be the 2006 election in Sweden. Before the election campaign of the New Moderate Party, they publicized a brand guide or manual, which explained to their members what words to repeat in order to connect the "right" visions, modes, and notions to the party. This manual, which was published on the New Moderate Party's website, included a glossary that showed which words to use and which ones were considered "old" and worn out and thus should not be used. Among other things, "change" (förändra) was to be replaced with "improve" (förbättra), and "unemployed" (arbetslösa) was to be exchanged with "people without work" (människor som saknar jobb).

In chapter 3, different patterns of repetition are suggested, which could be seen as strategies of representation. Among other things, it is argued that to strengthen or maintain a discourse, it must be repeated in a slightly different way than before (Lilja and Lilja 2018). Take the example of climate change communication. The first time one encounters the discourse of climate change, its message is shocking. But when the same message is repeated and read for a second, third, or fourth time, the reader's understanding of it has changed and the message is read in a more reluctant way. This means that every time a representation is repeated, it is read and understood in a new way, even though it is (experienced as) exactly the same representation that is being repeated. It also implies that after seeing the same representation again and again, we do not listen as carefully, and we are not as interested as before. Thus, to maintain an interest in the discourse about climate change, the discourse needs to be constantly added to, altered, or expressed in new ways. One must change a discourse in order to maintain it. To repeat the very same representations means changing the reading of it (Lilja and Lilja 2018).

Two other patterns of repetition, which are discussed in chapter 3, contribute to making the discourses more distinct and increasing their impact. For example, altering the causality of a discourse or removing its complexities leads to more dense messages. Overall, processes of repetition and how these are patterned inform both the content and impact of our discourses and thus have a great bearing on how we construct our emerging discourses. Repetitions are then to be seen as means of constructive resistance.

As indicated above, it is possible to distinguish between material and linguistic repetition. While spoken sentences might pop up and then, in the next minute, be gone, repetitions can also be located at the perceptions of the reader, who again and again runs into and then "reads" similar material artifacts, buildings, bodies, and so on. I address this kind of repetition, one that emerges from the similarities of objects, in chapter 2 by using the example of different articulations, claims, and contestations around a world heritage site—the Preah Vihear temple. The Preah Vihear temple is situated on the top of a steep cliff in the Dangrek Mountain range on the border between Cambodia and Thailand, and has been at the core of a difficult and prolonged conflict between the two neighboring countries for more than a century. To solve this conflict, a replica of the Preah Vihear temple was constructed in 2016 on the Thai side of the border. The temple "repeat"—the copy—was, before being demolished not long after construction, an acknowledgment, a reenactment, and an invitation to re-experience a set of meanings and designs that had already been established by the Preah Vihear temple. Still, the "original" Preah Vihear temple can also be understood as a repetition of previous temples and of itself (Lilja and Baaz 2018).

The Preah Vihear temple replica gained meaning through processes that involve the recognition of both similarities and differences. The replica added to the heritage discourse about the temple and challenged the ambition of Cambodian decision-makers to have exclusive rights to the Preah Vihear temple. The temple "repeat" could be seen as, among other things, an act of resistance against the very idea of one, single "original" temple. Repeating the Preah Vihear temple suggests that it is not unique, exclusive, and/or irreplaceable. The repetition that the replica composes ties the "fake" to the discourse around the Preah Vihear as well as tying the temple's stakeholders (prayers, tourists, the military, politicians, etc.) to the different artifacts and to the heritage discourse (Tannen 1987). On the whole, the replica, as a repeat, alters discourses and shakes different relations of power (Baaz and Lilja 2018). Building a replica, around which new discourses are constructed, while other are challenged, can be seen as a productive act, an act of constructive resistance.

But it is not only artifacts that are to be read as repetitions and means of constructive resistance that fuels social change. Processes of identification

and self-making also build on the repetition of specific figurations and discourses. Embodied figurations are formulated, performed, and governed by various repetitive strategies, which sometimes could be read as constructive resistance (Lilja 2016a, 2017b; Braidotti 2011). By presenting the example of female politicians in Cambodia, chapter 4 displays how (self- and society-defined) women, who seem to repeat and maintain established gender discourses, actually use these discourses and the existence of a multilayered figuration as a "hiding place." By repeating various subject positions, which are parasitic on existing stereotypes and power relations, the women avoid disciplinary punishments that follow from performing unexpected, unusual, or dangerous positions. To display oneself as corresponding to the female stereotype, while simultaneously questioning it, can be seen as a representational strategy as well as it can be regarded as a form of constructive resistance (Lilja 2016a, 2017b).

The hiding of aspects of a complex self in order to travel more easily in social hierarchies, and gain political power, could be understood as a "hidden" form of resistance. Performing according to dominant understandings of femininity, while hiding the complexity and multilayered self, sometimes creates tension and shakes the cultural order, while simultaneously running the risk of strengthening power. It is a repetition that works against the origin of resistance and hides its subversion. Resistance appears as the effect of power and as a part of power itself, while simultaneously strengthening power (Lilja 2008). It is the matter of a nexus between power and resistance, where they exist simultaneously and nourish each other.

The ambivalent, complex, and hybrid self-making of the women can be understood as a form of constructive resistance, even though it is hard to determine the deliberate intentions of the actors (e.g., Scott 1989) and the act of resisting goes unrecognized by its targets (e.g., Hollander and Einwohner 2004). Here, resistance is not seen as an intent or effect, but as a particular kind of act, which unintendedly breaks contemporary gender norms and contributes to alternative discourses. Emotions, in the form of fear of punishment or desire for rewards, become driving forces for performing reductive figurations. The acting expresses an ambivalence between, or an overlap of, resistance and compliance. In addition, by performing this type of stereotypical position, the body becomes the tool of resistance, which implies the importance of a material, grounded analysis. Physical, emotional, and cultural aspects are bound together and entangled in a complex fashion.

My analysis here is inspired by the "new materialism," which is an approach that "consider[s] matter or the body not only as they are formed by the forces of language, culture, and politics but also as they are formative" (Frost 2011, 70; cf. Barad 2008; Bennet 2010; Åsberg et al. 2012). That is, material bodies, nature, and artifacts are conceived as having a "peculiar and distinctive kind of

agency, one that is neither a direct nor an incidental outgrowth of human inten-
tionality but rather one with its own impetus and trajectory" (Frost 2011, 70).
Thus, another important point of departure in this book is that different material
physiques—artifacts, nature, bodies—inform discourses. Climate change is an
illuminating example of how nature transforms the conditions for nonhumans
and humans. Due to the effects of climate change, new discourses emerge,
which are informed by heat, drought, famine, and other effects of dramatic
weather (Lilja and Lilja 2018; cf. Barad 2008).

Matter matters for resistance, not at least for different strategies of self-mak-
ing and the performing of different subject-positions, which sometimes come to
alter discourses or negotiate subject positions. Such resistance may take a num-
ber of forms—such as repeating subject positions differently or refusing to be
"hailed" into place. I want to suggest that to understand resistance, it becomes
important to understand how figures are assumed and performed.

The friction between "victims" and "perpetrators" in Cambodia is an
illustrative example of how practices of self-making can be understood as
a form of constructive resistance. I would like to argue that the predict-
able or unpredictable figures of our societies are not only embodied posi-
tions; sometimes they are unbodied, thereby shaking the cultural order.
The distinction between former Khmer Rouge (KR) cadres, soldiers, and
front figures and the victims of the KR's rule has created the figure of the
"perpetrators" in the postwar rhetoric in Cambodia. As in other contexts,
this figure has been assigned notions of destruction and evilness, and it has
been defined through its binary opposition to the victims (Bernath 2016;
Bouris 2007; Zucker 2017). This reductive image of the perpetrators has,
however, in the long run been difficult to maintain—at least in many vil-
lages where former KR members still live alongside the survivors (Bernath
2016). Savina Sirik's research (2020) shows how many former KR cadres
refuse to perform the subject position of the "perpetrators" but identify
themselves as victims. The blurry lines between the victims and perpetra-
tors are probably due to the fact that many people in Cambodia in the 1970s
had family members or friends in the KR movement—or were themselves
attracted by the KR ideology. In addition, many KR soldiers became the
victims of the movement. For example, the majority of prisoners taken to
Tuol Sleng prison, S-21, located in Phnom Penh, under the reign of the
Communist Party of Kampuchea from April 17, 1975, to January 6, 1979,
were KR cadres, including high-level officials such as ministers, and their
family members, who were accused of collaborating with foreign govern-
ments, and spying for the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency, USA) and the
KGB (*Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti*, Soviet Union) (DC-Cam

2010). Former KR soldiers' and cadres' refusal to perform the figure of the "perpetrator," which they are expected to repeat, is one way of "unsticking" the representation of the "perpetrator" from the bodies to which this image is pasted.

Ahmed discusses the "sticking" of some representations to other representations and to bodies. Or in other words, the bodies who "could be terrorists" are the ones who might "look Muslim"; the one who "looks feminine" is the one who could be the "babysitter" or "nurse" and so on (Ahmed 2004). Some bodies then become nodes, which attract specific images and around which certain meanings assemble (and are maintained). A similar sticking of representations, could be seen in the Cambodian case, where those who were "cadres" are now assumed to be the "perpetrators." However, as the subjects, who are expected to materialize as perpetrators, refuse to do so, the figure of the "perpetrator" becomes unbodied. While it is not performed, it is not "proved" to exist, and the misfit between the images and the bodies opens up the possibility for deconstructions, recategorizations, and new discourses. The unsticking of different figures, bodies, and representations, then, prevails as a form of constructive resistance that forms our emerging realities. By drawing on Ahmed's blog, the construction of the "perpetrator" offered by different local, national and international actors, can be described as "non-performative" speech acts that do not bring into effect what they name (Feministkilljoys 2019). Instead, other figurations are offered and performed, which could be understood as a form of constructive resistance.

Representations such as the temple "repeat" or bodies repeatedly representing the "perfect Cambodian woman," as well as the patterns of the reiterations, could all be seen as subversive technologies and means of constructive resistance. These repetitions do not only counter dominant norms but also construct new knowledge, as well as open up opportunities for unanswered questions and complexity. The repetition of figurations or "authentic" or "fake" artifacts constitutes parts of the different epistemic battles that this book sets out to disentangle in order to shed light upon how contestations impact upon and form our views of what is real. It is not always obvious which discourses and norms are problematized by the repeated representations. There is often no stable knowledge that is challenged or negotiated. Rather, the resistance is more of the unstable but constructive sort, which produces and structures subjectivities, knowledge, ways of life, desires, and bodies as well as complexifying and problematizing various truths. Analyzing constructive resistance is important for understanding processes of social change.

THE ROLE OF EMOTIONS IN
CONSTRUCTIVE RESISTANCE

As indicated above, in this book I set out to address emotionality and how it works in relation to resistance. Hate, desire, or love are embedded in social contexts that create the possibility for us to communicate, share, and circulate emotions, while we still subjectively "feel" these. Emma Hutchinson and Bleiker similarly argue that emotions are shaped by society and culture and therefore are not only to be seen as individual experiences (Hutchinson and Bleiker 2014, 499). On the contrary, even though we experience that emotions emerge from within us and move outwardly, they are formed within particular cultural and social contexts: "Emotions always have a history. How we feel in response to particular political events depends on how society suggests we should feel. To experience feelings such as anger, fear, trust, or empathy is dependent on a specific cultural context that renders such emotions meaningful and acceptable" (Hutchinson and Bleiker 2014, 504). As pinpointed by Hutchinson and Bleiker, due to this, some scholars frame emotions as "cultural products," "reproduced in individuals through embodied experience" (Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990, 12).

This book will consider emotions that are created from—as well as motivating, informing, and emerging from—resistance. Emotions and interpretations are inseparable; thus, we experience various emotions as we decode different representations. Representations sometimes evoke "moral shocks," which motivate people "to do something" (cf. Goodwin et al. 2001). Emotions also appear to be an engine of resistance by removing the effects of disciplinary technologies. Emotions, then, not only discipline bodies and form realities, but sometimes also create non-governable subjects and undermine the very core of various self-disciplinary discourses and practices. I would like to argue that emotions, in relation to resistance, tangentially interact with space (loss of land, memorial places, etc.) or different temporal dimensions, such as fear for the future.

In addition, emotions have the tendency to become more intense as representations are repeated. Or as expressed by Sara Ahmed, signs "the more they circulate, the more affective they become, and the more they appear to 'contain' affect" (Ahmed 2004, 120). In public assemblies, for example, different placards are "stuck" to other posters through the addressing of similar issues and through the spatial and temporal proximity. The messages of posters of hate or frustration are repeated by the vocalized demands of public assemblies. In addition, the linguistic—written or vocalized—petitions are strengthened, and made more complex by the powerful representations that the bodies and occupied pavements compose. All in all, an assemblage of emotionally loaded representations evokes and boosts the will to resist.

An example of the above is the Washington D.C. pussy hat demonstration in 2017 when over 60,000 women showed up in knitted "pussy power" hats to announce their opposition to the Donald Trump's presidential election. The demonstration was full of placards that said, among other things, "We are watching you President Trump," "Free Melania," and "You lied, you bullied, grabbed and denied. Try respect!" (poster with an image of Trump) (Quartz 2017). Here, one poster produced certain effects through its similarities and temporal and spatial proximity to other posters. The posters are to be seen as signs of aversion, which place hate with a specific body (Trump's body) thereby constituting this body as an object of dislike. Trump is assumed to cause harm to cis-women, the LGBT community, Muslims, immigrants, and other minorities, and he comes to embody the threat of discrimination. The representations direct bodies and align individuals with communities by sticking figures together (LGBT bodies, Muslims, immigrants, cis-women, and other minorities), a sticking that, at least aims to, create the very effect of a collective, with reference to the figure of hate—Trump.[1] Overall, the participants of the public assembly were taking part in various emotional processes while coming together to struggle against, for example, indifference and stereotypization.

The more posters that appear and are read and (re)read, in the light of other similar ones, the more emotions are provoked by the representations. Indeed, the repetition of discourses of hate is crucial for intensifying the emotions of an event and for the production of a "us" and "them" (Ahmed 2004, 121).

The "pussy hat" is an illustrative example of how discourses of activism are part of the making of the materiality of the embodied activist (Butler 1993, 9–10). Norms of dissent come to sculpt the body and mind of the activists, as they dress and perform in line with what is expected of this position. In the example of the above-mentioned "pussy hat," which can be seen as a materialization of feminist norms, it is discourses of feminism that entangle with processes of materialization of resistance subjects (Butler 2015; Johansson et al. 2018). Thus, representations are performative, partake in creating our experience of reality, and materialize that reality.

As different issues and political institutions are assigned emotional values (such as hate or frustration), this sometimes forms the very basis for political activities and communities of belonging. Constructive resistance builds on representations that often induce emotions and individual reactions to these representations. Moreover, as emotions intensify as representations circulate, this could lead to the escalation of resistance (cf. Ahmed 2004). This is further discussed in chapter 5.

Emotions, then, are induced in the meeting between subjects and representations, and often get intensified while representations of hate or love are

being repeatedly read and reread. This might be an important observation, considering Hutchison and Bleiker's call to theorize: "the actual processes that render emotions political" (Hutchison and Bleiker 2014, 499). However, as I argued in the previous section, the opposite could also happen; the repetition of signs that are too similar sometimes creates the very effect of disinterest and an automated reading of the signs: we have heard it before; it is not new, interesting, or upsetting. Given this, different patterns of repetitions, as well as the character of the representations, become important in relation to how they interweave with emotions. Indeed, if the pattern of the repetition is crucial to the very making of emotions and interest, then these must be studied in depth. We should hence ask how the repetition of representations shapes the form of the constructive resistance, emerging emotions as well as the materialization of public assemblies.

Constructive resistance, which appears as the repetition of signs across time, more generally appears in the shape of time-lagged counter-narratives or reversed discourses that are parasitic on, as well as challenging to, discursive truths (Butler 1995, 2018). Still, different ruptures can work too as a form of resistance and halt automatized reading of representations. Specific bodies that require employment, shelter, healthcare, and food—through their visible, emotional, and material expressions—render complex matters of precarization more concrete and graspable for the reader. Through the embodiment of narratives of poverty or discrimination, thus signifying more than the linguistics representations, they can rupture automatized readings or more theoretical or abstract claims of precariousness (see chapter 5). Constructive resistance could, then, become more effective if more concrete representations are employed to represent and exemplify different truths.

But not only is emotionality involved in the rupture of scientific or political abstract claims, but emotional management can also be considered to be a form of constructive resistance (Baaz, Heikkinen and Lilja 2017; Lindqvist and Olsson 2017; Koefoed 2017; Hochschild 1983). Conscious attempts of maneuvering emotional expressions or reactions aim to challenge power in different ways. This form of emotional management—as resistance—could also be connected with space (Hochschild 1983). Physical settings, such as mass graves or political uprisings, evoke different emotions and could thus be means of emotional management—as we decide which settings to visit or which to avoid, we are managing our emotions. If we visit political protests and demonstrations—spaces where emotions are generated and circulate between the bodies—we manage ourselves as political subjects. Maneuvering emotional expressions, as we will see in the chapters below, can be seen as a strategy of carrying out constructive resistance.

Some images and artifacts become hypervisible and have more emotional impact than other artifacts; thereby, they also become important means for

constructive resistance. As is elaborated in chapter 7, "authentic" artifacts are displayed in Swedish museums in order to construct and deconstruct different truths about migrant bodies. In this chapter, authentic artifacts are discussed as representations, which have a particular value due to their previous physical encounters with migrant bodies. These artifacts are considered more attractive and evoke more emotions, as they have been present during other times and have been felt and seen by the people of the past; perhaps during painful moments, grand time-periods, or dramatic ruptures. Authentic artifacts are often seen as more fascinating and valuable than copies that have not made the "travel in time." Such artifacts play a particular role in meaning-making and are exhibited with the aim of giving the public new perspectives, emotional experiences, and making the visitors abandon their standard interpretations by negotiating categories such as "us" and "them." Overall, authentic artifacts in museums, as I discuss in chapter 7, come to symbolize "matter-out-of-place," be seen as "living" objects with "memories," remove distances, create time-lagged processes of signification, and/or set off emotional processes. These artifacts are used to establish alternative understandings of history and slow down the interpretation or decoding process, as the receivers have to concentrate more when reading the complexity of the assemblage of artifacts (Tsur 2008, 577f.).

THE TIME AND TEMPORALITY OF CONSTRUCTIVE RESISTANCE

Representations of hate, love, and fear not only impact differently due to how they are repeated, but they are also entangled with different time aspects. As a last theme, this book incorporates the *temporality* of resistance. How does resistance depend upon different temporalities? How does resistance occur gradually and out of sight as well as dispersed across time and space? When is resistance spectacular and instantaneous rather than incremental and "slow" (cf. Martin 2016)?

Time could be understood as everyday biological processes, such as the aging of things and bodies, which proceed moment by moment. On the other hand, we constantly *do* time when we organize, understand, and spend time. Time is made in every moment (Dinshaw 2007, 2013). The enactment of temporalities is, to some extent, performative and bodies act out temporalities to which they contribute to establish.

Time is related to resistance in a number of ways, which the final part of the book sets out to unpack. First of all, the production of alternative temporalities prevails as a form of constructive resistance. Different temporalities are wrenched out of order, and are being added to, in order to negotiate

hegemonic time regimes. This resistance could be seen as a slow-motion form of resistance as it suffers from the time lag of processes of signification. Constructive resistance, which appears as repetitions of signs across time, more generally, does not signal major ruptures, breaks, or cuts. Rather, this kind of constructive form of resistance constructs new ways of understanding "the real" over a longer time-period. The time-delay of this kind of resistance was envisioned by Foucault (1990; Lilja 2018), and it resembles the theorizing of Homi Bhabha, who argues that there is a lag between the establishment of new, alternative truths and the people narrating these resisting truths (Bhabha 1994).

But "slowness" plays different roles in the crossroads between resistance and power. When reading the works of Foucault, one interpretation is that the deceleration of time should be seen as one of the goals of constructive resistance. According to Foucault, discipline makes us try to intensify the use of the slightest moment; we accelerate time to reach: "an ideal point at which one maintained maximum speed and maximum efficiency" (Foucault 1991, 154). Schools are an example of institutions that have been arranged as machines to intensify the use of time. It is a matter of a way in which to both "accelerate the process of learning and to teach speed as a virtue" (Foucault 1991, 154; Rosa 2014). I would like to argue that if discipline is entwined in an acceleration of time and an efficient use of time, constructive resistance ought to construct "slower" temporalities (Haraldsson and Lilja 2017).

In addition, how resistance produces truths depends upon the different kinds of repetitions and the constant remaking of patterns. This implies that different change-initiating strategies, including resistance practices, have a temporal core. In addition, constructing and disciplining oneself as a resisting subject involves rhizomatic movements between now, then, and the future. Overall, by bringing in the concept of time when exploring the crossroads between power and constructive resistance, new patterns and indicated paths of social change are revealed. In the forthcoming chapters (chapters 8–10), different crossroads between time and resistance are displayed by picturing time ruptures, deceleration of time, and time lags.

The final chapter, chapter 10, will discuss the signification of photos as a form of constructive resistance. In particular, Swedish photographer Ola Kjelbye's images, which provide us with different narratives about Western Sahara, are discussed. The constructions of time in the photos can be read as a form of constructive resistance. In Kjelbye's photographs, the earth appears static; it seems to remain century after century, being untouched by the violence and conflicts that are played out on its surface. The earth gives the impression of following another temporality rather than those who live on the land and perform the perceptions of "time." The temporality of the soil appears as something other than the temporality of the subjects—who

are born, lives, and dies on the ground. Thus, the images introduce a radically different conceptualization of time than that which is connected to personal development, family and reproduction, life stages, and death. This "queer time," I suggest, deviates from the hegemonic "heteronormative" time and is focused on the here-and-now while simultaneously suggesting the eternity of the situational moment (cf. Halberstam 2007). In the light of a longer temporality, where days and nights come and end with repetitive and unrelenting regularity, the conflict takes a back seat. Overall, the photos sculpture new knowledge about the Western Sahara, with their conception of time but also by the absence of bodies and the hypervisibility of the soil.

RESISTANCE STUDIES

In the above, I have outlined some theoretical notions that are departed from in this book. Now, I would like to end this chapter with some more general notions on resistance and resistance studies, which are the broader context of this book.

Resistance studies includes several theoretical traditions, including subaltern studies, poststructuralist studies as well as the study of "everyday resistance" or "contentious politics." The latter can itself be seen as a combination of social movement studies, revolution studies, and studies on guerrilla warfare, civil warfare, and terrorism. Resistance studies could, and sometimes does, draw on the many fields that at least tangentially engage with it, such as gender studies and feminism, queer studies, peace studies, political science, sociology, critical race studies, anthropology, pedagogics, psychology, media and communication studies, critical legal studies, heritage studies, design, and crafts. Resistance, within these different fields, addresses power in multiple ways; that is, not just as the power relations of the state-citizens relation, but also exploitative practices, different discursive truth-regimes, and gender, race, status, caste, and taste hierarchies (Lilja and Vinthagen 2018).

The current state of resistance studies reflects the various approaches to power, which has emerged during the past decades. From the 1970s onward, the conventional view of power has been broadened by scholars such as Lukes (1974), Bourdieu (1986), and, in particular, Foucault (1981, 1982, 1984, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1994, 1997, 2007, 2009). As the study of power has been expanded, so has the study of resistance. Contemporary theories of resistance correspond to the new configurations of power. The potential for dissent against not only sovereignty but also disciplinary practices as well as bio-political governing is gradually becoming recognized. People are raising their voices not only against economic exploitation and neoliberal forms of governing, but also against oppressive discourses of neocolonialism, and

gendered and racist norms and practices (Baaz, Heikkinen and Lilja 2017; Lilja and Vinthagen 2017). Currently, neither power nor resistance is studied in singular. Instead, they must be addressed as multilayered. Different forms of power and resistance entangle, thereby forming complex webs (Baaz, Heikkinen and Lilja 2017; Lilja and Vinthagen 2017).

Regardless of the type, resistance exists in relation to power (and/or violence or inspiring forms of resistance). The type of power—together with local discourses, subject positions, and so on—informs the type of resistance that is employed (Lilja and Vinthagen 2017). Still, even though power and resistance are constituted together, resistance sometimes transcends the whole phenomenon of being against something; instead, it constructs "alternative" or "prefigurative" social institutions or discourses (Lilja and Vinthagen 2017).

This kind of resistance—that is elaborated in this book—can be understood as constructive. Majken Jul Sørensen (2016, 57) writes that "surprisingly little" has been written about: "initiatives which not only criticize, protest, object, and undermine what is considered undesirable and wrong, but simultaneously acquire, create, built, cultivate and experiment with what people need in the present moment, or what they would like to see replacing dominant structures or power relations." Sørensen further acknowledge the complex character of resistance, stating that "constructive resistance does not exclude conventional forms for protests, boycotts and civil disobedience, but focuses on creating, building, carrying out and experimenting with what is considered desirable" (Sørensen 2016, 57). As will be displayed in the next-coming chapters, many practices of resistance contain both constructive and nonconstructive elements, and these in fact work together to undermine systems of domination. Sometimes, constructive resistance is "more" constructive and less in oppositions; it is a sliding scale.

A final remark before moving on: resistance can be played out in solidarity with others, a form of "proxy resistance" (more on proxy resistance in chapter 6, 7, and 10). Here we have, among others, the abolitionists in the struggle against slavery or animal activists fighting for the rights of animals. This kind of resistance might become very strong, since it creates unexpected alliances across social sections (such as race or class). Yet it can easily turn into paternalistic, self-serving, or exploitative practices, in which non-subalterns utilize those who are regarded as subaltern subjects in order to gain status, credibility, or positions within new revolutionary movements or parties (Baaz, Heikkinen and Lilja 2017; Baaz, Lilja, Schulz and Vinthagen 2017).

NOTE

1. Still, not all approve of the attempts to unify different identities under one hat. The pussy hat community has been questioned by black women, women of color,

and the black and brown LGBT community, who argue that the campaigns are an attempt of white feminists that fail to include non-white cis- and trans-women, thus pinpointing the "pussy hat" as being an artefact that is to be seen as "exclusionary, inappropriate, white-centred, and transphobic" (Gordon 2018).

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Part I

RESISTANCE AND REPETITION

Resistance and Repetition[1]

The Emotional Construction of Preah Vihear Temple Replicas

This chapter discusses the potential that the Preah Vihear temple "repeats" have for resisting discursive orders, which have previously legitimated war in the border area between Thailand and Cambodia; in particular, it discusses a replica that was built in 2016 on the Thai side of the border. This replica of the temple is embraced as a repetition of the Preah Vihear temple and the chapter departs from linguistic theorizing of repetition. When discussing the signification of the temple "repeat," the construction of different replicas will be elaborated on as a form of constructive resistance.

The Preah Vihear temple dates back to the ninth century AD and is composed of a series of sanctuaries that are linked by a system of pavements and staircases, which expose its carved stone ornamentation. Due to its remote location, the temple site is well preserved and is well known for the exceptional quality of its architecture. Although the ancient temple was originally dedicated to Shiva and constructed as a Hindu temple, it later became a Buddhist temple. For over a century, the temple has been the source of a dispute between the two bordering countries of Thailand and Cambodia (UNESCO 2017; Kasetsiri et al. 2013, 23).

In 2008, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) listed the Preah Vihear temple as a "World Heritage Site." This evoked emotional protests on the Thai side of the border and the conflict flared up once again with artillery and gunfire, which killed soldiers on both sides. A consequence of this conflict is that the temple is no longer accessible from the Thai side and a once-thriving tourist trade has now ended.

But efforts have also been made to encourage peace and reconciliation in relation to the intense nationalistic discourses that surround the Preah Vihear

temple. One strategy to solve the conflict, on the Thai side, has been to construct replicas of the original temple—at least one of them being located in the area around the Preah Vihear temple. This replica was built in 2016 but was closed only days after it was opened to the public.[2]

In this chapter, this and other replicas of the Preah Vihear temple will be discussed as a form of constructive resistance, which challenges and adds to different heritage discourses. The replicas' appearances and the resistance that they constitute should have the potential to incite "peace-building." However, instead of contributing to peace, the above-mentioned 2016 replica fueled the conflict between the two countries. Still, the temple "repeat" negotiates various heritage discourses that are associated with the temple.

Repeating in different ways has different impacts and effects. As a repetition, the replica borrows recognizable elements from the "original" through references to it, although in contextual separation from it (cf. Derrida 1976). This creates ambivalence, as the replica challenges the idea of the Preah Vihear temple as being exclusive, irreplaceable, and "one of its kind," while the "copy" simultaneously confirms and acknowledges the importance of the "original." In addition, the replica adds to the discourses about the Preah Vihear temple and its heritage, thus changing the meaning that is assigned to it.

This chapter[3] is based on academic texts, as well as reports, that have been written by different governmental and NGOs and actors. Other sources of information include various media websites, blogs, as well as different internet sources. Over and above these sources, we draw on twenty open-ended, semi-structured, in-depth interviews that were carried out in Cambodia in 2012 and 2014 with various civil society actors, journalists, civil servants, politicians, as well as other stakeholders who are associated with the conflict.[4]

THE PREAH VIHEAR CONFLICT

The Preah Vihear temple was built from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, and it bears elements of various architectural styles that are often described as unique (Hinton 2006; Baaz and Lilja 2017; Lilja and Baaz 2016). The UNESCO inscription document states:

> The Temple of Preah Vihear, a unique architectural complex of a series of sanctuaries linked by a system of pavements and staircases on an 800 metre long axis, is an outstanding masterpiece of Khmer architecture, in terms of plan, decoration and relationship to the spectacular landscape environment. Criterion (i): Preah Vihear is an outstanding masterpiece of Khmer architecture. It is very "pure" both in plan and in the detail of its decoration.

Authenticity, in terms of the way the buildings and their materials express well the values of the property, has been established. The attributes of the property comprise the temple complex; the integrity of the property has to a degree been compromised by the absence of part of the promontory from the perimeter of the property. (UNESCO WHC 2009)

The above-mentioned Thai and Cambodian dispute over the Preah Vihear temple can be traced back to a number of agreements between France and Siam (the previous name of Thailand) regarding the border between the two countries. These agreements, however, were contested by Thailand when Cambodia gained independence from France in 1953. In an attempt to solve the dispute, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) was consulted in 1962. The court ruled that the Preah Vihear temple belonged to Cambodia (ICJ 1962; Silverman 2010; St John 1994; Baaz and Lilja 2017; Lilja and Baaz 2016). A new ICJ decision that was made in 2013 confirmed the 1962 judgment in addition to clarifying the status of the whole territory surrounding the temple (ICJ 2013; Baaz and Lilja 2017; Lilja and Baaz 2016).

An international report in 2011 stated that the resurgence of the Preah Vihear dispute, in the form of an active armed conflict, was related to domestic Thai politics with the "color-coded" struggle between the pro-establishment "Yellow Shirts" and the pro-Thaksin "Red Shirts," and that the decision of UNESCO to register Preah Vihear as a World Heritage Site in July 2008 also contributed to this conflict. The UNESCO decision was used in Thailand by the ultra-nationalist Yellow Shirts as a powerful weapon to further their agenda and destabilize the government (ICG 2011).

The temple conflict is, in line with the above, often associated with the "Bangkok elite" (Logan 2012, 124). In the "border area," however, "the Khmer on both sides of the border speak a closely related language and share many cultural attributes as well as a history of cross-border migration and trade" (Denes 2012, 170). In this narrative, the conflict over the Preah Vihear Temple and the replica emanates from Bangkok (and Phnom Penh), while the people who live close to the temple, in the border areas, are eager to maintain or accomplish peace. There are also peace-making efforts taking place on the border. One of the respondents talked about peace-generating meetings between Khmer and Thai people at the border:

Yes, we are involved a lot. When there was tension and the governments could not talk to each other, but people, through the NGOs and civil society, people and NGOs together, especially those who worked together, came together at the border, to suggest solutions to the government. (Interview, director and founder of local NGO, Cambodia, 2012)

The reasons mentioned for Thai and Khmer people to live together in peace
were the similarities between the nations and the recognition of the interde-
pendence between the bordering countries:

> We are a people who are living in the same environment, the same environment
> means that we are always independent on each other, and especially now there
> is a reason to integrate, especially Cambodia and Thailand. It is a condition that
> we *have to* live together. We suffer from global climate change, AIDS . . . We
> have to try to use all these problems and make it more happy. (Interview, direc-
> tor and founder of NGO, Cambodia, 2012)

While some sections of the civil society work toward peace, civil society
groups from Thailand have boosted the conflict by illegally entering the dis-
puted area in Cambodia and the Preah Vihear temple. For example, on July
15, 2008, some members of a Dharma Yatra, a walking pilgrimage, crossed
the Cambodian border in an attempt to reach the disputed area. Acts like these
are fueled by strong (Thai and Cambodian) nationalism. One Cambodian
respondent argued, "The cause [of the temple conflict], the main cause is two
things [*sic*]: the one is the political incongruences, and second is extreme
nationalism" (Interview, civil society representative, Phnom Penh, 2012).
Another respondent stated, "My feeling is that this is happening because
of the situation in the governments in both countries. They play around
on this issue [Preah Vihear temple] to get political benefit, and to provoke
nationalism. Sometimes they use the Preah Vihear to increase nationalism"
(Interview, executive director for social movement, Phnom Penh, 2012).

However, the Preah Vihear is not only a part of the construction of
Cambodian and Thai nationalism but has also increased in value as a venue
for global tourism. In the past, Cambodia has had difficulties attracting tourist
to the Preah Vihear temple due to conflicts, the country's precarious situation,
and difficulties in launching economic development in the region. Before the
Thai–Cambodian conflict escalated, many tourists preferred to travel to Preah
Vihear via Thailand because it is more accessible from the Thai side. Now,
however, as stated previously, the border is closed. General Chhum Socheat,
a spokesman for the National Defense Ministry in Cambodia, told *Khmer
Times*: "We have no expectation to reopen the [Thai] entrance to Preah
Vihear (. . .). The decision to reopen depends on the government" ("Thailand
Opens," 2016).

In Thailand, a general donated money to construct a 1:10 scale replica of
the temple, which was, as mentioned above, opened in 2016 and then closed
and destroyed following concerns aired by the Thai Foreign Ministry about
the replica's effect on relations with Cambodia. The Thai "repeat" is not the
first replica of the temple that has been built. According to *Khaosod English*,

another small-scaled imitation can be found in Samut Prakan province
("Thailand Considers," 2015).

REPETITION, REPLICAS, AND RESISTANCE:
SOME ANALYTICAL TOOLS

Repetitions of visual images, words, sentences, or, in this case, an artifact
depend on both sameness and differences, as well as automaticity, creativity,
and variation. The repeat borrows recognizable elements from previous rep-
resentations (the "original"), through reference to it, although in contextual
separation from it. Each time something is repeated, while expressed in a new
time/space, its meaning is (slightly) changed. In addition, repeating an artifact
first foregrounds and intensifies the part that is repeated. However, it also
foregrounds and intensifies the part that is different (Tannen 1987; Derrida
1976; Lilja and Lilja 2018).

Studying the repetition of different artifacts provides us with new under-
standings of the importance of reiterated material-semiotic signs. Different
forms of repetition challenge and/or produce heritage discourses. To inves-
tigate signs and the repetitions of these—as means of resistance in cultural
processes—requires an exploration of the impact and meaning of different
repeats (such as artifacts, sounds, written words, images, musical notes, state-
ments, and body language) (Lilja and Lilja 2018).

Both Judith Butler and Foucault discuss how reiterations, (re)articulations,
or repetitions of dominant discourses with a slightly different meaning can be
understood as resistance. Foucault speaks about this, among other things, as
reversed discourses. The concept of reversed discourses is used to describe
how subalterns involve the categories and vocabularies of the dominating
force or superior norm, precisely in order to contest them (Butler 1997).
Reversed discourses can be seen as a specific form of discursive resistance.
According to Foucault, a whole series of discourses on the species and
subspecies of homosexuality, inversion, pederasty, and "psychic hermaphro-
dism" in nineteenth-century psychiatry, jurisprudence, and literature enabled
a strong advancement of social controls into the area of "perversity." This,
however, also allowed for the formation of a "reverse" discourse. Suddenly,
homosexuality began to resist the discourses by using the same categories by
which it was "medically disqualified." This indicates that there is not a dis-
course of power, and then another discourse that runs counter to it. Subversive
truths are repeated without changing the form of the discourse and by using
the same categories, as those who have epistemological authority (Foucault
1990, 101–2). Resistance toward discipline is possible—in a Foucauldian
perspective and according to Butler—through reiteration or repetition of the

dominant discourse with a different meaning (Butler 1997, 90–95). The fact that meaning can never be fixed becomes a powerful instrument for challenging, changing, or contesting dominant delimiting discourses, even if the effects of such resistance are conditioned on historical and discursive circumstances (Mills 2003; Lilja and Lilja 2018).

In this chapter, the production of a repeat, as a repetition of an "original" temple, is discussed in terms of constructive resistance, which negotiates and adds to different heritage discourses. To label the repetition as an act of resistance is an interpretation of an act that is probably not named "resistance" by those who practice it. Resistance is "not an intrinsic quality of an act but a category of judgement about acts" (Barker 2004, 178).

As we will see in this chapter, repetitions construct knowledge, shake existing cultural boundaries, and open up unanswered questions and complexity. As stated above, it is not always obvious which discourses and norms are being shaken by the repeat or what knowledge is being constructed. There is not always stable knowledge to negotiate; rather, the resistance of the repeats is more of the productive sort, which constructs knowledge rather than merely challenging power relations, decision-making processes, or particular dominant discourses.

Analyzing repeats as resistance means looking at the local Thai administration and militaries' attempts—in a situation where legal, political, and/or military power have failed to secure the temple—to try to "solve" the situation by way of building a temple replica (see further Baaz et al. 2017). How can the construction of this new artifact be understood as a repetition and as an act of power and/or constructive resistance? The sections below will elaborate on the effects of the Preah Vihear repeats, which seemingly resist discursive orders and ideological frameworks that have previously legitimated war in the border area. Resistance is understood as a reaction against power in a broad sense, which negotiates, recategorizes, and constructs different discourses around the temple.

THE ORIGINAL AND THE REPLICAS

As stated above, the 2016 Thai replica can be addressed as a repetition of the "original" Preah Vihear temple. Repetition here means the establishment of patterns and a steady return to what has already been stated. Symbols produce extra meaning by resemblance—something is similar to something else, or, in other words, repeated. For example, when there is a green apple and a red apple, the red one repeats the existence of the green one with the help of their mutual similarity, while still being a different color. In the same way, the Thai replica can be seen as a "repeat" due to its resemblance to the "original" (Lilja and Lilja 2018).

Repetitions in discourses of heritage are often addressed in terms of "fake," "originals," "replicas," and "authenticity." At the same time, the borders between these concepts are highly ambivalent. There is an ambiguity when defining originals and separating them from replicas, thereby demonstrating/performing the discrepancies between the real and the "fake" (Miura 2015).

Often the "originals" are not "pure" but "contaminated" or "hybridized" with the "non-authentic." When "original" temples are damaged, one may find either empty spaces or replicas. Temples are often partially original with new parts added in order to make up for the missing elements. In addition, some replicas are so well made that even experienced "experts" or traders may be unable to easily distinguish the "authentic" from the inauthentic (Miura 2015, 270–71).

The *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, by Bernard M. Feilden and Jukka Jokilehto (1993), provides one of the most detailed explanations of authenticity and stresses that the historic fabric must be maintained, "avoiding replacement of even the oldest structures so far as these form the historical continuity of the area" (Feilden and Jokilehto 1993, 67; see also Labadi 2010). In addition, the text argues that it is important to "respect historic material, to distinguish new material from historic so as not to fake or to mislead the observer" (Feilden and Jokilehto 1993, 67). The embracing of principles of "minimum intervention" is in conformity with the vision of the World Heritage Convention (1972), which aims to preserve sites for the benefits of future generations.

Lately, this school of thought, which stresses the importance of historic materials, has been increasingly questioned. According to Labadi (2010), the understandings of an "authenticity of materials" "do not take into account non-European approaches that do not consider the authenticity of a property as lying essentially in its original materials" (Labadi (2010, 70). In line with this, another view of the authentic was promoted during a conference arranged by the World Heritage Committee on authenticity at its sixteenth session in 1992 in Nara, Japan. During the conference, it was recognized and acknowledged that most historic buildings are altered by people's day-to-day use and the additional wear and tear caused by nature, and that these changes are part of their historic stratification. From this perspective, processual and long-term changes contribute to the value of historical buildings and monuments (Labadi 2010).

The Nara Document, mentioned above, also pinpoints that the authenticity of a site is rooted in specific sociocultural contexts and can be understood and judged only in accordance with values/norms that circulate in these specific venues (Articles 11 and 12). What is considered authentic changes over time "even within the same culture" (Labadi 2010). This indicates that the protection of the material dimension of cultural heritage has been overemphasized in previous discussions (Labadi 2010).

Keiko Miura (2015) uses the terms "replica," "copy," and "reproduction" interchangeably to mean objects that are not considered to be "original" or "authentic" in an artistic historical sense (Miura 2015, 270). In this chapter, however, replicas are not considered to be fakes, but rather repetitions of previous repeats—in this case, the Preah Vihear temple. It is argued that the Preah Vihear temple could also be seen as a repeat of other temples that were built before its construction. These temples are, generally, all built from a notion of Khmer architecture. One of our respondents, for example, stated:

> Personally, I think that the (Preah Vihear) temple is where the worship is taking place, it refers to a religious place for the people to worship the religion that belong to them. I would just like to add to your question, it (the Preah Vihear temple) has to do with the identity of the Khmer people. These temples also indicate the Khmer architecture, so first one is identity and the second one is the "spirit", a kind of spiritual value that inspire Khmer people to claim their own country. So, if they lose the temple, it means that they lose their own identity. (Interview, civil society representative, Phnom Penh, 2012)

This quote, among other things, indicates that the Preah Vihear temple is built from previous notions about Khmer architecture, thereby repeating an already expressed design. In addition, the Preah Vihear temple can be seen as a sign that "stands for" and maintains the concept of "temples." Thereby, the Preah Vihear temple is an example of material performativity, and maintains various semiotic constructions around "temples." There would be no category of "temples" that exists independently of particular temples. Thus, while being general, the universal concept of "temples" is "incommensurable with any particularity (it) yet cannot exist apart from the particular" (Laclau 1995, 90).

REPLICAS AS POWER AND RESISTANCE

From a historical perspective, in the course of time, the Preah Vihear temple has undergone a series of transformations in regard to its function and meaning. Different actors have assigned different significances to the monumental remains—among them Hindus (at an early stage when it was a Hindu temple), Buddhists, art-loving European travelers, colonial administrators, national elites, locals, and politicians on behalf of the changing governments of Cambodia and Thailand. As the Preah Vihear temple was listed as a "World Heritage Site of Humanity" by UNESCO, the distinction of the sacred site of the temple as a "World Heritage Site" meant "disembedding it from certain social contexts of culture and re-embedding it in new, global contexts, those of a global tourist economy" (Hauser-Schäublin 2011, 52). The site of the

Preah Vihear temple has turned into a "global cultural commons" where there is an asymmetry between those who produce cultural assets and the "humanity to which those assets come to belong as world heritage gives to this commons its paradoxical character" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006, 162). A more secular meaning of the site was added to the previous meanings. In this process, the locality of the temple emerges as a tourist destination with new owners (Hauser-Schäublin 2011, 33–55; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 151).

As a material artifact, the temple has also changed given that the French and Thais have stripped it of its valuables and left only the monumental stones, which are too heavy to remove. During the colonial period, different historical sites in Cambodia were robbed of their treasures and only left with what was not movable. Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin (2011) has written about the transformation of heritage under the colonial period:

> The Europeans felt free to do what they liked with the "antiquities" for which no legitimate owners were anticipated to exist. This is especially true of removing reliefs and statues or parts of them in their thousands, either by sending them to museums or selling them on the art market (. . .), apparently without the slightest remorse (. . .). Nevertheless, the local population did not passively endure their domination, the appropriation of their sacred sites and the hauling away of their consecrated heirlooms (. . .). The inhabitants of Siem Reap wrote a letter to their king in 1949, only a couple of years before Cambodia reached independence. In this letter, they deplored the fact that over the past 50 or 60 years Angkor had been depleted of all its treasures: statues made of precious stones, wood, stone, or silver. (Hauser-Schäublin 2011, 46)

In addition to the changes during the colonial period, recent disturbances and fighting have left bullet holes in the temple's stones. Thus, the temple as a material-symbolic artifact has changed over time where the present temple building, in one sense, is a copy of the original temple. From a temporal point of view, an object will, by natural deterioration and with passing of time, change. The object will, thus, never be self-identical more than at the very moment when first identified as the object (Landzelius 2001, 143). Eco stated, in regard to this, that "since any material is subject to physical and chemical alterations, from the moment of its production, ever object should be seen as an instant forgery of itself" (Eco 1991, 245; Landzelius 2001, 143).

As stated above, the Preah Vihear temple has also been copied by the production of several "repeats." Repetitions are a part of the social aspect. Repetition functions in production, comprehension, connection, and interaction. As "repeats," the Thai replicas (re)produce the temple slightly differently, in relation to previous discourses, "owners" and the "original" (Tannen 1987).

The border replica that was opened in 2016 is an approximate repetition, but still part of an ongoing reinvention of the discourses of heritage and national identities. The temple repetition is constructive given that the "repeat" reinforces, emphasizes, confirms, and (re)creates the meaning assigned to the Preah Vihear temple.

Repeating in different ways has different impacts and effects. For example, almost paradoxically, the repeat in the case of the temple replica first foregrounds and intensifies the part that is repeated, then foregrounds and intensifies the part that is different: "By focusing on parallelisms and similarities in pairs of lines, one is led to pay more attention to every similarity and every difference" (Jakobson Pomorska 1983, 103). Thus, while viewing the Thai replica, the similarities are intensified by the dissimilarities. On the other hand, the differences are also foregrounded by the similarities to the "original."

The repetition of the Thai replica also confirms (once again) the importance of the Preah Vihear temple. Repetitions have a persuasive effect. They link one speaker's ideas to another's and ratify previous ideas. In addition, the repetition that the replica produces not only ties the "fake" to the discourse around the Preah Vihear, but also ties the temple's stakeholders (prayers, tourists, the military, politicians, etc.) to the different artifacts and to the heritage discourse (Tannen 1987). Thereby, the meaning assigned to, and the discourse around, the Preah Vihear temple has transformed with the construction of a replica.

The repetition of the temple should be seen as a result of understandings and interpretations that are entangled with emotions (cf. Hemmings 2005, 2014). Among others, the armed conflict that arose immediately after the UNESCO listing of the Preah Vihear temple shows how the official recognition of the ruins by one of the most important international organizations, which aims to promote education, culture, cooperation, and peace, was an intense message that touched upon national feelings and sensitivities (Hauser-Schäublin 2011). By calling it a new name, a "World Heritage Site," the (slightly different) repetition of the temple discourse created a series of emotional reactions. In the material-semiotic situation of listing the temple, the material artifact, non-present authorities, the circulation of discourses, negotiated national identities, feelings of failure, or a sense of losing of one's identity or land all entangle in and shape different emotions. Thus, as the status of the temple changed, emotions arose from the (re)repetitions of material signs, negotiated expectations, slightly transformed discourses, and different (hidden) power relations. One UNESCO employee confirmed the outbreak of emotions, but still did not question its listing. He said, "I would not see that this temple would be denied its universal value simple because there are emotions on both sides of the border" (Interview, UNESCO employee, Phnom Penh, 2012).

Repetitions also function on an interactional level by accomplishing social goals. In this case, the temple "repeat" can be understood as resistance against the very idea of one, single "original" temple.

Repeating is a way of sending certain meanings around a topic to the receiver of the message, which might contribute to establish certain discourses. Repeating the temple suggests that it is not one unique temple that is impossible to replace, but a pattern of related artifacts that draw on the same discourse. The replica signifies richness and manifoldness, and a possibility to supplant anything that use to be seen as "exclusive" and "irreplaceable." The repetition of the Preah Vihear temple, by way of producing a similar artifact, can be seen as a constructive resistance practice that opposes power-loaded, dominant discourses around heritage, "authenticity of materials" and ownership. While currently being negotiated by, for example, the Nara Document, these discourses are still highly prevalent, partly due to the temple's listing as a "World Heritage Site of Humanity" by UNESCO but also among the general public in different sites.

The resistance practice of constructing a "repeat," which appears to reject the idea of an "original," could be seen as peace-building. Leaving the Preah Vihear temple to the Cambodians, while the Thais get a temple of their own, seems to be a more peaceful strategy than using military means to conquer the prevailing temple. This has been acknowledged by different actors; for example, one journalist wrote, "Those fighting over sacred sites elsewhere in the world should take note of this innovative solution (to solve the temple conflict)" ("Thailand Considers," 2015). Thai officials also emphasized the replica as a Thai–Khmer gain, saying that, "If we build a new tourist destination, tourists will want to learn about history and culture of Thailand and Cambodia" ("Thailand Considers," 2015).

However, instead of contributing to peace, the replica seems to have fueled the conflict between the two countries. The replica took five months to complete and it was Thailand's 6th Infantry Regiment that was ordered to construct the replica. Still, as mentioned above, it was closed only days after it had been opened ("Thailand Considers," 2015). The reason for closing the replica, was due to the concerns that it would affect Thai–Cambodia relations. Ta bort Kong Puthikar, the former director general of the Preah Vihear National Authority, said that the replica was a reminder of the tensions between the two countries over the ownership of the temple. He said, "I think that the Thai side should not have done it because it would not benefit further enhancement or cooperation between both countries at all" ("Preah Vihear," 2016). The construction of a replica seemingly threatened the idea of the Preah Vihear temple as an outstanding, original Khmer asset. An official at the Ministry of Defense in Cambodia described his view of the temple: "(for me) personally it's a part of our national integrity, a story of greatness."

Cambodia has previously been protective not only of its temples, but also of their design. The construction of a full-scale replica of Angkor Wat in India was suspended in 2015 at the Cambodian government's request. The former director general of the Preah Vihear National Authority, But Kong Puthikar, said in an interview that he, however, doubted that the miniature replica of the Preah Vihear temple complex would cause an intellectual property dispute in the same way as the one over the Angor Wat replica ("Preah Vihear," 2016). Thus, there seem to be different views in regard to whether or not the similarities of the approximate repetition of the replica were great enough to be provocative for the Cambodians. The repeat borrowed some recognizable elements from the "original," but because it was undersized as well as located in a contextually different site it seemingly had an ambivalent appearance—being a copy, but not a real copy of the temple.

The above indicates how the temple "repeat" has been valued in relation to the "original" temple. How the similarities and differences between the "original" Preah Vihear have been judged depends on the stakeholders and/or the users of the temples. The latter decides what characteristics are to be taken into account in determining whether or not two objects are interchangeable. Or, as Eco writes in relation to doubles and who is to judge the criteria for similarity and sameness:

> The problem of doubles seems to be an ontological one but, rather, is a pragmatic one. It is the user who decides the "description" under which, according to a given practical purpose, certain characteristics are to be taken into account in determining whether two objects are "objectively" similar and consequently inter-changeable. (Eco 1991, 178)

If the Preah Vihear temple replica had remained, it would have probably attracted some of the lucrative tourists in the area, which might have lessened the tourist profit of the Cambodian government. The qualities that give the Preah Vihear temple its value—for example, its long history—are no longer seen as crucial qualities that are impossible to replace. Instead, it is a temple made of stones and it can be repeated as an artifact that is made of stone. The vast amount of money invested in a copy signifies the value of such a copy. The repeat, as Judith Butler suggests, serves as the site for possible contestation. It is precisely the fact that the temple is repeated and (re)performed that opens up for a transformation of current heritage discourses. Every interval of repetition offers a place to locate and investigate change (Butler 1988, 1990/1999, 178–79; Lilja 2016). The transformation of the discourses should, as I suggest above, be seen as a constructive form of resistance.

As stated above, the replica's potential to "replace" the original Preah Vihear temple is probably in part due to its various functions and how the

replicas could fill these functions. Could a "fake" meet the needs of religious prayers, the demand made from the standpoint of Thai nationalism and/or global "World Heritage" tourism? In Cambodia many repetitions of holy objects—replicas—are as sacred as the "original." Monuments and statues are seen as being the home of powerful spirits. Selective statues are the objects of worship for local people who pray for protection, welfare, and healing. For them, "the distinction between 'originals' and 'replicas' of ancient statues is of little relevance" (Miura 2015, 288). Thus, "repeats" often become artifacts of worship in the region. This has also been acknowledged by Maurizion Peleggi (2012), who displays how, in the Buddhist world, spirituality is experienced through materiality. Peleggi argues that a doctrinal insistence on impermanence has not lessened the importance of objects, nevertheless de-emphasized authenticity. The copy, in this context, is seen as important as, what is often considered, the original.

Also, global, heritage tourism might find a replica interesting. Kalyanee Thamjaree of the governor's office in Si Sa Ket province, for example, stated:

> It (the temple) will draw many tourists to visit (. . .) because tourism business owners in Bangkok are saying many tourists want to see Preah Vihear (. . .) So I want this project to be built quickly, so that people around Preah Vihear Temple will be able to sell souvenirs to tourists. ("Thailand Considers," 2015)

Overall, as Alexandra Denes (2012, 169) states, "Cultural heritage is an invaluable economic asset and potential source of autonomy for communities."

The above indicates that the repeat that the replica constitutes could come to signify not only a religious value but also attract interest from the heritage tourists, thus, to some degree, filling some of the gaps that the lack of access to the original creates. The material-semiotic nature of the heritage, and the interconnectedness of matter and discourse, thereby simultaneously open up a multitude of functions.

CONCLUDING REMARK

This chapter elaborates the significance of the replicas of the Preah Vihear temple. The replicas are discussed in terms of "repeats" and as a form of resistance against some core ideas of the heritage discourse.

The current Preah Vihear temple in itself could be seen as a repetition of previous temples and of itself. In addition, the Preah Vihear border replica is both a copy of and, simultaneously, a reinvention of earlier material representations. The replica means the establishment of patterns and a return to what is already displayed by the original temple. The repeated temple—the

copy—is an acknowledgment, reenactment, and a re-experiencing of a set of meanings and designs that have already been established. The repetition, the Preah Vihear temple replica, gains meaning through processes that involve the recognition of both similarities and differences.

The replica has added to the heritage discourse about the temple as well as challenged the ambition of Cambodian decision-makers to have exclusive rights to the Preah Vihear temple. The temple "repeat" could be seen as resistance against the very idea of one, single "original" temple. Repeating the Preah Vihear temple suggests that it is not unique, exclusive, and/or irreplaceable. Thereby the replica, as a repeat, has shaken different relations of power and informs the current world views as well as our emerging realities. Adding to and wrenching the discourses around the temple could be seen as a constructive form of resistance.

The resistance practice of constructing a "repeat," in which the appearance rejects the idea of the "original," could also be seen as peace-building. Leaving the Preah Vihear temple to the Cambodians while getting a new temple suggests a peaceful strategy that could replace the military conflict over the Preah Vihear temple. However, instead of contributing to peace, the replica seemingly fueled the conflict between the two countries. Apparently, the similarities between the "original" and "fake" are so great that, at least some, Cambodians feel threatened by the replica.

The replica's possibility of replacing the original is partly dependent upon the Preah Vihear temple's various functions and how the replicas could fill these functions. This chapter concludes that a temple replica could possibly come to signify religious value as well as attracting interest from heritage tourists, thus, in some senses "replacing" the "original" temple.

The "fake" was constructed as a response toward different relations, which could be read in terms of power (domestic Thai politics, the Thai–Cambodian [power] relations and UNESCO's listing of the Preah Vihear temple), while undermining and/or provoking Cambodian decision-makers and dominant heritage discourses. This kind of resistance is parasitic on power and seemingly nourishes as well as undermines it. One question that remains, however, is if the construction of a replica can be viewed as resistance that is carried out by subordinated locals (local administration and a few persons of the military establishment) on the border area or should it be viewed as a power-strategy by a more powerful neighboring nation?

NOTES

1. This chapter is a revised version of an earlier paper written and published with Mikael Baaz. I would like to thank him for letting me (re)publish it: M. Lilja and M. Baaz. 2019. "Heritage Temples, Replicas and Repetitions: Theorizing the Significance of Repeats as Resistance." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 32: 323–36.

The Thai name for the temple site is Phra Wiharn. Preah Vihear is the Cambodian name. Both terms derive from Sanskrit (Hauser-Schäublin 2011, 33–55).

2. I would like to thank Katrina Gaber, who directed my attention to the replica and provided us with great comments and inspiration. In addition, I want to thank Niclas Lantz for his valuable input to the project.

3. The two broader research projects that this chapter is based on focus on resistance, the Preah Vihear temple, and the peace-building potential of heritage site, and are as follows: (1) The Swedish Research Council, project number 2011-6721 Mona Lilja (project leader), A Paradoxical Conflict over World Heritage at the Border between Cambodia and Thailand—Civil Society Resistance and The Preah Vihear Temple; and (2) The Swedish Research Council, Michael Landzelius (project leader), Reconciliatory Heritage—Reconstructing Heritage in a Time of Violent Fragmentations, project number: 2016-03212.

4. The identities of the respondents will not be revealed for ethical reasons and to ensure their safety.

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Chapter 3

Constructive Resistance[1]

Communicating Dissent through Repetitions

Robert Dahl (1967), Steven Lukes (1974), and Foucault (1991) all touch upon a type of power that can be seen as a form of direct decision-making—"power-over" or even violent forms of repression. Power in this understanding is frequently used in liberal forms of analysis where power is defined as individuals' procession of power or ability to force their will upon others (Kabeer 1994, 224–29; Haugaard 2012; Dean 1999, 105–6; Foucault 1994, 83–85; Baaz et al. 2017). The resistance against repressive forms of power can be exemplified with Marta Iñiguez de Heredia's definition of resistance where resistance is "the pattern of acts undertaken by individuals or collectives in a subordinated position to mitigate or deny elite claims and the effects of domination, while advancing their own agenda" (Iñiguez de Heredia 2013, 6). This definition establishes resistance as a practice that is directed toward elite claims and the experience of domination (Iñiguez de Heredia 2017). The emphasis on elite claims, agendas, and the effects of domination could be read as an attempt to put repressive forms of power, rather than truth regimes, in focus (Lilja and Vinthagen 2018).

The notion of counter-repressive resistance could, as stated above, be complemented with another form of resistance; that is, constructive resistance, which produces societies, truths, identities, and practices. Or, in other words, another part of the field of resistance studies—instead of elaborating on counter-repressive resistance—embraces reverse discourses, meaning-making, and the negotiating of truths, as well as the creation of other ways of life through counter-conduct and techniques of self (Foucault 1981, 1988; Baaz et al. 2016; Butler 2018; Bleiker 2000). This research indicates, as stated above, that the most powerful practices of dissent might work in discursive ways,

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by engendering a slow transformation of values (Bleiker 2000). Researchers who belong to this part of resistance studies emphasize " 'less than tangible' entities such as texts, signs, symbols, identity and language" (Törnberg 2013; Lilja 2017). Overall, within this subfield of resistance studies, there is a focus on cultural processes, ways of life, subjectivities, and shared meaning systems, and how these can be understood from the concepts of dominant discourses and resistance (Lilja and Vinthagen 2018). This chapter embraces the more constructive form of resistance by studying patterns of repetitions as a powerful form of dissent. How is it possible to repeat representations against constructions of power and what patterns of repetitions are important to recognize when practicing a more "linguistic" form of resistance? This is elaborated below.

This chapter displays three different patterns of repetition—in the nexus between the symbolic and the material—that can be employed in order to establish, maintain, or resist certain political truths. Among other things, as elaborated in the introduction, the repetition of words, sentences, images, or sounds that are too similar might result in an automatized reading of these representations. This implies that when one seeks to advance political claims, approximate speech-acts might be more effective than exact repetitions. This and other patterns are suggested and elaborated on below.

The chapter is structured as follows: In the next section, the concepts of repetition and resistance are outlined and developed. The fourth section, "Repetition and Change: The Art of Establishing Political Discourses," adds to previous research by suggesting three communicative patterns that contribute to the establishment of certain truths. These patterns can, in some senses, be regarded as tools for practicing resistance for civil society organisations, who aim to establish certain discourses in order to increase the public awareness of their causes. Hereby, the chapter answers the calls from a number of leading critical sociologists such as Klaus Dörre, Stephan Lessenich, and Hartmut Rosa, among others, who urge us to place the future well-being of society at the center of our current sociological research (Dörre et al. 2015; Rosa's keynote speech at the 13th Conference of the European Sociological Association 2017, Athens).

Drawing on the work of Lundquist (1993), I suggest that contestations can be studied empirically, normatively, and constructively. Empirical research is directed toward describing various contestations and, by extension, seeking to explain or understand them. By adding a normative perspective, the spotlight is directed toward types of contestations that are preferable or most effective, as well as the desired outcome of the contestations. Finally, if we as scholars are interested in what the future social order could look like and the role that contestations can play in order to achieve this utopia, then our focus is constructive; that is, this chapter is interested in giving recommendations of how we can achieve as much as possible of what is desired, given

the circumstances of the world, or, perhaps more correctly, how we think it is constructed (Baaz 2002; cf. Lundquist 1993, 1998; Baaz et al. 2017, 13–14). This chapter is primarily normative and constructive in its outline, and draws on previous research and theoretical suggestions in order to try to understand what forms of resistance are the most preferable or effective, and how we can achieve as much as possible of what we desire in a socially constructed, but still material world—the example that is in focus, here, is climate change activism (Baaz 2002; Lundquist 1993, 85, 1998, 28; Rothstein 1994; Baaz et al. 2017, 13–14).

REPETITION AND RESISTANCE

We know today that various forms of resistance have the capacity to drastically disestablish and (re)structure societies. According to Chenoweth and Stephan (2011, 6), "In recent years organized civilian populations have successfully used nonviolent resistance methods, including boycotts, strikes, protest, and organized non-cooperation to exact political concessions and challenge entrenched power." Chenoweth's and Stephan's studies have greatly contributed to our understanding of how mass-mobilized resistance works; still their research mainly discussed more visible forms of resistance struggles in highly repressive contexts. Thus, it does not display linguistic performativity and how resistance involves communicative practices that can generate norm changes. This chapter, however, seeks to understand resistance through meaning-making and the advancement of political claims through communicative strategies, in particular forms of repetition of representations.

Mass-mobilized resistance entangles with, or departs from, shared discourses that mobilize people into action. These discourses are established by the repetition of different words, objects, figures, and so on. Or in other words, repetitions contribute to the establishment of patterns or truths, which have the potential to provide people with a common ground for political action. Foucault argues that "truth isn't outside power (. . .) Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true, the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements" (Foucault 1980, 131).

In the old art of rhetoric, repetition embraces the repetition of an expression as well as the repetition of an idea (Lausberg 1960; Vossius 1990). Repetition is a resource by which speakers create discourses and create grounds for belonging, which is the very condition that is required for social interactions (Tannen 1987, 2007). The repetition of different representations is, for example, an engine of emotions; and emotions and cognition can be seen as inseparable.

Repeated words, images, and sounds are both a copy of and, simultaneously, a reinvention of earlier linguistic or material representations. Repetition means the establishment of patterns and a steady return to what is already stated. This repetition is, as stated above, a reenactment and a re-experiencing of a set of meanings that have already been socially established (Turner 1974).

Gilles Deleuze displays how repetitions lead to the establishment of patterns. In *Difference and Repetition* (1968/1994), Deleuze argues that repetitions change something in the mind of those who harbor them. As a point of departure, Deleuze takes the repetition of cases of the type A-B, A-B, A-B, A-[...]. Whenever the A appears, the reader of the A-B reiteration expects the appearance of -B. Or in the words of Deleuze, "When A appears, we expect B with a force corresponding to the qualitative impression of all the contracted ABs" (Deleuze 1968/1994, 70). The expectations of the appearance of a -B has nothing to do with memory. According to Deleuze, contraction is not a matter of an individual's reflections. He argues, "Does not the paradox of repetition lie in the fact that one can speak of repetition only by virtue of the change or difference that it introduces into the mind which contemplates it" (Deleuze 1968/1994, 70)? The above reflections clarify how the modes and operations of repetitions contribute to the regulation of practices, identities, and discourses. By following the works of Deleuze, it can be argued that the repetition of cases leads to the expectations of the appearance of new cases. Thus, repetitions lead to repetitions. This makes repetitions even more interesting (Lilja and Baaz 2016).

As stated in previous chapters, verbal repetitions depend on both sameness and differences. The repeat borrows recognizable elements from previous repeats (the "original") through reference to it, although in contextual separation from it. Thus, each time a word or phrase is repeated, while expressed in a new time/space, its meaning is (slightly) changed (cf. Derrida 1976). Barbara Johnston claims that repetitions are both constructive (through reinforcement, emphasis, confirmation, validation, patterning, etc.) and destructive (by creating fragmentation, by copying, becoming automatic, etc.). There are also different types of repetition such as mirroring the continuous presence of happenings (such as violent incidents), or multiple signs of a single event (Johnston 1994).

Repetition might be placed along a scale of fixity in its form, ranging from (almost) exact (the same words uttered in a similar rhythmic pattern) to paraphrased (similar ideas in different words). Rhetoric also makes a difference between strict repetitions and approximate ones. In some situations, the solution will be to repeat something as carefully as possible, but in other cases approximate repetitions will, as is displayed below, enrich or maintain the discourse (Lausberg 1960; Vossius 1990). There is also a temporal scale

or variation, which ranges from immediate to delayed repetition (Tannen 1987, 585–86).

Repetition functions on an interactive level and accomplishes social goals, or simply deals with different practices of conversation. The various functions of repetitions can include getting the attention of an audience, showing listenership, postponing, display humor and play, and/or showing appreciation of a good line or a good joke (Tannen 1987, 2007; Lilja and Baaz 2018).

Below, different patterns of repetition, which are to be seen as means of resistance, are discussed. The resistance that is suggested in this chapter—resisting through different patterns of repetition—targets dominant norms, and is parasitic on different discourses. Still, it is constructive resistance that fuels new truths and practices that emanate from these truths.

REPETITION AND CHANGE: THE ART OF ESTABLISHING POLITICAL DISCOURSES

Above, different functions and forms of repetition were outlined in order to provide a background for the forthcoming argumentation. The sections below continue the discussion by unfolding three different patterns of repetition, which are of central importance when communicating and enhancing different norms as a form of resistance (Tannen 1987, 2007; Lilja and Baaz 2018). The following themes will be explored: (1) Maintaining by Change; (2) Simplifications, Reductions, and Repetition; and (3) Twisting the Cause-and-Effect Linkages.

Maintaining by Change

As previously stated, repetitions are vital for the establishment of truths and for promoting different political agendas. Repetitions link one speaker's ideas to another's and tie parts of a discourse to other parts; but they also connect participants to the discourse and to each other (Tannen 1987, 2007; Lilja and Baaz 2018). An example of this is a development that has occurred over the last two decades that may be termed the "global discourse of human rights." The rhetoric of human rights is used by numerous forms of agencies such as state leaders, civil-society activists, business executives, academics, journalists, lawyers, and celebrities. The discourse is characterized by the call for various practices, phenomena, and policies to be addressed in the name of human rights. By repeatedly interpreting torture, war crimes, religious intolerance, gender-based discrimination, mistreatment of immigrants, poverty, and underdevelopment as human rights abuses, the new discourse has rapidly spread (Manokha 2010).

The human right discourse is used to tie different phenomena and stakeholders to the discourses and to each other.

However, repeating certain words, sentences, or images in order to establish a discourse—such as the human rights discourse—is not as simple as it sounds. Several patterns complicate the process. One such complication can be displayed by drawing on Ann Danielsen's research on funk songs. Danielsen's analysis links Deleuze's concept of repetition with James Brown's molecular microsound repetitions of funk songs (Danielsen 2006). Danielsen suggests that while it appears that if we hear the same rhythm over and over again, after a while what we hear is changing. This is because our listening becomes automatized and we hear the rhythm in a different—a more reluctant—way. Thus, the meaning attached to the rhythm alters with time, even though it is the very same rhythm that is repeated over and over again (Lilja and Baaz 2016). Every time we hear the same message, we interpret it differently. If we look again and again at the same picture, the semantics are gradually emptied, and the image's meaning has changed. For instance, when we drive a car our perception of a road-sign that warns us about moose modifies each time we pass it. While at first, we think that a moose might show up, once countless road-signs have been passed and no moose has appeared, the significance of the sign has changed (Lilja and Baaz 2016, 2018). Thus, even if it sounds like a paradox, the lack of difference, in fact, modifies the meaning of a repeated utterance.

If one wants to maintain the original meaning, the repetitions must change, or the message must be repeated via another medium or from another subject position. For example, when warnings by an "expert" on the car-radio add to the road-signs, the new "repeat" makes us return to the original feeling of "Huh, a moose might turn up!" Thus, to change (the expression or position) is to strengthen. Or in the words of Danielsen when commenting on James Brown's funk songs, "The funky wah-wah riff is extended so that the gesture gradually gets bigger and looser, occupying more space and more time. However, we never think of the change as a change, probably due to the fact that it is contained in the act of producing the same" (Danielsen 2006, 159). To repeat things slightly differently is then a way of producing the same discursive truth. A small change in the utterance does not change the discourse. On the contrary, it will strengthen it. However, the variation must be kept within the limits of the discourse—it has to be the same message that is repeated.

The above can help us understand how constructive resistance can be played out in regard to various political issues, such as human rights or environmental issues. As stated in a previous section, approximate repetitions and paraphrases can, due to their variation, enrich or maintain the discourse (Lausberg 1960; Vossius 1990). This means, in practice, that constructive

resistance must be composed of a multitude of linguistic statements that are mixed with other representations and use different subject positions in order to succeed.

Simplifications, Reductions, and Repetition

Another complication in the production of discourses is that complexity is reduced as the discourse is repeated. Individuals adopt specific entry-points or simplify the message when participating in meaning-making processes. In these processes "sense and meaning-making not only reduce complexity for actors (and observers) but also give meaning to the world" (Sum and Jessop 2013, 3). Processes of meaning-making, and the repetition of discourses in new ways tend to change and simplify their messages. One pattern that can be distinguished here is that less and less will be perceived, and the discourse will become coarse and simplified over time, often losing its previous meanings.

This can be exemplified by the climate change discourse. Climate change is often traced back and claimed to emanate from human actions, lifestyles, and social patterns, which, according to environmental activists, must be challenged and transformed in the face of recent meteorological and very material changes. These truths have been repeated and "confirmed" by, for example, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's (IPCC) 2014 report, which established that we must radically reduce greenhouse gas emissions, otherwise people's lives and quality of life will be exposed to imminent danger, and that our current lifestyle choices and actions will cause irreversible damage to the ecosystem (IPCC 2014). The IPCC's report is quite complicated in its character, and displays scientific details and formal language. The summary of the report indicates its complexity:

> Future climate changes, risks and impacts (Topic 2) presents information about future climate change, risks and impacts. It integrates information about key drivers of future climate, the relationship between cumulative emissions and temperature change, and projected changes in the climate system in the 21st century and beyond. It assesses future risks and impacts caused by a changing climate and the interaction of climate-related and other hazards. It provides information about long-term changes including sea-level rise and ocean acidification, and the risk of irreversible and abrupt changes. (IPCC 2014)

As the preceding quotation shows, the IPCC report embraces complex patterns and interconnections that are sometimes hard to grasp. However, when translated into everyday conversations and media language, the contents of the IPCC reports are converted into popular versions or scandal articles in

evening newspapers. The complicated, scientific language of the IPCC is reduced, simplified, and becomes denser (Jansson and Brandstedt 2014). For example, in one of Sweden's biggest daily evening newspapers, climate change was addressed in the following terms during November 2016: "Scientists warn of the pollen monster" (Aftonbladet 2016a), "the 16-year-old who leads a climate movement" (Aftonbladet 2016b) and "Blueberries decrease, ferns increase" (Aftonbladet 2016c). Even though these articles seem to present specific, simplified, and dense aspects of climate change, they still repeat the overall climate change discourse with the help of their mutual similarities. The articles of the daily evening newspaper also redefine the discourse by simplifying and, in some senses, storytelling the material-semiotics of climate change of which we are collectively a part. Just as suggested by Ngai-Ling Sum and Bob Jessop (2013), specific entry-points and standpoints are adopted by the newspapers so that when readers are participating in the meaning-making processes around climate change, they are repeating, changing, adding to, and simplifying the discourse. The message becomes abridged and invokes the most important or scandalous things; for example, "Don't eat red meat" or "Our blueberries disappear."

In this example, repeating complex messages means a return to what has already been stated, which is simplified while passing it on. Given this, different possibilities must be displayed, which is important for how various forms of linguistic resistance inform current discourses. First of all, a simplified utterance becomes more distinct and entrenched when details disappear, which contributes to the establishing of new truths (Lilja and Baaz 2018). However, the loss of information in the simplification process confuses the discourse and transforms it, while also loading it with new meaning.

Second, when a message gets reduced too much, or becomes too simple, streamlined, or ordinary, the reader might lose interest and the message is read in a reluctant way. Complex statements that have not been expressed before are sometimes better received by the listener than simple and dense messages. In these cases, the listener has to concentrate on the new message, which slows down the interpretation or decoding process, and makes the receiver concentrate more on the message. Tsur (2012) calls this "delayed categorization," and here he comes close to the main points of Daniel Kahneman (2011), who states that two patterns can illustrate how we think. The first system refers to when we sometimes read things in a fast, shallow, and intuitive way, which, in some senses, prevents us from embracing the complexity of reality. The other, however, is when we think more slowly, deliberately, and logically. This slow thinking, which embraces complexity, sharpens our judgments and decisions (Kahneman 2011).

The above implies that repetitions of political messages should preferably be done in a way that is simple—in order to strengthen the positive

discourse—but still in a way that embraces complexity. Linguistic resistance must, thus, balance the messages between the dense and the complex in order to have an impact and produce counter-discourses as a form of constructive resistance.

Twisting the Cause-and-Effect Linkages

Above, two patterns of repetitions have been discussed, which impact upon processes of signification and how discourses are perceived and unfold. It has also been discussed that producing discourses, by repeating, could, when related to power, be understood as a constructive form of resistance that produces new understandings and realities. In this section, another way of reiterating "repeats" is suggested. As Edkins (1999, 2003) argues, there is a fluid relationship between the real and the symbolic that enables us to twist our interpretations of the interpreted. Edkins exemplifies this with the word "famine." According to Edkins, this name—famine—appears as a signifier connoting a cluster of supposedly effective properties—"general and wide-spread shortages of food, leading to widespread death by starvation" (Edkins 1999, 99). Thus, when interpreting and mapping the "world out there" we label these occurrences as "famine." Or in other words, when we observe widespread death by starvation that is caused by shortages of food, we cate-gories it and label it as famine. However, in the next moment the relationship is inverted. Suddenly we conclude that people are dying *because* there is a famine. This twist, which slightly changes the discourse, is made possible in the nexus between the real and the symbolic. It is also enabled by the repeti-tion of a concept, which is used in a slightly different way as time goes by. At one moment we are calling and naming objects, figures, or happenings, by referring to the concept through which they are interpreted. In the next moment, however, we repeat the very same object, figure, or happening, but now as the reason for the observed situation.

A similar, but maybe more complex, pattern can be seen when discussing gender. When interpreting bodies that move in everyday life, we tend to label certain bodies; for example, bodies wearing skirts are labeled as "women." However, in the next moment the storytelling is reversed; women have skirts *because* they are women. Or in other words, the repetitive and, in some senses, forced "doing" of gender, in Butler's outline, produces the illusion that an individual has a stable "gender," which they are just "expressing" in their actions (Butler 1990/1999, 178–79).

The pattern of repeating differently—using the name/category but twist-ing it from a "label" to a "cause" or "reason"—tends to strengthen our dis-courses by making "famines" or "women" understood as natural and static phenomena, concepts that could be used to explain the "world out there."

Hall writes: " 'Naturalization' is (. . .) a representational strategy designed to fix 'difference', and thus secure it forever. It is an attempt to halt the inevitable 'slide' of meaning, to secure discursive or ideological 'closure' " (Hall 1997, 245). This means that if power works through processes of normalization then resistance must react to these processes. As stated several times by Foucault (1982), specific forms of power give rise to specific forms of resistance.

Thus, dominant discourses are naturalized and made static as they are twisted. And as we twist our interpretations of the interpreted, this must be resisted in deconstructing ways. Environmental movements, for example, in regard to the perceived issue of climate change, must formulate their resistance so that they repeat against normalizing moves. There are probably different patterns that intersect here, and that must be resisted: Arguing that *there is* an ongoing process of climate change makes the bad weather logical and understandable. It removes human actions as the source of climate change and takes away the personal responsibilities. It also, in some senses, makes climate change appear as natural and unchangeable. Resistance here becomes a matter of revealing the twisted character of the vocabulary that is used and putting human beings back as the origin of these weather-related disasters.

CONCLUDING REMARK

Political organizations and resistance movements aim to establish certain discourses that work toward increased public awareness of their causes. Departing from this, this chapter has discussed communicative patterns, in general, and the impact of repetitions, in particular. The overall aim has been to unfold, or suggest, three patterns of repetition, which are argued to be of central importance when communicating and establishing truths as a form of resistance. By elaborating on how repetition are important for launching, maintaining, as well as questioning certain truths, the aim of this chapter was mainly constructive; that is, the spotlight is directed toward recommendations of how we can achieve as much as possible of what is desired, given the circumstances of the world and, specifically, different technologies of repetition.

Overall, the three different kinds of reiterations that are suggested could contribute to creating and maintaining norms and thus create social change. First, one argument promoted in the chapter is that to strengthen or maintain a discourse, it must be repeated in a slightly different way. The first time one hears about climate change, for example, one might become shocked or surprised. But when similar sentence/message (representation) is repeated and read for a second, third, or fourth time, the reader's understanding of

the representation has changed. Now the message is not read with surprise or shock, but is read in a more reluctant way. Thus, in theory, this means that every time a representation is repeated, it is read and understood in a new way, even though it appears to be the same representation that is being repeated. It also implies that after seeing the same representation again and again, we do not listen as carefully and are not as interested as we were when we heard it for the first time. Thus, for example, to maintain an interest in the discourse about climate change, the discourse needs to be constantly added to, altered, or expressed in new ways. One must change a discourse in order to maintain it.

Second, it is argued in the chapter that repetitions create simplifications that strengthen, reduce, as well as add to the discourses. Discourses are established when different norms are reiterated. In the process of repeating, the representations that are repeated sometimes lose their complexity. For every repetition less and less will be included and there is both a simplification and reduction of the message. The simplified discourse, in some senses, becomes more distinct and entrenched when details disappear, or specific entrances chosen, making it easier to establish the discourse. As time passes it gets stronger and simpler. But the loss of information may also be disastrous as it is transformed and its message changed. Complexity is needed in order to motivate the reader to fully pay attention to the message.

Third, to strengthen a discourse, naturalize it, and make it static, another strategy could be to twist it; instead of using a discourse/concept to label and categorize the reality, it could be used, so to speak, to explain—or be the origin of—our empirical observations. This could be a strategy of resistance. However, it is mostly a strategy that is used when dominant discourses are strengthened or naturalized. This is also of interest from the perspective of climate change communication. We observe an increased average global temperature and more frequent extreme weather events, and label them "climate change." However, thereafter we seem to twist the argumentation inside out, now stating that the increased average global temperature happens because *there is* an ongoing climate change event. The latter makes the bad weather logical and understandable and must/should be deconstructed by the climate change movement. Resistance must be about repeating against processes of naturalizations.

NOTE

1. The first version of this chapter was written with Eva Lilja; thank you Eva Lilja for letting me republish this here.

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Chapter 4

Layer-Cake Figurations and Resistance in Cambodia

The Elegance of the Hedgehog is a French novel written by Muriel Barbery (2006).[1] The novel embraces a character study of concierge Renée Michel, who conceals her identity as a self-taught philosopher and an authority within the field of literature by appearing as an uneducated, working-class woman. Outwardly, she conforms to every stereotype of "the concierge": she is described as fat, cantankerous, and addicted to television. However, beneath the surface, Renée embraces art, philosophy, music, and Japanese culture. This becomes an interesting twist, and the novel is actually named after Renée Michel, as she is described as a hedgehog with a prickly exterior who keeps her distance from people while simultaneously performing her intellectual pursuits in secret in a manner that is portrayed as elegant and solitary. Thus, Renée Michel deliberately conceals her intelligence and unexpected tastes (Lilja 2017). What are the reasons that women like Renée choose to disguise aspects of themselves?

This way of displaying certain subject positions while hiding others is not limited to Renée Michel, but also prevails in interviews with female leaders in Cambodia. These interviews expose how women's performing within the political sphere could be seen as strategic responses to local contexts of power. Overall, their acting reveals a bodily resistance, which unfolds from the affective interpretation of contemporary discourses of gender. Female members of parliament repeat different stereotypical characteristics in order to perform as politicians. They, thereby, act in line with current expectations, still with different intentions. From this emerges the main question of the chapter: How can the navigation that these women carry out in power-loaded contexts be understood as constructive resistance?

The concept of "figurations" will serve as a point of departure in order to display the material and symbolic conditions of various subject positions, as well as the multiplicity and complexity of each human being. A figuration is created and

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recreated in an assemblage of encounters and interrelations (Henry et al. 2014). In different localities, these assemblages tend to create/maintain various "axes of differentiations" like class, race, ethnicity, gender, and age, which interact in the constitution of subjectivity (Braidotti 2011a, 4; Lilja 2016a). This is exemplified in this article, which display how women politicans emphasize some subject positions before others, due to different relations of power (Lilja 2017).

The focus on resistance in this chapter implies that I use the concept of figurations in a slightly different manner than, for example, Rosi Braidotti (2011a, 4), who mainly emphasizes various cartographies of power. Moreover, while Braidotti (2011a, 5) pinpoints that the notion of figurations embraces "a politically informed map that outlines our own current situated perspective in a globalized contest," I do not demand that figurations must be "new" or manifesting due to the complexities of multiethnic globalized societies. Instead, I follow Mia Eriksson (2013), who pinpoints that we need to embrace a range of figurations of society (such as the "angry, white man"). The embracing of all kinds of figurations would make it possible for us to analyze and learn how they interact and are created in relation to each other and others (Lilja 2017).

By emphasizing different practices of self-making as a form of constructive resistance that is limited by power, this chapter contributes—in several respects—to what is already known within the social sciences. First of all, I discuss and build upon Braidotti's (2007, 2011a, 2011b) concept of figurations, thereby contributing to the further advancement of this concept. This chapter also adds to Scott's research by addressing practices of everyday resistance as a form of constructive resistance, which create subjectivities and practices, in discursive/material contexts. I discuss the concept of constructive resistance through displaying processes of self-reflexivity and self-making through the concept of figurations (Lilja 2017; Scott 1989).

FIGURATIONS, EMOTIONS, AND RESISTANCE

A figuration, from Braidotti's (2011a, 10) perspective, is a "living map, a transformative account of the self; it is no metaphor." The concept of figurations is often promoted as a critique of the limited options presented by the representations of, for example, women and/or ethnic minorities. According to Rosi Braidotti, there is a noticeable gap between our lived experiences and "how we represent to ourselves this lived existence in theoretical terms and discourses" (2014, 182). Current discourses are marked by "an imaginative poverty" (Braidotti 2007). Using the concept of "figurations," we are able to illuminate the complexity of women's subjectivities and how subject positions are situated in specific material and discursive contexts. In this,

figurations are mappings of situated—that is, embedded and embodied—social positions.

Figurations emerge from processes of self-formation and are to be seen as possible figures of identification. As a result, figurations can be used to reveal various processes of self-reflection and target dominant subject formations from "within." The concept of figurations can also potentially serve as a tool to challenge earlier stereotypical accounts of women and show them in their great diversity (Lilja 2016a).

Braidotti exemplifies figurations with the "womanist," the "lesbian," the "cyborg," and the "nomadic feminist." She also proposes other, more historically specific figurations, such as the "mail-order bride" and the "illegal prostitute." These figurations are indicative of the social and material conditions for their very existence, including the different cartographies of power that feed them (Braidotti 2007, 9; 2011b). Figurations should be viewed in all their complexity: as hybrid, contested, and multilayered. In addition, as is elaborated upon in the analytical section, they sometimes become a source of or means to constructive resistance (Lilja 2016a, 2017).

I use a broad interpretation of figurations not only to represent mutations, changes, or transformations (Braidotti 2011b), but also to argue that other subject positions can be captured by the concept. Thereby, it becomes possible to see how figurations emerge in relation to each other. In addition, it is not only power that matters in the construction of different "figures"; how we resist also forms an integrated part of who we are. Moreover, when employing the concept of figurations, we must be aware that naming the figuration, for example, the "female politician," tends to remove the complexity of the figuration.

What figures we choose to perform is intimately linked with power. Foucault (1975/1991) argues that all human conduct is either rewarded or punished in line with its positioning on a sliding scale. In order to be rewarded (e.g., with status, appreciation) and avoid punishments (e.g., mockery, low status, shame), we tend to adjust to certain positions (which are often addressed in terms of class, race, and gender) and assume certain "what-you-SHOULD-think" discourses (Foucault 1975/1991, 177–83; Lilja 2016a, 2008). In this process, one might be disciplined against several, sometimes conflicting, norms simultaneously, which in turn create tension. The risk of punishment makes subjects sacrifice alternative figurations in favor of dominant ones in order to avoid being hurt. That we act in accordance with given discursive norms in order to avoid punishments can be understood through current theorizing on emotional regimes (Lilja 2017).

The concept of figurations should be seen not only as a theoretical tool but also as an analytical one that illustrates one's encounters with difference. In the book *The Subject of Rosi Braidotti* (Blaagaard and van der Tuin 2014),

the concept of "figurations" is in fact understood as both a literary genre and as a feminist methodology of self-reflexively narrating one's meetings with the real. According to Kelsey Henry et al. (2014, 151), the researcher should not be looking for specific identities; rather, identifying figurations is about "mapping emergent subjects" (Lilja 2016a). In this chapter, this means mapping the emerging figuration of the "female politician" in Cambodia. Thereafter, an effort is made to try to understand how this multilayered figuration could be understood in terms of constructive resistance (Lilja 2017).

THE CAMBODIAN FIGURATIONS OF
THE "FEMALE POLITICIAN"

Before moving on to the figurations in the Cambodian context, I will try to paint a picture of the imaginative poverty that in some senses marks the Cambodian society. One prevalent image in Cambodia is that of the "perfectly virtuous woman," an image (among many others) that seemingly persists in Cambodian society (Ledgerwood 1996, 32; Kent 2011, 408; Lilja 2016a). Women are assumed to be shy, gentle, uninformed, and narrow-minded. In my interviews, the image of the "perfectly virtuous woman" was often displayed simultaneously as the (colliding) image of "woman as mentally weak." Still, these are only two of many figurations; social life in Cambodia, as elsewhere, is complex, and contains multiple figurations that are performed in numerous ways (Lilja 2017).

While Cambodia is a complex society, it is still noticeable as a country where strong cultural boundaries limit women's political opportunities. Women (self- and society-defined) politicians in Cambodia have developed and practice different strategies to survive in an environment where women are often assigned low status. When analyzing interviews that were carried out with women members of parliament (MPs) of the National Assembly, competing figurations of the perfect "female politician" emerged. Some women MPs asserted that women politicians should stay "feminine" and live up to the image of the "perfectly virtuous woman" (Ledgerwood 1996, 32; Kent 2011, 408; Lilja 2016a, 2017). For example, one female MP said, "Women can be successful as politicians if they remain gentle, soft, quiet and, in addition, as intelligent as men are" (Interview with woman politician, Phnom Penh, 1997). However, not all women MPs emphasized femininity; a few promoted an alternative way of embodying the figuration of the "female politician." They argued that women must cease performing a "female" identity (that includes characteristics such as quietness and gentleness) and adapt themselves to correspond better with the outspoken norm of a (non-feminine) "politician." One woman member of the National Assembly argued, "Women

must change themselves to fit in the National Assembly. Women are too shy and timid. That is why they have lower status than men have. Women must be stronger and more outspoken" (Interview with woman politician, Phnom Penh, 1997). Another woman MP stated, "I think to be successful within the men's area, you know, because men dominate women a lot here in Cambodia, so if we are not outspoken, we are not seen, we are just ignored" (Interview with woman politician, Phnom Penh, 1999). These quotations reveal how some women politicians perform political action in more assertive and extroverted ways, according to a political norm "into which various characteristics of dominant masculinities (for example rationalism and individualism) are smuggled" (Monro 2005, 169; Lilja 2008). This cultural "mobility" or "code-switching" can be interpreted as resistance against various gender norms, but it also displays "women's creativity in dealing with the tensions among cultural constructions, objective determinants, 'modern' imaginations and lived experiences" (Derks 2008, 204).

The ongoing discussion of what the characteristics of the "female politician" ought to be indicates that this is a figuration in the making and one that is currently being negotiated by various political actors. The complexity, contradictions, and movability of the ideals and performances of women MPs display how women struggle with the figuration of the "female politician" and perform it in different ways (Lilja 2017).

I would argue that the possibility of women politicians to emphasize or draw upon different aspects of (male and female) stereotypes, while performing the figuration of the "female politician," demonstrates the layer-cake character of the figuration. The existence of different axes of differentiation opens up the possibility to actively pick and choose between different ways of performing the figuration (Lilja 2016a). Repeating the figuration of women politicians in new ways can be seen as an act of constructive resistance, which challenges what is often understood as a rather stable gender binary. It is about repeating, in order to survive, in a male-dominated environment (Lilja 2017).

In addition, since Cambodia is a relatively new democracy, which has moved toward becoming an authoritarian state and its public arena has been male dominated, there seems to be no long-standing, well-established figuration of the "female politician," thus leaving the position open for negotiation. One woman politician said:

> In one way it is an advantage to be a woman. People just do not believe that women can be politicians. Therefore, everyone comes to listen to you. They want to see how a female candidate acts. They think, "Is it possible? Can a woman really be a politician?" (Interview with woman politician, Phnom Penh, 1997)

The same view was held by respondents who discussed the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), also known as the Khmer Rouge Tribunal, in 2010. When different stakeholders in the court described the character of the women's testimonies, some remarked that women's testimonies receive more attention as it is so rare to see women talk publicly (Interview with witness, Phnom Penh, 2010).

Women who are unexpectedly and surprisingly performing the position of a "politician" or a "witness" can be understood through the concept of "mimicry," which, in Bhabha's outline, refers to how the colonized subject becomes like the colonizer, yet not quite the same. This challenges the "fixed" knowledge about who the colonizer is and who the colonized is. The near duplication of the authority comprises a powerful representation, and mimicry becomes a strategy to disturb the constructed differences on which authority is based (Bardenstein 2005; Bhabha 1984, 125–33; Bhabha in Childs and Williams 1997, 129–33). In a similar sense, by showing up in the "wrong" category, the body of the female politicians—a woman being a politician—challenges contemporary cultural boundaries. The advancing of the hybrid image of a "female politician" could be seen as a practice of constructive resistance, which contests boundaries but still constructs a new subject position. Female politicians—the combination of being a "woman" and a "politician"—may be understood as ironic subjects who consist of, to quote Haraway, "contradictions that do not resolve into larger wholes" (Haraway in Ferguson 1993, 30). Each woman would also be concerned "about the tension of holding incompatible things together because both or all are necessary and true" (Haraway in Ferguson 1993, 30). This can be seen as women taking their first steps, moving toward what Kathy Ferguson's labels "mobile subjectivities" that "need irony to survive the manyness of things" (Ferguson 1993, 178).

CONSTRUCTIVE RESISTANCE, FIGURATIONS, AND RESISTANCE

So far, I have tried to display some of the complexities of the figuration of the "female politician" in Cambodia, in order to demonstrate how this figuration, when repeated, is loaded with different meanings, is constantly being negotiated, and is (sometimes) entangled with various stereotypes (such as the "perfectly virtuous woman").

In their resistance against different forms of power, women politicians tend to utilize the richness of subject positions, for instance, by hiding or refusing certain suggested differentiations of the self, while performing others. Figurations in all their complexity are hybrid, contested, and multilayered, which sometimes becomes a source of a creative elaboration of these, which,

in turn, could be understood as a form of constructive resistance. As indicated in the above quotations, at times the image of the "perfectly virtuous woman" is drawn upon in order to gain political power. The women can be said to combine different subject positions or prioritize a more feminine or more masculine position in order to advance in political institutions. Thus, gendered and power-loaded discourses are used by women politicians to resist subalternity and gain political power (Lilja 2017).

This kind of resistance can be understood through Foucault's (1975/1991) formulation of disciplinary power, which comprises different practices of punishments and rewards. Scott (1989) also discusses repressions and punishments as part of different power relations. He describes everyday resistance as a form of resistance that gives subaltern subjects the ability to maneuver when facing repressive political conditions. According to Scott (1989), the form that resistance takes depends on the form of power to which it is responding. Here, the argument of those who claim that "real resistance" is organized, is principled, and has revolutionary implications entirely overlooks the role of power relations by limiting different forms of resistance. If we only care for "real resistance" then "all that is being measured may be at the level of repression that structures the available options" (Scott 1989, 37, 51).

Against this backdrop, it becomes interesting to explore the gendered dynamics of resistance. The imperatives that make "everyday resistance" logical or likely are the same imperatives that fuel the resistance that utilizes the layer-cake character of various "female" figurations. Reviewing the interviews with women politicians in Cambodia reveals how, in order to avoid punishments and gain rewards in terms of status and appreciation, they try to hide or refuse certain suggested differentiations of the self while performing certain aspects of the figurations of the "female." For example, as noted earlier, some women politicians try to perform in line with the figuration of the (non-feminine) "politician" in order to gain power and as a response to the power relations that regard women as "mentally weaker" than men (Lilja 2008). One woman politician, for example, performed the image of the (non-feminine) "politician" in order to raise the status of women:

> As leaders women have also some difficulty. But somehow not all people know what women can do, they always think that men can do better than women. But, through my work as a Minister, I tried to explain these issues. To be a leader I did not like to say, "I am a woman". But as leader I had to do the job as a leader and not connect being a female with the job. (Interview with woman politician, Phnom Penh, 1999)

This woman politician performed the role of a leader, while actively trying not to be "a female." Acknowledging contemporary gender discriminations in Cambodia, she chose to create a credible visual representation of the

(non-feminine) "politician." Still, her struggle to avoid being connected to femininity in some senses reveals that she views herself as a woman, but she tries to "hide" this. This displays how the shifting meanings of the figuration of the "female politician" and the possibility to disguise other parts of the self enable a special kind of gendered resistance. In addition, while this woman politician seemingly departed from her desire to challenge stereotyped and negative images of women by trying "to explain these [gender] issues," her resistance practices were molded by prevailing power relations that do not reward women's political activities (Lilja 2017).

These kinds of strategies have previously been addressed by Arlie Russell Hochschild (1983), who explored the concept of "surface acting," where people mask or disguise what they really feel in order to induce appropriate emotions in others. This indicates that women fake their actions while disguising their "real" strategies, thoughts, and emotions. However, this does not mean that to "fake" a figuration does not have real implications. For example, Frith (2015, 386) argues that the "distinction between the 'real' and the 'fake' cannot be established by recourse to unmediated bodily experience." This indicates that the embodied experience of performing a certain figuration produces certain subjectivities, which challenges the idea of a "surface phenomenon." In *The Elegance of the Hedgehog*, Renée Michel outwardly conforms to the negative stereotype of the concierge both by performing it and by being met by others as someone who embodies it (Barbery 2006). This bodily experience probably molds her as a person and forms her subjectivity. Thus, resistance, which utilizes multilayered and complex figurations, has implications for gendered power relations as well as entangled subjectivities (Frith 2015).

As mentioned in earlier sections, some women politicians choose to act not as a (non-feminine) "politician," but in line with the stereotype of the "perfectly virtuous woman" in order to represent themselves as trustworthy. This resistance seems to draw upon local stereotypes, which are repeated in order to hide complexity and other aspects of the "female politician" figuration. Women mobilize the femininity that they are expected to perform by masking other sides of the figuration that might be perceived as threatening, punishing, or challenging. However, by drawing upon the stereotype of the "perfectly virtuous woman," in order to get political power, this resistance unintentionally reinforces the same structures of power—and stereotypes—that it resists. Using their bodies and bodily actions to visibly represent and (re)perform the image of the "perfectly virtuous woman" creates the appearance that women maintain and support this position (Lilja 2017).

The above analysis implies how subversive practices are often hidden by the repetition of power-loaded discourses. The woman politician who has been quoted as having avoided "being a female" used a political (male)

stereotype to hide her feminist actions. Thus, in moments of resistance, individuals involve the categories and vocabularies that are accepted and used by the dominating force in order to contest them (Butler 1995, 236). It is a repetition that hides its subversion. Resistance appears as the effect of power and as a part of power itself, while simultaneously strengthening power (Lilja 2008). It is the matter of a nexus between power and resistance, where they exist simultaneously and nourish each other.

As stated above, constructive resistance is made possible by the repetition of different aspects of the multilayered character of the figuration of the "female politician." Overall, there appears to be a divide between women MPs who choose to emphasize either the "female" part or the "politician" part of the figuration of the "female politician," depending on their evaluations of different relations of power. The various gendered norms of the society are thus both conservative and emancipatory: the gendered order is simultaneously maintained while becoming the source of creative interpretations and new practices (Ferguson in Holmberg 1993, 54).

The performing of constructive practices of resistance—which build on repetition of various aspects of the "female politician"—is informed by disciplinary processes in which punishments and rewards shape various aspects of the figuration. One female politician I interviewed said:

> [Cambodians believe that women are] mentally weak! Mentally weak, physically weaker (. . .) If you are living in Europe, you cannot imagine our women in Asia. If we sit with many people we have to sit like this, pretend like this. Then the men say: "How good you are, how nice you are." (Interview with woman politician, Phnom Penh, 1999)

The word "pretend" suggests that Cambodian women perform a female stereotype that does not necessarily reflect or correspond with their understandings of themselves. It implies that they hide sides of the female figuration that do not meet the general expectations of femininity due to various techniques of power.

As the women who were interviewed questioned (not at least during the interview) the subject position they were expected to perform, they put into question natural "truths" that are often taken for granted in the Cambodian society. By this, I suggest that the cultural order is "shaken"; still, as the women's criticism remains hidden, their resistance flies under the radar to avoid disciplinary punishments. Here, different emotions—including the fear of punishment—seemingly move female bodies in certain directions (Lilja 2017).

When challenging dominant gender stereotypes, women might be seen as "loose" or "broken" (Derks 2008). These notions are far from harmless. For example, Penny Edwards (2008) notes how the methods used to punish "deviant" women include, for example, throwing acid on bare skin. To cover up and perform in line with current expectations is only one among many strategies these women use to avoid mortal danger (Edwards 2008). Understanding this through Scott's (1989) conceptualizations of resistance means that resistance depends on the forms of power and the power relations that limit and form it in the first place (Lilja 2017).

So far, I have analyzed how the figuration of the "female politician" creates or opens up the possibility of resistance, which is also constructive of new images of female politicians. Female politicians tend to use the images of society to piece together different figurations of a "woman politician." Some of these female politicians combine the image of "perfectly virtuous woman" with political action. Hereby, they both confirm and negotiate the female stereotype.

However, such political actions are performed not only within the arena of parliamentary politics but also within other arenas in Cambodia. Interestingly, women who work in local NGOs in Cambodia to promote women's rights via media seem to use the same kind of resistance. One of the members of a feminist media organization described how her women colleagues act when trying to obtain cheap broadcasting time during peak viewing hours:

> When women are negotiating, men treat them like children. But women do not oppose. Instead they are as sweet as a pie. But they are smart; they know what is going on. And when they leave the room, they secretly laugh together at the stupid men, who believe that women's brains are severely underdeveloped. (Interview with woman NGO worker, Phnom Penh, 1997)

The women NGO workers temporarily and strategically refuse to take the gendered norm seriously, while making fun of those who do—the men. By utilizing the layer-cake character of the female figuration—repeatedly performing in line with the expectations of the "perfectly virtuous woman" (the stereotype) while hiding other aspects of themselves—they gain a good business deal and increased self-confidence (Lilja 2008). The women NGO workers act in accordance with men's expectations, but for them the meaning of the act is different. While they agree to being treated as children and act "as sweet as pie," there is ambiguity between what is said and what is meant, as well as between what is said and what is understood. Ironically, displaying and strategically using only parts of a female figuration, while simultaneously "degrading" men and masculinity, have the potential to negotiate the categories of the society (Lilja 2017). Therefore, as the actions of the women

NGO workers show, there can still be resistance even when it is hard to determine the deliberate intentions of the actors (e.g., Scott 1989; Hollander and Einwohner 2004).

Here, resistance is not seen as an intent or effect, but as a particular kind of repetition of a specific subject position. Resistance also paradoxically reinforces power relations. Power, then, occasionally relies on the production of resistance, and is sometimes recreated precisely through the very same resistance that it provokes (Lilja 2016b). With these considerations in mind, power and resistance are increasingly being understood as interconnected and entangled (Sharp et al. 2000). This view is also supported by the idea that subjects respond to power relations in different ways—from obedience to subversion. And if power changes, resistance has to change as well, and a strategy that is completely without result in certain contexts can be challenging and subversive in others, and vice versa (Lilja 2017).

CONCLUDING REMARK

In this chapter, I have analyzed women politicians as reflexive beings who are "reading," embodying, as well as resisting various discursive strands in their processes of becoming. By using the work of Braidotti (2007, 2011a, 2011b) as a springboard, I have suggested that the concept of figurations can help us to understand women's politicians everyday resistance. The concept of figurations has been broadened to include different lived positions: to embrace both "new" lived positions and more well-known, established but transformative accounts of the "self." With this move, it is possible to display the connections, boundaries, and interaction between different figurations (such as the "migrant," the "expatriate," the "mail-order bride," the "feminist," and/or the "white angry Swedish man," among others). By using a broader understanding of the concept, I hope to contribute to the concept of figurations as a site for analyzing different socioeconomic positions and resistance practices, in times of transformation, in the nexus between the symbolic and the material (Lilja 2017).

Figurations, in all their complexity, are hybrid, contested, multilayered, and, in different ways, fuel or facilitate resistance. Overall, this chapter shows how the "differences within" various figurations are performed, questioned, punished, hidden, and used for resistance. Resistance uses, and is parasitic on, existing stereotypes and power relations. Stereotypes are repeated in order to avoid disciplinary punishments, which follow from performing unexpected, misfit, or dangerous positions. Resistance, then, is a reaction against power, and power (in the form of stereotypes) is used in the act of resistance. Resistance is fed by power and profits from power. Emotions, in the form of fear of punishment or desire for rewards, become driving forces

for both discipline and resistance. In the end, "fake" repetitions indicate the construction of new female figurations, which facilitate women's political power; resistance becomes constructive.

By performing this type of resistance, the body becomes the tool of resistance. The practice of this resistance involves both the material and the symbolic. In processes of meaning-making, the physical body becomes a means for repeatedly performing certain practices and parts of a figuration, while downplaying others. The physical, emotional, and cultural are bound together and entangled in a complex fashion. Thus, in order to understand this form of resistance, the social and material conditions of the figurations' existence, including the cartographies of gendered power relations, need to be taken into account (Braidotti 2007, 9; Lilja 2017).

NOTE

1. This chapter builds on forty-one in-depth interviews that I conducted in 1997, 1999, 2002, and 2007 with politically involved women and men from different political parties: the Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Independant Neutre Pacifique et Cooperatif (National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia), the Cambodian People's Party, the Human Rights Party, and the Sam Rainsy Party. The respondents range from members of parliament and senators to grassroots activists. I also interviewed eleven Cambodian NGO workers who shared their views on issues of gender, women leaders, power, and resistance. I also refer to twenty-seven interviews conducted in Cambodia in 2013, with women activists, NGO workers, politicians, and people working in the media. These interviews were conducted by the RESIST research group (including Mona Lilja, Mikael Baaz, Michael Schulz, and Stellan Vinthagen), in order to map civil society–based activities in Cambodia. Additional interviews were conducted by the research group during a "follow-up" field visit in 2014, when the team interviewed activists, NGO workers, media professionals, and politicians in Cambodia in order to understand the developments of civil society–based "resistance" and their impact on the political systems and norms of local regimes (Lilja 2016a). Due to the ongoing nature of the data collection, this assemblage of material has been analyzed continuously. The interviews have been made gradually and cumulatively, which has allowed new insights to develop along the research process (Hannerz 2003, 207; Espinoza 2015, 3).

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Part II

RESISTANCE AND EMOTIONS

Dangerous Bodies, Matter, and Emotions

Public Assemblies and Embodied Resistance

Across the globe, people gather to carry out resistance against different manifestations of neoliberalism. By analyzing these assemblies as plural forms of performative action, Butler broadens the theory of performativity beyond speech acts to include the concerted actions of bodies. Hereby, Butler makes a distinction between forms of linguistic performativity and forms of bodily performativity: "They overlap; they are not altogether distinct; they are not, however, identical with one another" (Butler 2015, 8–9).

This chapter explores why extra-cultural meaning is attached to resisting bodies that are involved in demonstrating assemblies by departing from, and adding to, Butler's theories of bodies and signification. Why do resisting bodies and assemblies signify something that is in excess of what is being expressed with words at demonstrations? At political gatherings, the bodies are also participating in various emotional processes. Angry, frustrated, or sad bodies come together to struggle against disenfranchisement, effacement, and abandonment (Butler 2015). What role do these emotions play in processes of signification?

This chapter attempts to shed some light upon processes of meaning-making by discussing matter and emotions in relation to constructive resistance. By doing so, a number of patterns will be displayed that explain how/why bodily performativity exceeds the linguistic performativity, and how the gatherings themselves signify something that is in excess of what is being said.

In order to discuss the distinction between forms of linguistic performativity and forms of bodily performativity, I will start off with a section that discusses resistance, bodies, and emotions. Thereafter, I will depart from the assemblage that these concepts constitute, in order to further interrogate how

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bodies and different forms of assemblies signify something that is over and above, but still interweaved with, their linguistic demands.

BODIES, EMOTIONS, AND RESISTANCE

Butler (2015) focuses on bodies and how they are vocalizing their opposition to the legitimacy of the state. By virtue of occupying public spaces, bodies "speak" politically; it is not only resistance expressed vocally or in written language:

> The enactment of "we the people!" may or may not take linguistic form; speech and silence, movement and immobility, are all political enactments; the hunger strike is precisely the inverse of the fed body standing freely in the public domain and speaking—it marks and resist the deprivation of that right, and it enacts and exposes the deprivation that prison populations undergo. (Butler 2015, 172)

Resistance often challenges a lack of rights, such as the denial of the right of bodies to speak in the public domain. Still, resistance practices, such as hunger strikes, while being a kind of non-cooperative resistance, could also be considered as a constructive form of resistance—by producing new activities or advancing subjugated knowledge.

In order to form assemblies, bodies must be able to move across a range of public spaces and embody forms of action and mobility. The bodies, which appear in the public spaces, are facilitated, hindered, and/or informed by the very space where the resistance is happening. Consider, for example, Tahrir Square in Cairo, which has become a well-known symbol of the "Arab Spring." The material conditions of the square, its location, openness, and grandness affect how the resistance emerges in-between the protesters and the square. The protesters' bodies are adjusted to a range of material conditions—the square's generous surface area, its flatness, its structure, and its central location. The material forces of the area's architecture, infrastructure, and cityscape interact with the bodies and minds of the protesters. The material forces of the square provide the protesters with the material conditions that they have to either work with or against. Overall, the space itself becomes a condition for the emergence of resistance (Lenz Taguchi 2011; Lilja 2016).

There are a number of connections between political assemblies and subjects, which become explicable and visible in the light of the "affective turn." In Ahmed's (2004) work on emotions, she indicates that emotions do things and we need to consider how they work; how emotions, for instance, mediate the relationship between the individual and the collective. Since our

love or hate for something is not dependent upon whether the thing *is* good or bad, but on whether it seems agreeable or hurtful to us, our emotions partake in the construction of objects (Ahmed 2009, 32). While issues, political institutions, and/or their practices are attributed emotional value, such as hate or frustration, this sometimes forms the very base for political activities. It directs bodies and makes them connect to, or perform political practices. The adhesiveness of the emotions makes people stick to resistance movements and to others who are aligned with the movement. Emotions become an engine that creates subjective reactions, motivations, various resisting practices, and communities of belonging. Thus, emotions are performative—they do things and they direct bodies and create practices. Subjects embrace, forward, and construct subject positions and discourses from different interpretations that are entangled in emotions.

With the above in mind, not only are the relationship between bodies and bodies, central when discussing emotions, but the relationship between bodies and representations is crucial. This is because the repetition of signs is what allows others and objects to be attributed with meaning and emotional value—a process that is dependent on histories of association. How we come to emotionally experience representations depend upon the historical development of narratives. Feelings such as anger, fear or trust depend upon what emotions that the specific cultural context renders both meaningful and acceptable (Hutchinson and Bleiker 2014, 504).

This chapter embraces the emotions that move between bodies and bodies, and bodies and signs. When repeated, the representations evoke emotional processes. However, the subjects' reflections upon the emotions must be added to this. To hate, desire, or love are relational reactions that are embedded in social contexts, which create the possibility for us to communicate, share, and circulate emotions, while still having an individual attachment to them.

RESISTANCE AND A SURPLUS OF MEANING

As stated above, resisting bodies, whether they are individual or in assemblies, represent something more than what is expressed with words. Butler states, "Forms of assembly already signify prior to, and apart from, any particular demands they make. Silent gatherings, including vigils or funerals, often signify in excess of any particular written or vocalized account of what they are about" (Butler 2015, 8). The heavy load of the extra-cultural meaning that is attached to resisting bodies has a number of explanations. In this chapter, it is argued that emotions must be included in the analytical framework in order to explain the assemblage of material, emotional, and symbolic

dimensions of gatherings. Angry, frustrated, touched, or sad bodies gather together to struggle against the effects of neoliberalism (Butler 2015). It is bodies that forward emotions to other bodies while receiving and forwarding intensities (emotions) themselves. The surplus of meaning that is attached to the bodies of those involved in demonstrating assemblies, among others, depends on their emotional expressions and how they forward emotions to others. By articulating emotions with their bodies, these bodies express more than what is being said with words.

Emotions do things. They align individuals with communities (Ahmed 2004). Emotions are about movement; they move us in different directions, informing our actions (Ahmed 2004). In the moment of a demonstration, emotions do not only circulate but also find a clear direction with a sender (the assembly) and a receiver. The emotions make masses move in a direction against others, and against political institutions and their embodied figurations. The intensity of the emotions that are directed toward concrete bodies, units, or state apparatus is frightening for the receivers of the bodily performativity, which exceeds the linguistic performativity. Resisting bodies disturb the normality of public spaces and create non-normalized, non-disciplined movements, thus shaking and unsettling the order, and challenging technologies of power that are centered on life.

Resisting bodies are not tamed or docile, but by displaying themselves at public venues at different gatherings, they indicate agency and a mode of resistance, subversive standpoints, and eruptive views. By challenging the logic of the governing bodies, the resisting bodies become threatening. Or, as Grosz states, "the body has been regarded as a source of interference in, and a danger to, the operations of reason" (Grosz 1994, 5). Angry bodies are frightening and a threat to the nation-state and the order of democratic states; there is a risk that these bodies, which are out of place, can put the state order out of play. The resisting bodies, and emotions expressed in the moment of resistance, are in themselves a representation of a vibrant, political sphere (Mouffe 2005), which is not the sphere of normalization, homogenization, and standardization. By displaying themselves as concrete, precarious, or suffering bodies, they destabilize the public by their presence. While linguistic performativity cannot directly cause chaos, violence, or the assassination of people, bodies are able to cause physical damage, expose people to violence, and remove commissioners. The knowledge of what (material) bodies can do also adds to the representations of resisting bodies that become "dangerous." This mode of signification is a "concerted bodily enactment, a plural form of performativity" (Butler 2015, 8).

Moreover, emotions have the tendency to become stronger when as circulate. When emotionally loaded representations (images of violence, precarious bodies, etc.) are repeatedly displayed and seen, emotional discourses are

strengthened. As we read emotional representations, sometimes we forward these too others by sharing on Facebook or Twitter, or simply by telling others what we have seen or heard. Thus, emotions intensify as emotional representations, that are read and forwarded, circulate at gatherings, on social media or in meetings between people. This implies that, in some situations, emotional representations, which are repeatedly displayed, give rise to increased emotional intensity and escalating resistance. Departing from this, one might speculate that when resistance moves from everyday and individual resistance to larger gatherings and assemblies that this might be due to emotions being intensified through strategies of representation. Or in other words, resistance is sometimes being accelerated or "up-scaled"—it is being practiced by larger assemblies as the result of an affective intensification. Emotions evoked by representations are then important for the production of meaning and for our understandings of constructive resistance.

Movement's resistance is informed by context-specific practices of discipline within the movement itself. How movement occurs and what political messages are displayed are issues that are settled between those who constitute the assembly. Within the movement, the resisters might be disciplined and normalized according to the norms of the movement. There is an interplay between discipline and dissent at work within resisting assemblies. Thus, one may say that power (discipline) and the fear of punishments, in this way, are a precondition for resistance and indiscipline.

Moreover, bodies are often more disjointed and ambiguous than the posters that are used at various demonstrations in public spaces. Bodies move in their own ways, but still in relation to others. This implies that bodies are ambiguous, which is crucial for how we theorize constructive resistance.

However, there are more reasons for why resisting bodies signify more than what is expressed with words. According to Butler, we have to rethink the act of speech in order to understand what is done with bodily enactments. Demonstrating bodies say "we are not disposable" even if they stand silently (Butler 2015, 18). Over and above this, I would like to argue that bodies do not only signify separately from vocalized messages, but bodily and linguistic performativity interacts while different representations support each other and bring forward the same message. Different representations (bodies, vocalized messages, posters) repeat a similar standpoint, but by slightly different means and expressions. It is an establishment of patterns and a steady return to what is already stated but with a new kind of representation. Mixing different kinds of representations strengthens the message but also adds complexity to the political message that is being forwarded. Butler states:

> To act on concert does not mean to act in conformity; it may be that people
> are moving or speaking in several different directions at once, even at

cross-purposes. And it does not mean they speak the exact same words, though sometimes that happens in a chant or in a verbal relay as in Occupy public assemblies. And sometimes "the people" act by way of their collective silence or their ironic use of language: their humour and even their mockery take up and take over a language they seek to derail from its usual ends. (Butler 2015, 157)

Thus, assemblies often express themselves in ambivalent ways, including by way of humor and laughing, which makes the receiver concentrate more on the message. The mixing of different representation, then, makes the resistance more effective.

However, and more importantly, different kinds of representations, both bodily and linguistic, do not only support each other but the former makes the linguistic representation more concrete. Butler discusses specific bodies in regard to demonstrations and media coverage, stating that it is important to show that "it is *this* body, and *these* bodies, that require employment, shelter, health care, and food" (Butler 2015, 10). But how can we understand the importance of these specific bodies? I would like to argue that the concreteness displayed by the bodies signifies something that is in excess of what is being said. Some representations are experienced as more applicable, understandable, detailed, or practical, that is, more concrete than others. These distinct representations, by their visible and material expressions, make complex matters more graspable and illuminate complex issues to the readers. One example of this is how broad and diffuse historical time epochs can be made understandable by concrete narratives and personal memories by those who experienced these times. By giving the historical "then," a face thereby makes and strengthens "real" histories of past times. The body, which embodies and concretizes the narrative, then signifies more than what is said. The account is strengthened through concrete bodies and "personal" memories. The "concreteness" of the material bodies is probably because they are material, touchable, and visible—not only audible (Lilja 2013, 2016; Trenter 2000, 50–63). As Kress and van Leeuwen suggests, "More generally, and with particular relevance to the visual, we regard our sense of sight as more reliable than our sense of hearing, 'I saw it with my own eyes' as more reliable evidence than 'I heard it with my own ears' " (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 154).

In the case of demonstrations, it is the bodily representations of suffering, frustration, and anger that support more theoretical claims of, for example, precariousness. Thus, desperate, precarious bodies add to illustrate different written or vocalized accounts of neoliberalism and what is going on at a global level. These bodies, which are frustrated, poor, or acting on the behalf of others (proxy resistance), concretize the linguistic politics of precarious bodies. Together linguistic and bodily performativity serve as

dense moral points that create discourses, emotions, subject position, and politics. Visible representations prevail as effective means of constructive resistance.

CONCLUDING REMARK

The aim of this chapter has been to discuss—in relation to constructive resistance—how the gathering of bodies (or bodies themselves) signifies something that is in excess of what is being said. I have argued that it is possible to shed some light on the gatherings, and what they signify, by bringing in the concept of emotions.

First of all, I propose that bodies, which move across a range of public spaces, embody not only forms of action and mobility but also prevail as ambiguous, untamed, or non-disciplined. By displaying themselves at public venues in different gatherings, the bodies indicate agency and a mode of resistance, subversive standpoints, and eruptive views, thereby challenging the logic and technologies of the governing bodies (Grosz 1994, 5). Still, this resistance is made possible through disciplinary processes within movements. Thus, resistance emerges from various relations of power.

Secondly, at the moment of gathering, bodily and linguistic performativity interacts in the forwarding of emotionally loaded political messages. Different linguistic and material representations support each other and bring forward the same message. One representation resembles the others, thereby repeating the very same message but by different means. The linguistic and bodily representations support each other, thereby clarifying and strengthening the political message. Mixing different kinds of representations also adds complexity to the political message. This probably slows down the decoding process, which, in turn, makes the message more effective.

Thirdly, the gatherings in themselves tend to strengthen the resistance as emotional representations are performed and reperformed. The more that the emotional representations reappear—such as posters, spoken slogans, and angry bodies—the more intense the emotions become. Public assemblies unite humans, and they are places where resistance becomes increasingly scaled up and emotional.

Finally, the specific bodies that require employment, shelter, health care, and food, by their visible, emotional, and material expressions, make complex matters of precarization more graspable for the reader. The body, which concretizes and embodies the narrative, then signifies more than what is said by *illustrating* what is being said. The image of suffering, frustration and anger supports more theoretical or abstract claims of precariousness.

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Constructive Resistance as Emotional Reality Effects

Strategies of Representation of the Japanese Civil Society

Negotiating or replacing dominant discourses could be embraced as a form of constructive resistance, a concept that provides a unique vantage point, considering that "discourses are powerful forms of domination. They frame the para-meters of thinking processes. They shape political and social interactions" (Bleiker 2000, 277). Probing discursive change, the study of resistance moves into new territories, often mundane and unrecognized domains (Bleiker 2000; cf. Foucault 1990). In this chapter, addressing knowledge-making as resistance means scrutinizing how some Japanese civil society organizations use specific strategies of narration and apply specific representations in order to construct truths that make their members (or potential members) act upon poverty and pesticides.

The analytical sections in this chapter demonstrate discursive struggles that occur in Japan around the precarious lives of farmers in, among other countries, Cambodia and the Philippines. Rich descriptions, meetings with farmers, movie clips, and social media posts are representations that are used by different civil society organizations to produce new knowledge about the plight of the farmers. In the following, the impact of different representations—the ways in which the members (or potential members) of the organizations either reject, eagerly inquire, or celebrate them—is analyzed. The chapter displays how representations are embraced differently by the organizations' members (or potential members), depending on how they are understood to represent "the real"; that is, if they create a "reality effect" and, by this, provoke emotions.

For the sake of the argument, I draw on two major trajectories in the relevant scholarly literature. The first is scholars of multimodal social semiotics, who analyze "representation in multimodal texts: photographs and their

captions, diagrams and their verbal glosses, stories and their illustration" (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 78). The second is resistance studies, in which scholars involve the concept of agency and center on resistance as both a counter-repressive and productive phenomenon (Lilja and Vinthagen 2018; Scott 1990; Bayat 1997; Odysseos et al. 2016). By drawing on these two trajectories, I seek to further understand (constructive) resistance that produces new truths (in this case in Japan) rather than merely intervening in decision-making processes or state-politics. By way of conclusion, the chapter suggests the concept of "emotional reality effects" should be included in a theory of representation addressing the production of meaning as a form of constructive resistance.

METHOD AND MATERIALS

This chapter is based upon interviews that were carried out with thirty-one actors (civil society actors, NGO workers, journalists, politicians, and democracy advocates) in Tokyo, Japan, in 2013 and 2014.[1] Among the civil society actors who were interviewed, this chapter particularly draws upon interviews with APLA (Alternative People's Linkage in Asia), which has its headquarters in Tokyo.[2] APLA aims to encourage self-reliant local communities that are based on agriculture and fishing (APLA 2014). Among other things, APLA assists farmer cooperatives in their attempts to lessen the impact and power of bigger companies that tend to pay low salaries and use a lot of pesticides. Their efforts to support sugarcane plantation workers, micro-farmers, and the cooperation for regional independence movement can be seen as a political struggle against the exploitation of local farmers (APLA 2014).

   The respondents addressed different issues during the interviews, but foremost how they can mobilize Japanese citizens and members of their organizations to become politically active or contribute financially to the organizations. In regard to this, one APLA respondent discussed and analyzed, in great detail, Yoshiyuki Tsurumi's (1982) widely sold, short study, *Banana to Nihonjin* [Bananas and the Japanese], which provides a very intimate reflection of Japan's relationship with its region, through an exploration of the rise of mass consumption in Japan and how it is linked to the massive expansion of plantation agriculture on the island of Mindanao in the Philippines. Tsurumi's imaginative and innovative writing approach, which he theorized as "thinking while walking" (*arukinagara kangaeru*), implies "that research is a physical activity carried out by the body as well as the mind: it engages all the senses of sight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell, as well as faculties of reasoning and reflection" (Morris-Suzuki 2011, 136).

In the sections below, the respondents' reading of Tsurumi's book, as well as the impact it has had on the Japanese civil society, is discussed and analyzed. Actual meetings with precarious farmers, movie clips, and the everyday resistance of social media posts are also dealt with in the analytical sections. These and other discussions illustrate the different strategies of representation that are used by some Japanese civil society organizations to produce knowledge about poverty in order to mobilize the Japanese population to act upon material and social inequalities. But before moving on to addressing different strategies of representation, I will provide an overview of some key insights on the interlinkages between knowledge and resistance suggested in the power-resistance literature.

KNOWLEDGE AS POWER AND KNOWLEDGE AS RESISTANCE

Foucault (1990) emphasizes how resistance appears as discursive, creative, and small-scaled occurrences when power and knowledge are joined together in discourse. As stated above, it is resistance that alters and negotiates knowledge regimes. It is single acts of resistance, which might be hidden and negligible, but when amassing—for example, when resistance inspires other acts of resistance—might lead to social modifications and transformations (Foucault 1990, 96–101; Baaz et al. 2017).

Resistance could then be played out through discursive strategies that negotiate or build alternative discourses. It could be about repeating things differently or talking from new venues (Lilja and Vinthagen 2018). Or, as Foucault discusses in *Power/knowledge* (1980), discursive resistance could revolve around ongoing battles between competing discourses. Foucault also discusses how disqualified knowledge could challenge more dominant narratives (Foucault 1980). Overall, this chapter is inspired by Foucault in the sense that knowledge-making, in different forms, is embraced as a form of (power and) resistance. This resistance is, as stated above, to be seen as a constructive form of resistance, which, among others, establishes new knowledge.

The concept of "constructive resistance" denotes both individual and collective forms of resistance, which propose new truths or subject positions (cf. Vinthagen 2005; Lilja and Vinthagen 2007; Lilja and Vinthagen 2014, 2018; Sørensen 2016; Koefoed 2017). Constructive resistance can be grand, but it can also be a matter of producing ongoing small-scale differences. It is resistance that targets disciplinary or biopolitical strategies or institutions, which produces and structures subjectivities, ways of life, desires, and bodies. This kind of resistance destabilizes, displaces, or replaces established

truths or and various claims to "the real" by suggesting other ways of life, and constructing discourses, subjectivities, and institutions. In this, it often promotes pluralistic views of truth and makes constructive use of the friction that the diversity of perspectives enables. In addition, as pinpointed by Koefoed (2017), constructive resistance distinguishes itself from other forms of resistance by "its particular temporality of change, where change is approached, not in linear terms as something opted for in a near or distant future, but as something which is implemented directly here and now through the resistance act itself."

CONSTRUCTIVE RESISTANCE AND
STRATEGIES OF REPRESENTATION

In the forthcoming sections, I will further elaborate on constructive forms of resistance, which produce new discourses; in this case, around the poverty of farmers who live precarious lives. It is my intention to highlight multiple strategies of representation in order to display the diversity of forms of constructive resistance.

To uncover how truths are made, I draw on, among other things, Roland Barthes' theoretical elaboration on meaning-making. Barthes discusses how we are experiencing various representations differently through the example of photos, which is a special kind of representation that prevails in the crossroads between the present and past. In the moment a photo is taken, the moment that is captured is simultaneously immortalized and gone forever (Barthes 1977). Barthes addresses photos as "a message without a code": "a specific photograph, is never distinguished from its referent (from what it represents)" (Barthes 2000, 5). While we often read the photographic image as a captured reality, when taking a picture, a reduction or change "in proportion, perspective and colour" is, according to Barthes, taking place. This means that the photographic image is not real, although it is still experienced as analogous to reality (Rice 2016).

Let us pause to elaborate on Barthes' thinking. Language consists of a system of signs that represent objects. For example, the word "dog" represents the notion of dogs. However, in a photograph we have a more direct relationship with the object that it represents (although the dog is only to reach through the photographic mediation of the actual dog). Barthes means that we can see/reach the object through the image. Reality, then, in this case does not use a code that represents it. Barthes argues that it is a type of representation that reaches a reality behind the form. This idea has been challenged by the breakthrough of digital photography. In addition, scholars of social semiotics, such as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), states that the photograph itself could

be comprehended as a series of codes. Still, photos have a unique status. Or as put by Susan Sontag:

> What is written about a person or an event is frankly an interpretation, as are handmade visual statements, like paintings and drawings. Photographed images do not seem to be statements about the world so much as pieces of it, miniatures of reality that anyone can make or acquire. (Sontag 2008/1977, 5)

Photographs are sometimes experienced as proof of material facts: "a testament to the existence of a specific thing in a specific place at a specific time" (Rice 2016). However, as Sontag (1979) has rightly argued, that we can reach the real behind/through the image does not mean that photographs are not ideology-free proof of material facts.

Even though this chapter focuses on the impact and strategies of descriptions, Facebook posts, movie clips, and factual meetings rather than photographs, Barthes' theories are still relevant analyzing the different truths that are generated by civil society actors in Japan. Barthes, among others, elaborates on representations and our experiences of comprehending "the real." Here it is important to pinpoint that we never fully experience the real. First of all, there is always a gap between the description of an object and the object (Edkins 1999, 99). Among others, there are non-symbolized remains of the real that exist outside what we experience as the real (Žižek 1989, 2000, 132; Edkins 1999). Moreover, as elaborated by Sum and Jessop (2013), complexity is reduced in sense-making and meaning-making and: "sense and meaning-making not only reduce complexity for actors (and observers) but also give meaning to the world" (Sum and Jessop 2013, 3). Thus, even when we think that we experience the reality, there is a gap between our interpretations of the real and the real.

At the same time, somewhat paradoxically, it is not possible to separate between the representation and the real. There is no clear border between socially produced understandings of, for example, a tree and the matter of the tree in the moment we experience and read it. In addition, we must acknowledge the processual and agential character of material "things." This means that the real that Barthes addresses is not the real in the sense that it is objective facts corresponding to an absolute real, but rather what is *experienced* as the real. As we will see below, when members of the Japanese civil society are visiting villages in the Philippines and Cambodia, the visitors experience that they understand the reality of these people, while overlooking the fact that their reading of their meeting has been colored by their own interpretative categories and frameworks.

Moreover, the knowledge-making of the civil society around farmers in Philippines and Cambodia is not only dependent upon images and factual

meetings with these farmers, but also includes descriptions of these lives. As I argue below, descriptions could be understood as a form of constructive resistance. According to Sharon Marcus et al. (2016), academics may not always have a clear view of what a "description" is or what it does, but they know that they do not like it. Descriptions are considered to be "boring and static, rote rather than creative, reconstructive rather than constructive" (Marcus et al. 2016, 1). Still, when producing counter-narratives, descriptions can, as I will argue, be important components that mobilize emotions and questions, and rupture silences in regard to, for example, poverty.

The forthcoming sections elaborate on the example of Japanese civil society organizations and how their way of representing poverty seems to invoke dynamic, affective, and emotional processes. Emotions will, as stated in the Introduction, addressed as individual and collective experiences that are embedded, and emerge from, social processes. Emotions play an important role when mobilizing people for political reasons.

Below, I will address different ways in which strategies of representation can be played out as constructive resistance. This resistance is performed on behalf of and/or in solidarity with subjects in precarious positions. Proxy resistance does not always *challenge* power, but sometimes provokes and thereby simultaneously *strengthens* the power that is being challenged (Foucault 1990, 96; Baaz et al. 2017a; Lilja et al. 2017b). For example, images of poverty easily (re)construct stereotypical comprehensions of the "other."

STRATEGIES OF REPRESENTATION AS RESISTANCE: THE CASE OF JAPAN

Of the organizations that were interviewed in Tokyo in 2013 and in 2014, several of them discussed the difficulties that they experienced when seeking to mobilize people into political action. People were suggested to be "shortsighted" and live in the "here-and-now," without any considerations for the future. This section will discuss how these organizations used different strategies of representation, as a form of "doing" politics, to mobilize the population to take action in regard to, among others, poverty.[3]

Emotional Descriptions as Constructive Resistance

The respondents who were interviewed pinpointed that rich descriptions are particularly effective for producing knowledge in regard to precarity. This is interesting as descriptions are not usually assigned status but, in line with Amartya Sen, many scholars feel that "it is fair to say that description as an

intellectual activity is typically not regarded as very challenging. To characterize a work in the social sciences as 'purely descriptive' would not normally be regarded as high praise" (Sen 1980). Still, one of the respondents, when drawing on Tsurumi's "banana book," illustrated how descriptions have the ability to generate emotions and engender more radical attempts to "do something." She said:

> in the '80s here in Japan, a book about bananas and the Japanese people was published. The book described how the banana is a huge problem in the Philippines and in the big plantations. I don't know how many copies of the book they sold, a lot of people come to, when they cooked, feel worried about the bananas. But at the same time there are no organic bananas in the supermarkets in Japan. (. . .) In the book, there were so many stories in detail and until that time we know nothing about the bananas. People don't know about the agriculture business, which will get big money from that. (APLA, Tokyo 2013)

The above quotation displays the lack of knowledge around the cultivation of bananas in Japan before the book by Tsurumi was published in 1982. The respondent simply states that "until that time we knew nothing about the bananas." No particular mechanisms of suppressing knowledge are revealed in the quotation; rather, there is simply no information to access about the cultivation of bananas, the farming of bananas, the farmers, poverty, and the pesticides. In the context of this, the respondent presents the details of the stories of Tsurumi's book as an eye-opener, or a kind of discursive rupture.

In Tsurumi's book, descriptions prevail as a strategy of constructing new knowledge around the precarious lives that are lived by banana farmers. The descriptions in the book evoked interest and made the readers attentive to the new information. According to Marcus et al. (2016), describing something as a meaning-generating activity makes things intelligible and turns new phenomena or practices into objects of investigation and knowledge. Thus, descriptions "connects us to others—to those described, to the makers of what we describe, to other describers" (Marcus et al. 2016). How descriptions give an insight into the emotions of others is revealed in the interview with the representative of APLA:

> I think sometimes, you know often very difficult words are used to explain the situation about world and situation about the economy. But he [Tsurumi] with very easy word described how he himself walked in the heat. And he described his meeting with the people. So maybe it's the very, very first time we really knew (. . .) So, I think there are many people who are moved by the kind of that research. (APLA 2013)

Barthes argues in his essay "The Reality Effect" (1968) that "non-functional" descriptions and insignificant details, which do not add to the plot or tighten the structure of the text, are still important as they make a story feel real and create a "reality effect." The detailed texts of Tsurumi, in line with this, seem to have evoked feelings of "having been there" for his readership. The descriptions within *Banana to Nihonjin* touched people who were able to emotionally imagine what it is like to cultivate bananas. The detailed descriptions gave people insights into the emotions of others and gave them the possibility to temporarily switch subject positions (Marcus et al. 2016). The descriptions in the book—different words piled upon each other to form sentences—represent different objects and practices such as starvation, systematic poisoning, and hard work. However, as we interpret these objects and practices, they in turn represent, mediate, or are entangled in different emotions such as fear and grief, and give the reader the possibility to understand, read, and even experience these emotions. Emotions and interpretations appear as inseparable. As expressed by the respondent, "So maybe it's very, very first time we really knew. (. . .) So I think there are many people who are moved by the kind of that research." The emotional "surplus" of the book about bananas seems crucial for people to feel motivated to act politically, and to "do" politics through different organizations.

The emotional impact of the simple descriptions of walking "in the heat" might also be due to the descriptions' capacity to evoke images in the minds of the readers. Concrete representations, such as "heat" and "walk," create mental pictures more easily than more abstract nouns, such as justice (Tornborg 2014). Mental images presumably strengthen the impact of speech-acts on the part of the reader, which also evoke emotions, raise public attention, establish counter-narratives, and shape political subjectivities (Lilja and Lilja 2018).

Resistance is a heterogeneous phenomenon, which sometimes involves establishing knowledge in the context of power (i.e., constructive resistance). The representative practices outlined by Tsurumi are to be seen as a particular mode of producing knowledge. Tsurumi's descriptions offer a specific way of displaying precarious experiences or what Foucault calls subjugated knowledge. To write the book about bananas and thereby reveal the precarity of the banana farmers can be seen as a form of proxy resistance given that it is resistance carried out in solidarity with others. It is also a form of constructive resistance, as it aims to establish meaning around the practices of farming and bananas, thereby mobilizing actions around these practices. This can be seen as a resistance against the exploitation of farmers; still, at this point, it is not primarily resistance against something, but rather a constructive resistance, which builds new discourses around banana cultivations.

Yet, as is displayed in the next section, descriptions are not always enough for Japanese civil society members (or potential members) who want further proof of the pesticides, starving children, and poverty. Descriptions are experienced as just descriptions; thus, they are not read as anchored in any real evidence of existence. This is a problem with description—the descriptions are not proved. There must be a tremendous amount of trust placed in the describer in order for the description to be trusted, as descriptions are seldom confirmed (by representations that are read as corresponding with the real). This is contrary to, for example, photographs that are, as stated above, sometimes experienced as proof of material facts (Rice 2016).

The Real without a Code as an Engine for Political Subjectivities

As indicated above, Tsurumi's book has been highly embraced by the Japanese population (Morris-Suzuki 2011). According to APLA, however, Japanese civil society members are not generally persuaded by descriptions that provide an experience of a language that consists of a system of signs that represent, although emotionally, practices of farming. Instead, civil society activists (or potential activists) prefer a direct relationship with the objects that are represented. Or in other words, they want the narrative that revolves around precarious farmers, presented through representations that are experienced as the real. When reviewing the interviews, I found that several of our respondents worked to facilitate real-life experiences of poverty in order to mobilize support for the organizations' aid interventions. Trips were arranged to different areas, for the civil society members (or potential members) themselves to see the farmers, who experienced poverty. How can these trips be understood in terms of meaning-making and constructive resistance?

Barthes' theoretical ideas above can shed some light upon civil society activists in Japan, who desire a direct relationship with those who experience poverty. Unsatisfied with descriptions, members of the Japanese civil society want to experience what they consider the reality without a "code representing it." They want representations, which reach the real beyond images and descriptions, and that are understood as a proof of material facts. One APLA employee stated in regard to Tsurumi's book:

> So, those people really want to step forward to directly meet the farmers; not only meeting them in the book. The author of the book visited the Philippines, like Mindanao, and worked in the communities and then made a map of the area. So, I think the readers of the book also, you know that . . . people wanted to meet those people.

APLA has also arranged study trips to Negros Island in the Philippines when farmers at the sugar plantations were facing a starvation:

> So, they visited there, civil society members or NGO members, and they discovered those kids, who were facing hunger. And they've helped those people, the farmers, and they donated money because they really knew the real situation.

The quotations above display the link between knowing and acting, in the following way: "they donated money because they really knew the real situation." According to the respondent, the feeling of "really knowing the real situation" occurred after the civil society members had met the farmers themselves; that is, when they experienced that they had encountered the reality "without a code."

To get the farmers represented through descriptions does not appear, to the civil society members, as an evidence for the existence of those farmers. According to this logic, the knowledge one acquires through the interaction with the materiality of the farms is different from the one gained through descriptions. The knowledge and entangled emotions that emerge from study trips give rise to political action, and the study trips emerge as a form of constructive resistance.

Interviews carried out with Japan NGO Center for International Cooperation (JANIC) confirmed the narrative of APLA; they experienced difficulties when trying to mobilize people to fight poverty. According to the respondents from JANIC, many of their clientele, or potential clientele, do not trust their representations of the real to be the real, but demand real-life experiences in, for instance, Cambodia in order to embrace notions of poverty and inequality. JANIC explained this skepticism against imposed interpretations as specific to the Japanese people:

> people here, they don't trust the . . . they are interested in what we do but they want to confirm whether what we are reporting to them is real or not by themselves. So, they like to take part in the so-called study tours. Tours because they visit to the field and (. . .) The study tour is the Japanese way of studying about the realities in Cambodia and of the organizations who work in Cambodia. They hold the study tour for a group of 20 students, who are young girls, who are you know people between their 20s and 30s. They form a group and they visit. And they speak with you know the people that is the Cambodians and also the people who work there. And also they expose themselves to the reality that those people are living and they sum up . . . of course the degree of reaction is different but they bring back in their own definitions of assisting others and then they may continue to be aware of the issue and then they may become a donor to that specific organization. (. . .) Or, they might be inspired that I want to be part of this action so I might want to

change jobs. You know I want to be an NGO staff rather than you know employee at the office. And they might try to study on their own (. . .). Or they think of going to a master's study abroad or at home to gain more specific knowledge. Solve the issues, to be part of some bigger issue. (JANIC 2013)

Overall, the interviews with JANIC support the pattern outlined by APLA. Resurging counter-narratives evolve in direct contact with what is experienced as the real. The meeting with the materiality of the farmers creates a "reality effect." The strategies of representation that are used to create this effect can be understood as a form of resistance, which draw on what Barthes discusses as "the endless need to authenticate the 'real' " (Barthes 1982). Also, Kness and van Leeuwen (2006, 171) argue that one of:

the crucial issues in communication is the question of the reliability of messages. Is what we see or hear true, factual, real, or is it a lie, a fiction, something outside reality? (. . .) We routinely attach more credibility to some kinds of messages than to others. The credibility of newspapers, for instance, rests on the "knowledge" that photographs do not lie and that "reports" are more reliable than "stories", though since we wrote the first edition of this book the rise of Photoshop and "spin" have begun to undermine both these types of knowledge.

Before moving on, it is important to point out that both "the real" in Barthes terminology (i.e., the villagers or the villages) and texts describing rural areas compose representations. Representations are the building blocks of discourses through which we interpret what we see and hear. They also maintain and create the discourses surrounding the villages of Cambodia and the Philippines. The discourses form how we comprehend reality. Still, my respondents felt that there is a difference between different types of representations. One is perceived as reality "without a code" while the other (the descriptions) is experienced as representing reality through a code. Hence, in this text, Barthes' theories are used in order to separate between various representations, which are experienced differently.

As indicated above, an increasingly abundant scholarship of multimodal social semiotics has explored the "reality effect" of specific representations. But, as argued in this chapter, not only is the credibility of messages important but also how some messages provoke emotions are central in meaning-making processes. Or as expressed in one interview:

When I was watching the TV of course there are many news about the world or conflicts in the world. But I don't know maybe Japanese people think oh it's very far away from here. It is not our business. But maybe when we meet the people. Like I meet a friend from the Palestine or Kosovo there (when I was) in

Malmo. And I've heard their story directly. Then I was really moved or shocked
and decided to . . . I must get involved and work to resolve those problems.
(APLA, Tokyo 2013)

The twisted time and space of the movie clips of the evening news seemingly
create a distance, and the readers thereby remain emotionally untouched by
the messages within them, even though they are experienced as the real. This
creates a distance and a feeling of "I do not care." Thus, in order to create an
effect, not only the reliability but also the emotional impacts of the narrative/
image/photo matter.

It is worth adding a critical reflection here; the emotional meetings with
the farmers, discussed above, might be strengthened by a fascination of
difference. In the recognition of the farmers' experiences, cultural diver-
sity also becomes visible and experienced. The visitors might be struck
by what they interpret as exotic and fascinating differences, which again
twist the discourses. When lives are embraced as "unusual and exciting
because of coming from far away," this can be seen as a form of exoti-
cism.[4] Thus, in the meeting between farmers and the civil society actors,
resistance could both strengthen and challenge power (in the form of
stereotypical comprehensions). It works to produces different twisted
discourses and a surplus of meaning around precarious bodies. Thus, the
"reality effect" that is created through the meetings with subjects that are
framed as precarious possibly create a reduced or stereotyped understand-
ing of these lives. There is always a gap between the complex real and
our constructions of it. However, as previous research has pinpointed,
there are variations in regard to how much we reduce and simplify in our
productions of the real. Exoticism implies an unnecessary reduction of
complexity (cf. Dyer 1993).

The Nodes of Resistance: Everyday
Resistance through Social Media

While Foucault emphasizes that power relations form a dense web that per-
meates social institutions, it is still possible to locate "local centers" within
the production of knowledge. Among other things, Foucault displays how an
entire "watch-crew" of parents, nurses, doctors, and educators together com-
pose a "local center" of power-knowledge around a child (Foucault 1990).

The Tokyo interviews reveal how those who might be assumed to form this
"local center" of power-knowledge in Japan around poverty—for example aid-
workers, "experts," media, and "governmental staff"—are sometimes met with
skepticisms. Representatives of governing bodies and organizations are often
considered to twist the "truth" from reality, and deliver distorted characteriza-
tions that feed off or support dominant ideologies. One respondent explained:

false information spread during the time of World War II, propaganda that came from the major media and the government. So, people experience that, you know, the government information, even though they constitute the authority, may not necessarily tell the truth. So, you have to be selective. That you have to select on your own (who you trust). When they select, people tend to select the people close to them. (JANIC 2013)

According to the interviews, discourses around farmers living precarious lives are most successfully spread by friends and colleagues, often via social media. The "local centers" in the production of knowledge are composed of "poverty tourists" (Rolfes 2010) and their close ones, who are utilized by the organizations to spread and build discourses about precarious lives:

They visited there and after they met the people, kids there, they really determined to, you know, that they involved those movement to support. So that after they came back from the Philippines to their place, they talk, talk, talk with their friends and the movement. And then the movement grow. (APLA 2013)

The JANIC respondents similarly stated that their members, after visiting areas of famine, might

"hold reporting sessions with their friends" (…):

not a formal reporting session, but many of them will write on their Facebook or Twitter. Or maybe write essays to be submitted at their schools or offices. Yeah, so I think people will take action and be the spreading the word of what they have experienced (JANIC 2014).

Another respondent said:

And the second point I wanted to say is that the Japanese people trust that if . . . trust more that if your friend or your family member or your colleague or the people who are close to you rather than published announcements or reports. So, we ask them to assist us on the study tour or any event that we hold. We ask them to share what you have heard today or experienced today to others starting from people who are close to you. (JANIC 2014)

Jennifer Robinson (2000) pinpoints friendship as a "noisy" form of surveillance. She states, "Power can be understood as a mutual, although rarely equal, relationship (rather than simply a technology) in which active subjects (both 'dominated' and 'dominator') participate" (Robinson 2000, 68). Civil society organizations in Tokyo, however, embrace relations and practices of friendship, not as power, but to resist the hegemonic knowledge production

(or the lack of knowledge) around, among others, poverty, peticides, bananas and banana cultivation. The very trust in the friendship makes the resistance possible. Friendships become places where political messages such as "do not eat the wrong bananas" or "support local farmers not big companies" can be repeated and spread. By this, the members of the Japanese civil society, who communicate via Facebook, can be considered as practicing not only constructive resistance, but also everyday resistance. The mobilizing of friends and family members individually through personal channels corresponds to Scott's outline of resistance, where the key characteristic is that it is dispersed and not played out in public (Scott 1990).

The information emanating from friends is, according to JANIC, different from other forms of representations. It is information that "personalizes the experience" and it is a specific "way of communicating." According to one of my respondents, posters on an information board just provide facts and nothing to reflect on. But if your friends give you information you reflect more and (re)live and (re)experience the information. The trust in friends' knowledge seemingly mobilizes the critical agency that is needed for resisting power-knowledge frameworks. Indeed, being able to embrace and (re)live the lives of those who experience precarious situations is a way of emotionally embracing their lives. The critical potential of friendship networks thereby becomes crucial when mobilizing the civil society members in order to make them understand, embrace, and act upon inequalities, poverty, and pesticides. This can be seen as a form of constructive resistance that produces and (re)structures resisting subjectivities and contemporary discourses.

CONCLUDING REMARK

This chapter has discussed different practices of representing farmers who are (at least during periods of starvation) living precarious lives, and the character and effectiveness of each sign that is used in the knowledge-making process.

The strategies of representation analyzed in the chapter can be seen as a constructive form of resistance, which aims to establish new narratives and (re)structure subjectivities and contemporary bodies of knowledge. Overall, the analysis of the interviews with representatives of some Japanese social movements and NGOs displayed how these organizations construct particular discourses around the question of poverty by: (1) evoking emotional reactions; (2) representing the reality "without a code" thereby creating a "reality effect"; and (3) utilizing trusted sources of knowledge—in this case friends, colleagues, and family.

The respondents in this chapter pinpointed that detailed descriptions were eye-openers, or a kind of discursive rupture. Descriptions gave insights into the understandings, practices, and emotions of others. Still, the descriptions were experienced as giving no proof of the poverty or pesticides. Therefore, NGOs have posted study groups to different countries in order to establish a direct relationship with the object that was being represented. They want to show (what is comprehended as) the reality "without a code" representing it. It seems that civil society members in Japan must be convinced that they have experienced the real (or trust others stating this) in order to act upon the real (poverty, starvation, banana cultivation, etc.). Creating a "reality effect" emerges as a form of constructive resistance. Establishing a direct experience of the situation of those who live precarious lives, and the meeting and communication with these people, can be seen as a form of proxy resistance that is carried out in solidarity with those living precarious lives.

However, it is not enough to create a "reality effect." Movie clips of the evening news are, for example, to be seen as "proof"; they are verified as being images of the real, but still fail to emotionally touch the audience of the television program. Thereby, they also fail to mobilize people into action. Thus, according to my respondents, the effectiveness of the strategies of representation depends on, among other things, whether or not the messages (about precarious farmers) are creating a reality effect and if they evoke any emotional reactions.

After the study trips, the participants were encouraged to repeat the newly established discourses around the farmers' precarious situation within their social networks. When mobilizing some forms of knowledge, the organizations took advantage of everyday channels of communication and relations of trust. In particular, friendships were identified as important platforms in the production and spreading of knowledge around, among other things, poverty.

This partaking in the repeating of more emancipatory narratives can be seen as a more individualized and everyday form of resistance. The individuals' experiences of organized and public forms of "doing politics" (such as the arranged study tours), then, inspired civil society members to apply more everyday forms of resistance, which display some linkages between the individuality and collectiveness of resistance. There seems to be an upscaling, rise, or acceleration of the resistance where some representations (descriptions) lead to other strategies of representation, such as study trips and (thereafter) Facebook posts. Thus, the organizations provide us with an interesting example of how an escalation of resistance came about.

This chapter suggests that, when analyzing the production of knowledge as a form of constructive resistance, some of the aspects—such as the reality effect and the emotional impact of representations—should be considered (cf. Fairclough 1992; Wodak 2001; Van Dijk 2006).

NOTES

1. The quotations of the interviews that are presented in this text have been edited for clarity. This includes removing repetition and correcting grammar. I have also omitted certain fragmented passages that were difficult to comprehend.

2. The interviews were carried out by my research partner Mikael Baaz and me.

3. The analysis rests primarily upon interviews, but other sources of information—including scholarly texts, reports, and webpages of the organizations that are in focus—have also been considered in order to get a broader picture of the resistance of civil society organizations in Japan. Overall, the approach to this study is qualitative and is designed in an inter-disciplinary way in order to capture a more in-depth understanding of civil society and resistance.

4. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/exoticism

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Chapter 7

Artifacts, Affects, and Authenticity

Constructive Resistance in Museum Spaces

Contemporary marketplaces and cultural arenas are overfilled with objects that are considered as "copies," "fakes," and "reproductions." Generally, in these places, "copies" seem to be less valued than "authentic" objects—that is, objects that could be produced and authenticated through, for example, expert knowledge or certification; there is a desire for authenticity in museums as well as in society as a whole (Grayson and Martinec 2004).

The focus of this chapter is "authentic" objects that were exhibited in the exhibition *History Unfolds*, which was displayed in 2017 at the Museum of History, Stockholm, as well as the exhibition *Destination X*, which was shown in 2012 at the Museum of World Culture, Gothenburg. These exhibitions are analyzed in order to show how and why "authentic" artifacts are used at museums by the administrations, staff members, and artists, as a form of constructive "resistance," which has the aim of providing space for new voices and opening up different significations in regard to migration and migrants.

It is interesting that some material artifacts are more attractive and become more important to us because they were present during other times and have been felt and seen by the people of the past; perhaps during painful moments, grand time-periods, or dramatic ruptures. These artifacts are often seen as more fascinating and valuable than copies that have not "time-traveled." The "authentic" artifacts that are elaborated on in this chapter are embraced as "discursive materialities," which are created in the entanglement of matter with "the symbolic" (Lilja and Martinsson 2018). The emphasis is on the authenticity that is assigned to personal possessions (Grayson and Shulman 2004) or other artifacts, which could be spatiotemporally linked with migrant bodies. The "authentic" objects discussed are those that are ascribed

meaning—particularly due to their previous physical encounters with migrant bodies.

As demonstrated in the analysis below, "authentic" objects are sometimes exhibited in museums as a form of constructive resistance, to make visitors abandon their standard interpretations and negotiate categories such as "us" and "them." The forthcoming sections display how "authentic" artifacts, when used as meaning-making resistance in museum spaces, come to symbolize "matter-out-of-place," be seen as "living" objects with "memories," remove distances, and create time-lagged processes of signification that are interweaved in emotional processes. These artifacts are used to establish elaborated alternative discourses and/or deconstructed understandings of history. In addition, they can be said to be a means of constructive resistance, as they not only complexify and problematize various dimensions of the issue of migration but also contribute to the production of different truths.

The analysis in this chapter builds upon observations within the above-mentioned exhibitions; I have spent time viewing, reading, and experiencing the exhibitions, and I have also observed how the visitors interacted with the exhibited artifacts and texts. Over and above this, I draw on texts that describe and analyze the exhibitions.

EXHIBITION SPACES, ARTIFACTS, MIGRATION, AND RESISTANCE: *DESTINATION X* AND *HISTORY UNFOLDS*

As stated above, the key focus of this chapter is "authentic" objects, particularly those that are on display in museums in relation to migration. Migration is cross-boundary in nature as people travel between countries in order to flee from, among other things, terror and violence (Migrationsverket 2015). Subjects who move to a new country materialize as "migrants" in the tension between different discourses, localities, and materialities. The migrant position is one that might embody a short or long period of time.

In 2016 the Swedish Migration Agency stated that the need for resettlement of people was greater than ever before and the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) estimated that some 1.2 million individuals needed this form of protection (Migrationsverket 2016a). In 2015, the Swedish parliament adopted a number of legislative changes that lessen asylum seekers' possibilities to stay in Sweden. Among other things, a law was adopted that limits asylum seekers' possibilities of being granted residence permits and the possibility for the applicant's family to come to Sweden. Although these legislative changes are temporary, they have become a major obstacle for many migrants. In short, Sweden has gone from having the European

Union's (EU) most generous asylum laws to adopting the minimum EU level (Migrationsverket 2016b).

Today migration and integration are top issues on the political agenda in Sweden. The current rise of populism and social conservatism feeds on fears of migration. Museums have come to constitute one space in which various discourses around migrants have been contested.[1]

The migrant position is not only an abstract position, but also a position that is embodied and understood by subjects who perform their situation. This chapter examines how this position is constructed in museum exhibitions, by artists, curators, and migrants.

The Museum of World Culture, Gothenburg, Sweden, displayed different symbols of migration (e.g., suitcases) during its exhibition *Destination X (2010–2012)*. The exhibition involved commissioned pieces of art, sound-scapes, media installations, and more traditional showcases with shoes and other objects. Among other things, the exhibition explored the driving force behind people's desire to move around the world in general—as tourists and migrants, global families, business travelers, refugees, and adventurers. By representing different "travels," the exhibition itself could be, at least partly, understood as a form of resistance that questioned and constructed norms. The political aim of the exhibition was revealed by, among other things, the photos of Rogelio Lopez Cuenca (Spain), who works with paradoxical "complementing" images by combining, for example, images from tour-ist brochures with documentary images. In one of his installations at the Museum of World Culture, an image of a pool party with happy tourists was put next to an image of refugees—probably from North Africa—struggling for their lives in the sea.

In another space of the exhibition, the visitors were introduced to *La Frontera*, the border between Mexico and the United States, which is one of the most crossed borders in the world. In the large sculpture-like artwork of Valarie James, named *Hardship and Hope*, "authentic" backpacks and water bottles that were left at *La Frontera* by people trying to cross the border were presented as a personal testimony in the form of a small altar (Museum of World Culture 2010). By displaying installations like Rogelio Lopez Cuenca's photos or Valerie James' sculpture, the perilous and precari-ous situation of migrants appeared in several ways. The artworks offered an interpretation of both the inequalities in the migrants' native country and their attempts to escape it (Museum of World Culture 2010).

Another exhibition that used "authentic" objects to discuss the situations of refugees was *History Unfolds* (2016–2017) at the Swedish History Museum. Several artists were invited to create new artwork inspired by the museum's collections and research. The participating artists were Esther Shalev-Gerz, Dušica Dražić, James Webb, Minna L. Henriksson, Elisabeth Bucht, Artur

Żmijewski, Jananne Al-Ani, Hiwa K, Susan Meiselas (until September 4, 2017), and Meriç Algün Ringborg. The work of the artist Esther Shalev-Gerz is discussed in the forthcoming analytical sections.

In one room of the museum, "the Gold Room," Shalev-Gerz introduced the spectators to five historians who unfolded potential stories of specific objects that they had selected from the museum collection. Over and above this, five people who recently migrated to Sweden showed an object that they brought with them on their journey. These chosen objects, the "authentic" artifacts, were displayed in the exhibition together with the personal stories of the newly arrived subjects. These narratives were presented as part of a larger story about lives that are currently being lived (Shalev-Gerz 2017). Shalev-Gerz explained that "it's not often we hear refugees tell their stories or speak out. We only hear others who explain how many have been saved. We are in a difficult situation now that requires strong measures" (Shalev-Gerz 2017, my translation). As indicated in this quotation, the exhibition attempted to let the silent be heard and make space for alternative truths. While Shalev-Gerz stated, "History is so important because it excludes so much," the Swedish History Museum wrote on their homepage that the exhibition, *History Unfolds*, made the invisible visible and explored what is hidden and forgotten. On the "reflections" section of their homepage, it was pinpointed that the hidden or silenced are generally connected with underlying norms that inform what is exhibited at the museum.

Both exhibitions discussed above, can be understood as performing politics in solidarity with (self and society defined) migrants. For example, one of the curators of *Destination X* stated that the exhibition revolved around "who has the freedom to move and who doesn't. Today if you don't have the right color passport, money, or skin, you can't move freely" (Levitt 2017, 43). This must be seen as an attempt to shed light upon, and thereby resist, power-loaded discourses that limit the possibility of some groups or subjects to move. This form of (proxy) resistance—carried out in solidarity with others—does not always *challenge* power; knowledge-producing resistance can also provoke power, thereby simultaneously *strengthen* the power that is being challenged (Baaz et al. 2017; Foucault 1990, 96). In addition, in regard to proxy resistance, there are not always clear borders between those considered to be "subalterns" and the "activists"; the two might overlap or subjects might move between different positions.[2]

CONSTRUCTIVE RESISTANCE IN
EXHIBITIONS IN MUSEUM SPACES

How are "authentic" artifacts—such as the suitcases and water bottles of the exhibition *Destination X (2010–2012)* or the migrants' belongings displayed

at the *History Unfolds* (2016–2017)—exhibited and understood in museum exhibitions in order to try to establish or deconstruct different significations? Overall, below, I will discuss how different material artifacts are used as a kind of resistance in order to deconstruct and (re)construct various "truths" around the migrant figure in museum spaces. The below analysis is inspired by Foucault's (1990, 100) outline of discourses, which reinforce power, but also "undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (Foucault 1990, 101). According to Foucault, repetitions of points of power and resistance, which fuel and produce each other, seem to occur in longer discursive processes (Foucault 1990, 96; Lilja 2018). This kind of resistance appears are spreads over time and space at varying densities.

Resistance is hereby parasitic on discourses, and discourses are the bearers of power-relations, control, and authority (Foucault 1990, 100). Discourses reinforce power, but also "undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (Foucault 1990, 101). According to Foucault, repetitions of points of power and resistance, which fuel and produce each other, seem to occur in longer discursive processes (Foucault 1990, 96; Lilja 2018). This kind of resistance appears are spreads over time and space at varying densities. It is not resistance as in a radical rupture, but rather mobile and transitory points of resistance that are:

> producing cleavages in a society that shift about, fracturing unities and effecting regroupings, furrowing across individuals themselves, cutting them up and remoulding them, marking off irreducible regions in them, in their bodies and minds. Just as the network of power relations ends by forming a dense web that passes through apparatuses and institutions, without being exactly localized in them, so too the swarm of points of resistance traverses social stratifications and individual unities. (Foucault 1990, 96)

Resistance is a reaction against power and exists where power exists; still resistance is not, as Foucault states, "only a reaction or rebound, forming with respect to the basic domination an underside that is in the end always passive, doomed to perpetual defeat" (Foucault 1990, 96). Instead, resistance is a multitude of scattered and creative actions or points with different aims and functions (Lilja 2018).

In this chapter, the items that are considered to be "authentic objects" inform discourses and could be seen as "points of resistance" in longer meaning-making processes. "Authentic" objects, which are comprehended as objects that operated in the past and bear historical significance, create emotional encounters, and affect discourses, thus, have political consequences. The resistance that is analyzed in this chapter can then be seen as a constructive form of resistance that aims to make silenced voices heard, draw attention to migration issues, and create knowledge, emotions, and new

reflections in regard to the migrant position. The things displayed in museum spaces compose representations that maintain, challenge, or create discourses in complex networks. It is representations—which comprise a multiplicity of elements—that partake in the struggle over the truth of migration and migrant subjects.

As will be suggested below the artifacts, as means of resistance, are partly effective due to how they evoke different emotions. Resistance sometimes comes about or has an impact when subjects are empathetically "feeling" the trauma of others. In addition, the provoking of emotions is sometimes the very goal of resistance, as emotions fuel political struggles (Ahmed 2004, Goodwin Jasper and Polletta 2001; Baaz et al. 2018; Lilja 2017).

AUTHENTIC OBJECTS

Before developing my arguments around "authentic" objects as a means of constructive resistance in museum spaces, let us take a detour around the concept of authenticity. According to Grayson and Martinec (2004) the concept of "authentic" denotes an object that is not thought of as being a copy or an imitation but is believed to be "the original" or "the real thing." The meaning of the concept of authenticity has transformed over time. As stated in previous chapters, Bernard M. Feilden and Jukka Jokilehto (1993) in *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, stress the importance to respect historic material and to distinguish new material from historic so as not to fake or to mislead the observer (Feilden and Jokilehto 1993, 67). To embrace the principles of "minimum intervention" is in conformity with the vision of the World Heritage Convention (1972), which aims to preserve sites for the benefits of future generations. This viewpoint reflects what Ning Wang (1999) labels as an objective authenticity, which implies that authenticity lies in the object and can be measured with absolute and objective criteria (cf. Chhabra et al. 2003; Cohen and Cohen 2012; Grayson and Martinec 2004).

Wang (1999) not only introduces the concept of objective authenticity but also discusses more constructive approaches to "authentic" artifacts exhibited. In the constructivist mind-set, the authenticity of objects is the result of social constructions and "the symbolic" (Belhassen et al. 2008; Mkono 2012; Wang 1999). Ideas, practices, and artifacts are constituted in social practices. The constructive approach has contributed to a shift in focus from the product to constructors/consumers of "authentic" artifacts or settings (e.g., Binkhorst and den Dekker 2009; Wang 1999).

Authenticated historical objects that emerge in the relationship between the object and the viewer are not to be seen as binary or in opposition to the inauthentic. For example, objects that are not "authentic"—in the sense that

they are the original objects—sometimes come to possess their own authenticity and are considered to be important objects in their own right. The things discussed in this chapter have been exhibited at museums and are assigned a kind of authenticity due to their previous physical encounters with migrant bodies.

ARTIFACTS, AFFECTS, AND AUTHENTICITY

As stated above, this chapter discusses how "authentic" objects, associated with migration, are to be seen as a means of constructive resistance, which produces new meaning. During the nineteenth century, many museums were established in order to manifest contemporary knowledge. This was a response to a need to understand the present. The museums also became as tools for bio-political strategies through being institutions that promoted the traditions and symbols of the nation. As a standard procedure, museums have collected, classified, and exhibited items according to the norms and values of their time (Swedish History Museum n.d.).

According to the Swedish History Museum, history is used to build identities, brands, and societies. According to the museum, it has more than 10 million objects and its collection holds many hidden and invisible stories that are ready to be unfolded. As new understandings and research perspectives emerge, new narratives and interpretations of the objects are displayed. This is a trend that the museum encourages (Swedish History Museum n.d.).

As stated above, Esther Shalev-Gerz was invited to the Swedish History Museum to unfold hidden stories and give new interpretations of history. By aiming to make new voices heard in extraordinary times, Shalev-Gerz asked five migrants to describe one object that they carried with them on their journey. She also asked them to lend the objects to the museum for a period of one year, which she states "is a long period of time, being away from these valuable objects." Shalev-Gerz continued, "If these objects would start to speak now, what would they tell us?" (Shalev-Gerz 2018). These sentences, I suggest, reveal how Shalev-Gerz depicts the objects as inherent carriers of memories, experiences, and as objects of love, to which humans create strong emotional bonds with. This understanding of objects was also reflected in the exhibition *Destination X*, in which Valarie James and her colleague artist Antonia Gallegos described abandoned objects in the border areas as having an "inner life." Gallegos told *America Tonight*, "They (the objects) were no longer just objects we were picking up. They took on a life of their own" (Gallegos in Amin and Gliha 2014).

As discussed previously, material objects have lately been considered to have agency. Karen Barad, for example, introduces the concept of "agential

realism" and argues that the nature/material prevails within poststructuralism as a passive being that is defined in relation to an active culture. According to Barad, the relationship between "discursive" and "non-discursive" practices needs to be theorized. Barad states:

> To restrict power's productivity to the limited domain of the "social," (. . .) or to figure matter as merely an end product rather than an active factor in further materialisations, is to cheat matter out of the fullness of its capacity. (Barad 2003)

Overall, Barad asks for research that provides us with an understanding of the relationship between discursive practices and material phenomena, an accounting of "non-human" as well as "human" forms of agency, and an account of matter's implication in its ongoing historicity (Barad 2003). Thus, the view of human agency as human's intentionality and individual reflections is complemented with the idea of matter as an "agentive force" that informs discursive formations and productions and, thus, contributes to the understanding of various political struggles (Bennet 2010; Fox and Alldred 2017; Lilja 2018).

Barad's theorizing, thus, grants agency to material artifacts and pinpoints their role in the production of discourses, power relations, and the ongoing historicity of bodies. Gallegos' and Shalev-Gerz's approach to objects, however, seems to go beyond the theorizing of Barad as well as my view of "new materialism." Objects do not only impact discourses, practices, and memories—with their materiality—but they are embraced, by the artists, as "living," and with "memories" as they have been marked by previous travels in time and space. By this view the artists' understandings of matter differ from or move beyond Barad's theorizing. Hans Ruin states that Esther Shalev-Gerz tries to:

> make objects readable again, not just as found treasures brought from afar but also as testimonies to a tradition of longing for beauty and fine craftsmanship, and stories of families and generations. She wanted to evoke them afresh as cultural objects and "memory vessels". In order to liberate the memories inherent in things, she chose to pair up the rather dry scientific narratives of archaeologists and historians with the stories of objects that refugees recently arrived have carried with them. (Ruin 2017, 65)

The temporal dimension of physical objects and their "time-travels" are then considered by Shalev-Gerz to inform both the material artifacts themselves and our imaginations. She claims that if they could talk, they would reveal to us previously unheard stories, which would indicate that there is more to the

artifacts than what we currently know. The objects, then, could unsettle what we know. This prevails as a form of constructive resistance, which shakes, and add to, the current knowledge regimes.

The importance of the mobility and traveling of artifacts is also emphasized by Hans Ruin in regard to the *History Unfolds* exhibition. He states that displaying the time-traveling of an artifact is what distinguishes it from "objects representative of a type"—the artifact becomes an "individual" object, with a history of its own. He argues:

> Ordinarily, objects tend to lose their individuality and become representative of a type when they are included in a collection of the Swedish History Museum, but these objects become individual by being identified as someone's object, each with its own history. Thus, they also encourage a fresh reading of the anonymous objects in the collection, which have also come a long way, been bought or stolen, been melted down and reforged, which have been worn and given away as gifts, which someone at some point in time has hidden, lost or perhaps taken with them to their final destination. (Ruin 2017, 65)

Objects can, thus, be seen as nothing but "one out of many." However, individualized objects with specific and known travels in time and space emerge as more than just a representative of a group of objects—instead it embodies and concretizes different narratives (Trenter 2000, 50–63; Lilja 2017). Thus, the historical travels of, or someone owning, an artifact give the artifact a new status as well as a new role in meaning-making. It transforms our comprehensions of the artifact and the discourses around it.

The emotional meetings with these artifacts are probably strengthened by a fascination of "the different." In the moment of experiencing the migrants' lost bags, the migrants' journeying becomes "real" for the visitors. In the recognition of the migrant's marginalized experiences, cultural diversity also becomes visible and experienced. The visitors might be struck by what they interpret as exotic and fascinating differences, which again wrench the discourses around the authenticized artifacts. This can be seen as a form of exoticism. According to Kuehn (2014) exoticism is a complex philosophical, historical, and representational issue, and is concerned with the perception and description of difference. What might be interpreted as "exotic" representations rarely give the truth or reality about past or far away cultures; rather, they are aesthetic understandings that are produced in a specific historical context. The interpretations of "authentic" artifacts (e.g., suitcases), their past owners, and historical epochs are then strengthened by "a touch of exoticism," which, in the movement or reading of the "thing," produces a surplus of aesthetic meaning. This implies that even though the artists of the above-mentioned exhibitions had the emancipatory goal and aim of personalizing

the migrants by showing their situation, and consciously combating prejudice through complex understandings of difference in representation, sometimes elaborating differences ends up in circumscribed truths and hypervisible differences. Thus, resistance, which is caught up in the crossroads between concretism, hypervisibility, and exoticism, both strengthens and challenges power-loaded discourses. It sometimes produces different truths around migrant bodies, which are sometimes somewhat twisted.

Occasionally, the objects displayed at museums represent artifacts of citizens who might not be alive. As stated above, in the *Destination X* exhibition, the sculpture-like artwork of Valarie James named *Hardship and Hope* introduced the visitors of the exhibition to *La Frontera*, the border between Mexico and the United States, by displaying artifacts such as backpacks and water bottles that migrants left in the border area (Museum of World Culture 2010). *La Frontera* is a dangerous place, and the number of people who die crossing the border each year has remained relatively steady. In 2013, at least 194 people died along the Arizona border, and 212 deaths were recorded in 2009 (Amin and Gliha 2014). Valarie James describes her reflections in regard to the forgotten artifacts as follows:

> I look at something like this (pulling an old jacket) and I see the journey (. . .) All this material was strewn about across the bluff. A baby bottle, the shampoo bottle, the diapers (. . .) There were little dresses, tiny little dresses for a toddler. And I remember this feeling of panic. I felt frightened for this woman. (James in Amin and Gliha 2014)

James and fellow artist Gallegos have also found bags, and wondered who used to own the bags and whether these persons made it out of the desert alive. Cross-temporal relationships seem to have developed through time, between the artists and the bodies of those "who-were-there." Such cross-temporal relationships between the living and (sometimes) the non-living—or disappeared bodies—dissolve the boundaries between presence and absence, non-materiality and materiality, present and past, as well as subject and object. Matter comes to matter in order to remove distance from abstract events. When closeness is experienced with the non-living and their lives, through the emotional reading of "authentic" artifacts (diapers, backpacks, etc.), the lives of the migrants become less abstract, and the stories, images, and sounds that are ascribed to other times affect current discourses and practices. The moment in which we experience that the present is connected with the past, the very idea of the present as a singular, linear moment must be questioned. Instead, we experience "multiple temporalities operating in the same moment" (Dinshaw 2013, 110). In addition, the us-and-them divide is dissolved as we are emotionally touched by

the non-present bodies. This illuminates how "authentic" artifacts can be used as means of constructive resistance when negotiating the discourses of migration.

As stated above, both James and Gallegos wondered who owned the artifacts and whether the persons—the owners—are still alive. Discourses of ownership add authenticity to things, and our understanding of artifacts as "owned" can make artifacts without their owners worrisome. What happened here? Why are the artifacts separated from their owner? At the *Destination X* and *History Unfolds* exhibitions, the displayed "authentic" objects are belongings of contemporary dead or living bodies. Still, these objects are not with their owners, but rather display what Mary Douglas presents as "matter-out-of-place"—ambiguous things that do not fall neatly into the category of "belonging" (Douglas 1966). Thus, personal and "owned" things without an owner create questions and emotions, break unwritten codes and/or create insecurity, and remove us from "taking-for-granted" positions (Kristeva 1982 in Hall 1997, 236; Stallybrass and White 1986). As Ruin states, objects "become individual by being identified as *someone's* object" (Ruin 2017, 65). Overall, lost things become powerful representations of insecurity and abnormal situations. These "authentic" artifacts, which symbolize disorder, are, I suggest, used in museums to provide us with "new lenses" to emotionally experience the insecurity of others in order to negotiate boundaries between "us" and "them."

James and Gallegos started to take the items that they found—such as medication, perfume, children's backpacks, shoes, family photos, and identification cards—and turned them into art in order to represent a complex story of desperation, death, family, and survival. Their art displays how objects get us closer to and remove the distance from abstract and far away events; the incidents that happened to people who were on the run. Events, tradition, and times, which seem abstract and far away, become more concrete and imaginable when we see or touch objects that were present during these events, and we experience them more intensely. Material closeness is experienced by someone when they touch something that has been touched by someone else—even if it is a body of a past age. The migrants' own objects exhibited at *History Unfolds* as well as the backpacks, shoes, family photos, and identification cards at *Destination X* became representations, which together constructed new knowledge of what was presented as the precarious lives of migrants. The artifacts appear as being means of constructive resistance—they compose signs, which occur in, and inform, longer discursive processes around migrant bodies (Foucault 1990, 96). It is a kind of constructive resistance that, through a multiplicity of discursive elements, produces not-taken-for-granted knowledge around the lives of migrants.

More generally, *Destination X* did not aim to propose any answers. Instead, according to the curator Klas Grinell, the exhibition was put forth to make the visitors consider "who belongs somewhere, who should stay, and who should travel is rather contingent" (Levitt 2017, 43). The exhibition, then, did not intend to produce or promote any "stable" messages; rather, the exhibition worked with more ambivalent representations and unstable suggestions, and gave rise to unexpected reflections and knowledge (Booth 1974, 234–44; Colebrook 2004, 16–21; Lilja 2008).

"Authentic" artifacts are often presented together with texts or oral stories on television screens. Different forms of representations—artistic installations, artifacts, and descriptions—are exposed simultaneously, which makes the message more complex. Barthes illustrates this with the tension that appears in-between photographic images and texts. The photograph is often in communication with at least one other accompanying "structure," namely, the text, title, caption, chapter, as well as press photographs. According to Barthes, "The totality of the information is, thus, carried by two different structures (one of which is linguistic). These two structures are co-operative but, since their units are heterogeneous, necessarily remain separate from one another" (Barthes 1977, 16). An image or an artifact might illustrate and make text clearer but, on the other hand, text also risks loading the image—burdening it—with a cultural, moral, and/or an imaginary narrative (Barthes 1977).

At *History Unfolds*, the materiality of migrants' "authentic" objects was complemented by the linguistic stories of their journeys. The objects displayed were owned by people who recently found refuge in Sweden. Esther Shalev-Gerz had invited them to show the few things that they brought along on the long journey of their plight. Their chosen object, according to Esther Shalev-Gerz, unfolds both their personal story and the story of our times. For example, in the exhibition a wristwatch, belonging to Sawsan, was presented together with an explanatory text. This text was quite emotional and stated the following narrative:

> Sawsan and her husband got two watches of a family member before they got married. They used the watches to communicate between two balconies. Her wish is that the two watches reunite when Sawsan's husband will come to her here in Sweden. Sawsan has been lending the watches to the museum during one year and she speaks about it in Esther Shalev-Gerz's video and installation "The Gold Room." (my translation)

The text locates the watch as a node around which love was organized and made possible. The separated watches come to symbolize lovers who are apart with the desire to be together, while evoking emotions of sympathy over the suffering: a universal feeling that arises as we miss our loved ones.

Over and above the watch, a gold cross was presented together with the following text:

> Lusian brought this gold cross when he escaped Syria to Sweden. His entire family, which he is now separated from, gave him gold to make it. This makes the cross not only very valuable but also very emotionally loaded. He has lent his cross to the museum but only for a month.

The message attached to the gold cross made the reading of the object richer and more complex. Reading the text/artifact, together they presented universal feelings of love, suffering, and longing. While being heterogeneous, the artifact and the text were still cooperative and supported each other, which strengthened the emotional message of the cross. The text also promised the authenticity of the cross, while troubling the artifact with imaginary scenarios, inner-visualized pictures, recognitions, and emotions (Barthes 1977). The concrete representation (the artifact) also supported and strengthened the linguistic message of the text. Overall, different kinds of signs served as dense, but also complex, message around the migrating subject. The strategy of representation that was used seemingly aimed at mobilizing emotions in order to produce new knowledge around migrant subjects. This reveals how important emotions are when performing constructive and signifying resistance.

The above displays how adding linguistic representations—written or oral stories—to an object opens up a new reading of the "authentic" artifact, which removes an automatized reading of the signs. It also authenticates the object. Different signs (written and material) assemble in unexpected and expected ways, which slow down the interpretation or decoding process and open up new and alternative interpretations of the artifact. Together, the combination of linguistic representations and artifacts prevails as means of constructive resistance against stereotyped constructions of migrants.

Ones interpretation of an "authentic" artifact can also be connected to the construction of memories. As stated above, anthropologist Victor Turner (1974) argues that a repetition is a reenactment and a re-experiencing of a set of meanings that have already been socially established. An "authentic" artifact is recognized and followed by similar artifacts, which are still different from the artifact's contemporaries. Artifacts are interpreted from previous meetings with similar (but not the same) artifacts. This indicates that when experiencing artifacts and recognizing them, it informs the creation of future memories. When re-experiencing the same artifact (or a similar artifact) in the future, former meetings with the object impact on the memories that will now be created. This points to the importance of exhibitions and the displaying and explaining of artifacts within museum spaces. We must (re)claim and (re)understand the meaning of artifacts in order to produce new kinds of

future (emancipatory) memories (cf. Shalev-Gerz 1999). As in the exhibitions analyzed, "authentic" artifacts are used in more constructive acts of resistance to combat—what is interpreted as—silences and prejudices by adding more complex and emotional understandings in regard to migration.

CONCLUDING REMARK

In the exhibitions analyzed above, the artifacts displayed were valued and appreciated as "authentic", since they belong/belonged to someone who migrated and been present during (at least parts of) different journeys. The artifacts were used as a means of resistance in discursive knowledge-making, with the aim to move the spectators, make them experience emotions, and open their minds for resignifications. The artists draw on "authentic" artifacts to display the migrants' vulnerability and let their voices be heard. As the viewers engaged with the material artifacts, new interpretations and emotions emerge. Emotions are a part of remembering, and they inform what moments we keep alive. This makes them a particularly important aspect of meaning-making resistance.

In the exhibitions, the artifacts were seemingly imagined as having "human" qualities. Both Gallegos and Shalev-Gerz described the objects as, somehow, alive. The artifacts, in their view, had memories and they took "on a life of their own" (Gallegos in Amin and Gliha 2014). Esther Shalev-Gerz, for example, indicated that the artifacts would, if they could speak, reveal unheard stories to us; thus, they contain the unknown, which we can only imagine. Esther Shalev-Gerz's view on material artifacts makes authenticity central to the very meaning of the exhibition. This standpoint of material objects goes beyond Barad's interpretations of the material (Amin and Gliha 2014).

Different materialities, then, become important because they have been present during other times and felt by the people who are now absent. When imagined as objects that have attended painful moments or dramatic ruptures, these artifacts have, in some contexts, a higher attraction than replicas. These artifacts are experienced as being more interesting, fascinating, and valuable than copies that have not "time-traveled." "Authentic" artifacts can be affective, and create emotions, and alternative meanings. This opens up for a politics of authenticity.

"Authentic" artifacts, as we have seen above, can symbolize "matter-out-of-place" (e.g., children's backpacks in the desert border area) or be seen as a hybrid where different signs assemble in unexpected ways (e.g., a baby shoe and blood, or diapers in the sand). These artifacts do not easily fit into discourses of childhood. By displaying these, the artists, with their artwork, not

only added their understandings and their emotional experiences to what we do or do not know about migrant lives, but also shook the existing knowledge and opened up other ways of knowing. Thus, "authentic" artifacts matter in meaning-making processes, and when they are displayed, they sometimes compose a means of constructive resistance.

Of particular interest is how "authentic" artifacts make us embrace the stories of absent subjects into our lives and let them affect and inform us in the here-and-now. As these configured, fictional stories come to life "within" us, the boundaries between the self and others, the subject and object, and the past and present are dissolved. Thus, the stories, images, and sounds that are ascribed to other spaces and times are affecting our contemporary discourses and practices (Dinshaw 2013, 110).

In this chapter, proxy resistance—that is, resistance performed on behalf of and/or in solidarity with someone performing a subaltern position (in this case, migrants)—is interpreted as a practice that has sprung from different ethical considerations. The aim of the exhibitions, as understood here, was to let migrants be heard and seen, and to display their precariousness and different relations of power. The displaying of "authentic" artifacts in order to create closeness to "the other" has a number of impacts—some of which are probably to be seen as emancipatory. However, as argued above, in the attempts to display the migrant figuration, there is a risk that it becomes "exotic" and hypervisible, which thereby strengthens the divide between "us" and "them." Critical voices are sometimes heard against the "industry" of taking the stranger "home" and making their "differences" appear in museum spaces (cf. Karlsson Blom and Lundahl 2012). I would like to suggest that resistance, in any form, almost always profits from, or even creates, power while it challenges repressive, authoritarian, or discursive power.

NOTES

1. In 2016, Malmö University had a conference named "Museums in Times of Migration and Mobility: Processes of Representation, Collaboration, Inclusion and Social Change" (Malmö University 2016). According to the call for papers, museums have the potential to affect our notions of the world. Museums can be seen as venues in which the past and present status of issues such as migration, mobility, transnational connections, and human rights can be explored, as well as providing the possibility to facilitate positive changes in how people relate to each other in the wider society. From this angle, it is highly relevant to delve into how "migrants" emerge in museum contexts. In the first part of the twenty-first century, several exhibitions in Sweden involved "authentic" objects in order to display patterns and practices of migration.

2. HYPERLINK "https://gupea.ub.gu.se/bitstream/2077/58547/1/gupea_2077
_58547_1.pdf" https://gupea.ub.gu.se/bitstream/2077/58547/1/gupea_2077_58547
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Part III

RESISTANCE AND TIME

Chapter 8

Geographies of Time and Resistance

Time is a difficult notion to conceptualize. Within the scholarship of social sciences, it is often seen as social practices that is represented and replicated (see e.g. Ikuko 1997; Nowotny 1992; Shimada 1995; Lilja et al. 2019). But time is not just a category or the rhythmicity of the physical environment that we organize ourselves according to during our lifetime—every day we are involved in a material world with a temporal core (Hörning et al. 1999; Haraldsson and Lilja 2017). Barbara Adam states, "Time is about god and the universe, life and death, knowledge practices and the human condition. The relationship to time is at the very root of what makes us human" (Adam 2006, 119).

In one way "time," then, refers to everyday biological processes such as birth and the aging of things and bodies, which proceed moment by moment. On the other hand, we constantly *do* time when we organize, understand, and spend time. How we *do* time could, at least partly, be addressed in terms of temporalities, which can be used to illustrate different perceptions of time periods and how time is organized, not at least in relation to future and the past (cf. Amin 2014; Dinshaw 2007).

The enactment of temporalities is, to some extent, performative; that is, bodies act out temporalities, which they contribute to establish. Given this, various kinds of repetitions and the constant remaking of patterns matter. In the assemblage of *natureculture*, different temporalities are produced as a form of constructive resistance and contribute to forming existing and emerging realities (Åsberg 2013). And, as with other forms of political struggles, resistance and power are bound to each other.

In this chapter, previous research within the field will be reviewed and different theoretical themes will be outlined, which could inspire more in-depth

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(empirical) studies of temporal resistance. These themes are quite different from one another, thereby highlighting the different qualities of temporal, but constructive, resistance and the different time-related issues that they tackle. Overall, the themes give an initial overview of the field of temporal resistance and they include the following: (1) memories as a tool for resistance; (2) time-transcending communities of resistance; (3) deceleration as resistance; and (4) utopias, futures, and other time ruptures. These themes are discussed from different theoretical perspectives that underpin the argumentation, and I also draw upon a few empirical examples in order to reveal why the concept of time incites a discussion on power and resistance.

TIME AND POWER

As implied above, time and temporalities enmesh in relations of power. Foucault has shown that control of time (and space) is fundamental to disciplinary power (see the forthcoming chapter). Likewise, Barbara Adam displays how the governing of time means having power over social actions, subjective experiences, and subjectivities. Adam describes this control as follows:

> The control of time [. . .] includes the slowing down of processes, the re-arrangement of past, present and culture, the re-ordering of sequence, and the transformation of rhythmicity into a rationalized beat. (Adam 2003, 69)

Mechanical clock time is a modern way to conceptualize and organize time that historically became institutionalized with the emergence of an industrialized capitalist society (Adam 1990). Currently, precarious workers respond to new expectations and an accelerated tempo under neoliberal conditions. In this, the instruments of governing interact with conditions of economic exploitation and modes of subjectivation (Lorey 2011, 2015).

The governing of time is to be seen as a temporal, biopolitical form of governing. Different political interventions, such as the "introduction activities" for newly arrived migrants or "parental leave," structure and organize our time. Computerized administrative systems work to control, coordinate, and regulate a wide variety of time concepts (clock time, travel time, working time, etc.). Administrative online systems have also generated a whole range of new metaphors for time, such as timeless, virtual, and instantaneous time (Haraldsson and Lilja 2017). In addition, different temporalities and governing through time entangle in spaces (work places, prisons, countries, etc.) and matter (soil, bodies, etc.). To make these kinds of entanglements visible, Barbara Adam usefully coined the word "timescapes," which denotes

heterogeneous times and how they are set up in relation to space (Adam 2003; Haraldsson and Lilja 2017). Kath Weston's use of the concept of "spacetime" is also to be seen as a way to theoretically underpin the connections within temporal spatial contexts (Weston 2002).

The language of political stakeholders and different development agencies is sometimes marked by temporal discourses that, among other things, describe different populations as belonging to different times. Time itself becomes a metaphor for cultural difference (Fabian 1983; Martin 2016). "Modern time"—among other kinds of time—implies hierarchies, unevenly distributed values, and the primitiveness and "backwardness" of "the other." There is a temporal distance between the Global South and the more "modern" parts of the worlds.

Populations are exposed to certain technologies of power, which produce memories that, among other things, motivate a particular neoliberal way of life. Commemorative events, memorial sites, as well as institutions are used by political authorities to construct memories of the past as well as the present. Or in other words, we are normalized through biopolitical methods in order to live the "official story" of the past and the present (Lilja 2016; Haraldsson and Lilja 2017). Still, both individual memories and the governing of these memories are an outcome of the contestations of multiple actors, meanings, and values (Hughes 2005).

TIME AND RESISTANCE

As concluded above, clock time and different temporalities are to be seen as sovereign and biopolitical tools that are used to govern. As a consequence, dominant temporalities are repeatedly challenged by multiple strategies of temporal resistance. One example of this is heterosexual norms, which are sustained in the intersection of *natureculture* and have been generating subversive counter-discourses. "Family time" implies a timetable that accompanies the practice of child rearing, embraces the normative scheduling of daily life (early to bed, early to rise), and is governed by an imagined set of children's needs. Different heterosexual norms, like how to raise children, pass through families from one generation to the next (Halberstam 2010; Martin 2016). Harvey asserts that because we experience time as some form of natural progression, we fail to realize or notice its constructions and how concepts like "family time," "reproduction time," and the "biological clock" carry temporalities, which are assigned different sets of values (Harvey 1990). The highly gendered and temporal scripts of "getting married," "going to work," and "having children" seem to dominate people's lives. There is a linearity in how economic development, national progress, and heterosexual reproduction are comprehended and

practiced. In fact, "from the perspective of queer theory, modern time can be understood as *straight time*" (Martin 2016, 9).

The concept of queer time can be interpreted as a critique of the careful social and much gendered scripts that guide the populations in most parts of the world. The conceptualizing of queer temporalities involves the deconstruction of temporal norms such as Lee Edelman's critique of a "reproductive futurism." Heterosexual norms are replaced with temporal alternatives, such as living in the "now" with no "past or future" (Edelman 2004). Overall, queer theorists seek to "recover those aspects of time—anachronism, backwardness, non-maturation, and non-futurity—that are traditionally discounted by modernity" (Martin 2016). According to Martin, queer temporality offers us a possibility to resist "modern time" by reimagining the categories of the past, present, and future. It also provides us with the possibility to reconsider how the past, present, and future might imaginatively, and sometimes unexpectedly, interact (Martin 2016). This is a form of constructive resistance, where new temporalities are produced in contexts of power. Still, as pinpointed in the introduction, resistance often combines noncooperative aims with constructive aims: it is a sliding scale and different resistance forms contain both but to different degrees.

In the remainder of this chapter, different theoretical themes will be elaborated, which suggests different subversive temporalities. The overall conclusion is that the wrenching, adding to and hybridizing of different temporalities, can be understood as practices of constructive resistance. Below, this will be exemplified by subversive memorizing, decelerations, time-ruptures, and emotional, time-bridging communities. By addressing these themes, this chapter, which is conceptual and synthetic in nature, addresses some of the major debates about time, temporality, and resistance.

Memories as a Tool for Resistance

Dominant temporalities are implemented and advanced as biopolitical tools for running societies and governing citizens. In addition, connections are made between the past, the present, and the future in order to legitimize power or to construct the future in "suitable" ways. Here, memories come to play an important role. Maria Stern expresses, "Memory (and thus remembering stories) are as much a part of the present as they are a part of the past. They are also shaped by expectations for the future" (Stern 2005, 62). Jenny Edkins (2003) concludes in her book *Trauma and the Memory of Politics* that "memory is a performative practice, and inevitably social." Barbara Misztal agrees that remembering is mainly a collective practice:

> social in origin and influenced by dominant discourses (. . .) Although it is the
> individual who remembers, remembering is more than a personal act, as even

the most personal memories are embedded in social context and shaped by social factors that make social remembering possible, such as language, rituals, and commemoration practices. (Misztal 2005)

Memories are powerful tools that entangle in different emotions, and their material-semiotic character may create rage and desires for revenge, and be a threat to national cohesion and peace. The production of counter-memories is also to be seen as a strategy of constructive resistance.

Among others, various materialities and "forgotten" historical sequences can be brought in and used to question the symbolic order (Lilja 2008). This idea has been developed by Michael Landzelius, who promotes the idea of commemorative "dis(re)membering" as a tool for a critical, non-essentialist reconfiguration of memorial landscapes and dominant official narratives of the past. Objects of the past should be mobilized as disinheritance assemblages for critical and subversive purposes in order to make the "past implode into the present and across spatial scales in ways unsettling fundamental social imaginary significations" (Landzelius 2003). Thus, material objects could be used to negotiate current discourses of the past. Once again, this displays how matter can be utilized to impact on our discourses, and thereby emerge as an important means of constructive resistance.

Researchers, such as Landzelius, offer us the means to question various stable claims of memorial landscapes and dominant official narratives of the past. It is widely acknowledged that memories provide a means of resistance, but from different angles. Edkins, for example, approaches memories from an international relations (IR) perspective by suggesting that traumatic memories might provide specific openings for the resistance against state power (Edkins 2010, 101). Traumas, then, becomes the very incentive to question long-held beliefs and dominating discourses about centralized power, political identities, and sociopolitical orders. This resistance can be practiced individually, or by opposition groups who use the traumatic events and post-traumatic experiences to challenge political systems that produce violence, war, and genocide (Edkins 2003; Vertzberger 2005).

When negotiating dominant or state memories, different strategies are applied. For example, individual memories have been used by groups and communities to make (constructive) resistance through "memory work." People who feel marginalized due to their race, gender, or sex remember moments of repression together in order to reveal and witness racist or sexist practices. Maria Jansson et al. (2008) state, for example, that:

We put forward memory work as a fruitful method (. . .) to understanding deeply naturalised power structures such as gender, nation, and sexuality. We show how different interpretative modes and practices in memory work may

help us locate ruptures and ambivalences in the already known, and open up for
understandings and interpretations that take us beyond the discursively given.

Overall, the constituting or (re)constructing of memories is to be seen as per-
formative practices of resistance, which contribute to forming our emerging
realities. This (re)constructing of memories could take place by drawing on
both material artifacts and personal memories.

Time-Transcending Communities of Resistance

The past and the future are also important for the forming of resisting
assemblies and communities of belonging. In part of Dinshaw's analysis,
she focuses on the possibility of touching across time—"collapsing time"—
through affective contact between people now and then. By this, she wants
to demonstrate the possibility of forming communities of resistance across
time. By conceptualizing "queer historical touches," she displays new pos-
sibilities of: "connected affectively with the past. I focused on the possibility
of touching across time, collapsing time through affective contact between
marginalized people now and then, and I suggested that with such queer
historical touches we could form communities across time" (Dinshaw 2007,
178; Haraldsson and Lilja 2017).

   The quote displays the possibility to embrace the people of the past,
who are no longer physically present, in the present. One example here
is different feminist movements that sometimes refer to memories of past
struggles, such as the Suffragettes' struggles for the right to vote in pub-
lic elections. Over and above this, I suggest that also future bodies—that
is, those that can be imagined but do not have physical form—contribute
to the construction of contemporary communities. The concept of civil
society is thereby "broadened" in order to understand how past and future
bodies inform the very struggle of today's communities (Dinshaw 2007;
Lilja et al. 2015).

   One illustration of the above is, thus, civil societies' efforts to work against
environmental degradation by embracing the past and the future. Many orga-
nizations work through and against time by illustrating terrifying scenarios of
the future, which they hope will prompt resistance and motivate us to address
some of the toughest problems we shall have to solve—namely, global
warming. This can be exemplified by the homepage of Union of Concerned
Scientists (UCS), which is an organization that began as a collaboration
between students and faculty members at the Massachusetts Institute of
Technology in 1969 and is now an alliance of more than 400,000 citizens
and scientists. The organization put science to work in order to fight different
environmental problems. On their homepage, they describe a possible future

under the effects of global warming (Lilja et al. 2015). Among other things, the risks for mass migration and security threats are emphasized:

> Global warming is likely to increase the number of "climate refugees"—people who are forced to leave their homes because of drought, flooding, or other climate-related disasters. Mass movements of people and social disruption may lead to civil unrest, and might even spur military intervention and other unintended consequences. (Climate Hot Map 2011)[1]

The usage of words such as "forced to leave their homes," "civil unrest," and "military intervention" on the homepage possibly nurtures both fear and empathy with the future inhabitants of our Earth. The website seems to suggest a touching across time through an affective contact between people of the future. Thus, the environmental movement encourages communities that are formed across time (Dinshaw 2007, 178; Lilja et al. 2015).

The "climate refugees"—who will be forced to leave their homes because of drought, flooding, or other climate-related disasters—are not all embodied, but some are rather to be seen as future "to be" bodies. By taking into account their (coming) pain, cross-temporal relationships are constructed, which demonstrates how the present is non-contemporaneous with itself. Such asynchronous relationships between the living and future bodies blur the boundaries between presence and absence, fiction and reality, idealism and materiality, present and past, as well as subject and object. What is particularly interesting is how we bring the stories of future subjects, or even nonliving yet-to-be subjects, into our lives and let them affect us and inform our lives in the "here-and-now." As these configured, fictional stories come to live "within" us, the boundaries between the self and other, subject and object, and past and present are dissolved, and there are "multiple temporalities operating in the same moment" (Dinshaw 2013, 110; Lilja et al. 2015). The temporal strategy of emotionally connecting with future environmental refugees seems to spur an affective economy, where emotions come to circulate between bodies and signs, thereby motivating action and political subjectivities (Lilja 2016; Lilja et al. 2015). It is a form of constructive resistance, which produces communities of belonging, new relationships, and imaginaries of then and the future.

Deceleration as Resistance

Currently, in many parts of the world, prevailing perceptions of time are slowly changing. Rosa (2014) illustrates these changes by constructing an image of multiple forms of accelerations, which make the pace of life speed up. As time seems to flow faster and faster, our relationships with others and

the material world become fluid and hard to understand. Technology—which is often goal-oriented and focused on rationality and efficiency, faster transport, faster communication, and more efficient production processes—is, however, contrasted by "slower" areas, such as culture, which cannot always be consumed at a faster rate. (Haraldsson and Lilja 2017). Rosa (2014) believes that the pace will reach, or has already reached, the critical threshold where the perception of reality changes. This applies, in particular, to when experience and knowledge can no longer be used to plan or manage the expectations and new systems. The pace of change is faster than the ability to integrate the new, which can create an uncertainty (Haraldsson and Lilja 2017).

Technological acceleration affects social relationships and the temporality of personal life. Sped-up communication, via e-mails or social media, is one aspect of this type of acceleration (Haraldsson and Lilja 2017). The demand to instantaneously respond to different letters, questions, and statements in electronic systems leads to our time being turned into an extended present; we must stay and live in "real time." The requirement to constantly engage in multiple and often disparate activities, preferably simultaneously, and being constantly interrupted by new requirements, can create feelings of irritability, difficulty in concentrating, but also emotions such as shame when one fails to live up to the accelerated tempo. The increased number of experiences in every "now" blurs the borders between the past, present, and future. Current accelerations, impact on many lives and compose a form of power. The accelerated time creates modes of subjectivity and disciplined bodies. As I will further explore in the next-coming chapters, Foucault describe how using time more efficiently is also entangled in self-disciplinary processes (Foucault 1991, 154; Haraldsson and Lilja 2017).

Overall, acceleration can be seen as a part of the governing of working subjects who interact with modes of subjectivation. People discipline themselves to be able to adjust to the high speed of society: "speed in modernity is closely connected to the ideas of power and self-determination or autonomy, and hence, to the experience of freedom and even happiness. Thus, there clearly is a 'cultural motor' behind the logic of acceleration" (Rosa 2010). This is described by Lauren Berlant, in her book *Cruel Optimism* (2011), where she connects the precarious with the cruel optimism, which appears as people are keeping up their attachment to unachievable fantasies of the "good life" (upward mobility, job security, political and social equality, etc.) despite evidence that the liberal-capitalist societies of today can no longer provide opportunities for individuals to make their lives correspond to these everyday norms. Thus, the self-disciplinary practices of speeding-up go hand in hand with the governing of capitalist regimes (Rosa 2010; Haraldsson and Lilja 2017).

Rosa (2014) argues that to survive the contemporary time acceleration, some people create zones of strategic "deceleration"—for example, yoga, meditation, and retreats. However, these deceleration zones can also serve to govern people. Deceleration is, in some cases, a strategy through which people are able to discipline themselves and become capable of surviving the onrush of social processes. In addition, there are entire communities "stuck behind" global acceleration, which makes poverty and inequality connected to the organizing of time (Haraldsson and Lilja 2017).

However, not only do the modern subjects discipline themselves (ourselves) to the rules of the capitalist economy and "voluntarily" speed up and accelerate time, but different forms of resistance also emerge and develop from the increased tempo. As communicative and technological systems tend to increasingly govern people's lives through acceleration in the pace of life, one resistance strategy is to decelerate the pace that has been created by the acceleration. To turn one's e-mail off can be seen as a response against being governed by technological systems, which impacts on how time is spent (Haraldsson and Lilja 2017). Displacement, in order to decelerate the acceleration, also takes place through counter-urbanization, such as migrating into "unpopular" rural areas, such as the Swedish, wooded and sparsely populated county of Värmland. The escaping of people into the forest could be understood as resistance against the sped-up life-tempo in countries such as Germany or the Netherlands (Persson 2017). This form of deceleration—by escape—appears as a light version of the resistance of withdrawal that James Scott (2010) outlines in his book *The Art of Not Being Governed*. While withdrawal could be read as a noncooperative form of resistance, constructing a decelerated temporality is to be understood as a constructive form of resistance, which ruptures power-loaded temporal (accelerating) discourses and replaces them with other temporalities.

Utopias, Futures, and Other Time Ruptures

Above, I have mapped some notions of temporal power and constructive resistance through the concepts of memorialization, deceleration, and time-transcending communities. In this section, I would like to suggest that time ruptures against hegemonic temporalities could also be invoked by "prefigurative" politics, which brings the future into the now.

The future does not exist, but we can access it by projecting the present onto it. One common logic is that what was true then is true now, and will probably be true in the future. That which stretches between the past and the present also forms our expectations of what will come. For example, Mikael Baaz (2016, 2017) discusses how historical images are projected onto the future. In addition, the future is then often imagined and constructed as a

prolonged now. According to this rationality, the construction of the future often turns out to be a conservation of the present.

But the future can also be fabricated in a subversive, norm-changing way. As when the EU commission decided that it would ban disposable plastics that are not considered to be environmentally sustainable. Cutlery, plates, straws, and plastic sticks for balloons are some of the plastic products that are to be banned in the EU. However, cotton tips, cutlery, plates, straws, and balloons are not going to disappear. Instead, "They will only be made from other materials. You can still have picnic, drink cocktails or clean your ears, just as before" (according to EU commissioner Frans Timmermans at a press conference in Brussels).[2] Here, the future is reconstructed. New ideas (about the sea and sustainable development) are mixed with common habits (picnics and cocktails) are giving rise to new imaginaries of the future. A new image is projected onto the future. Such constructions cross discourses and between imageries, dissolve the boundaries between present and future, non-materiality, and materiality, as well as the very idea of the present as a singular, linear time line.

But constructive resistance, in this regard, is not only about constructing subversive visions of the future. Subjects build elements or whole worlds of a different imagined reality by embodying their aspired future and materializing that future in the present as a form of resistance, which is similar to a nutopia/nowtopia (Thörn 1997). The future is invoked in the present through prefigurative politics or constructive resistance and, in the same move, current time patterns are ruptured (Lilja et al. 2015; Epstein 2002; Young and Schwartz 2012; Yates 2015).

CONCLUDING REMARK

Some important patterns come to light in the crossroads between time, power, and resistance. As shown in this chapter, people are governed and disciplined in relation to different, and sometimes overlapping, ways of doing time, such as dominant temporalities, constructions of the past (memories) and the future, or by the accelerating or decelerating of time. Furthermore, clock time is often controlled by employers, which means that some have power over others' time. However, these ways of governing are resisted by new constructions of time.

In this chapter, different strategies of temporal and constructive resistance have been displayed as follows: (1) memories as a tool for resistance; (2) time-transcending communities of resistance; (3) deceleration and acceleration as resistance; and (4) utopias and other times ruptures. These resistance

practices, and the governance that they challenge, inform and direct our emerging realities through a multitude of scattered patterns.

First of all, dominant processes of memorizations are resisted by alternative memories, personal witnesses, and memory work. In addition, different materialities and "forgotten" historical sequences can be brought in and used to question memory regimes (Lilja 2008). "Dis(re)membering," as a tool for questioning dominant official narratives of the past, is made possible as objects of the past are mobilized, which thereby unsettles fundamental social imaginaries (Landzelius 2003).

Secondly, power is challenged by representations of bodies in the past and in the future, which are used to form assemblies and become a base for resistance now. Deceased people of the past and people of the future contribute to the creation of the present in an alternative way. The affective contact between people now and in the future becomes the very motivation for people to start to care about the future. The creation of affective and emotional connections is molded by repetitions, as means of constructive resistance.

Thirdly, the ongoing acceleration (how many things we do by a unit of time) seems to run lives and informs how we comprehend the social order. Deceleration prevails as one of the most up-to-date resistance practices of today. Migration to "slower" areas (e.g., people moving from big towns in Germany to the Swedish forest), everyday practices of "laziness," and other forms of administrative obstruction against technological systems are producing new "slower" way of life.

Finally, dominant temporalities are challenged by bringing the future into the now by practicing prefigurative politics. By embodying aspired visions, movements' nowtopias prevail as a kind of time rupture, which still construct alternatives.

NOTES

1. https://www.climatehotmap.org/global-warming-effects/economy.html
2. https://www.svt.se/nyheter/utrikes/eu-kommissionen-vill-forbjuda-flera-plas tprodukter/

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The Politics of Time and Temporality in Foucault's Theorization of Resistance

Ruptures, Time Lags, and Decelerations

This chapter revolves around the politics of time and temporality within Foucault's theorization of resistance. Foucault's outline of resistance practices comes in the forms of, among other things, (1) discursive resistance, (2) reversed discourses, (3) counter-conducts, and (4) and anti-authority struggles, as well as techniques of the self (Foucault 1981, 1988, 1990a, 2007, 2009). These forms of resistance all bear a temporal logic of their own, which makes them interesting from the perspective of constructive resistance.

Time has surfaced as a crucial and contested topic in a wide range of academic subfields. These discussions offer us insights into "history" and "modernity," but they also uncover new dimensions of different power relations, the timescales of environmental crises and the structure of postmodern and postindustrial society. Research within this field also explores repetition, and how any repetition might cause a change in power (Martin 2016).

Foucault's theorizing on resistance displays how time, power, and resistance are all intertwined. Bringing in the concept of time when exploring the crossroads between power and resistance uncovers new patterns and indicated paths of political struggles and social change. This chapter reveals how resistance practices—that are in the form of counter-conducts and anti-authority struggles, discursive resistance, reverse discourses, and techniques of the self, in Foucault's texts—appear as repetitions of signs across time and space, notions of major ruptures, or as rhizomatic movements between now, then, and the future. According to Foucault, notions of time are used as resistance (picturing time ruptures, utopias, etc.). But resistance also has a temporality of its own. For example, close authorities are instantly resisted "here-and-now," while discursive resistance that occasionally gives rise to a

revolution undergoes a time lag. In addition, the different forms of resistance, which are promoted by Foucault, not only imply alternative temporalities, but time could be seen as a means for resistance.

The discussion in this chapter will be divided into four major sections where different forms of resistance, which are depicted in Foucault's works, are distinguished and elaborated on: (1) Discursive Resistance; (2) Reverse Discourses; (3) Counter-conducts and Anti-Authority Struggles; and (4) Techniques of the Self. These analytical sections point to different possible moments of "rupture," time lags, and delays that are outlined within Foucault's theorizing. In a concluding section, the findings are summarized and the implication of the findings for the field of resistance studies and our understanding of different forms of resistance are elaborated.

TEMPORALITY IN FOUCAULT'S THEORIZING OF RESISTANCE AS COUNTER-CONDUCT AND ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN PRACTICES

In 1978, in his lecture course entitled "Security, Territory, Population," Foucault coined the phrase "conduct of conduct," which has "the sole advantage of allowing reference to the active sense of the word 'conduct'—counter-conduct in the sense of struggle against the processes implemented for conducting others" (Foucault 2009, 201). Foucault connects the phrase "counter-conduct" to his understandings of the Middle Ages. The pastorship and government of people was set up with such intensity that it provoked certain counter-conducts (Foucault 2009, 355). In Foucault's eighth lecture of 1978 (March 1), he establishes the main forms of counter-conduct that were developed in the Middle Ages in relation to the pastorate. Overall, he addresses these as asceticism, communities, mysticism, Scripture, and eschatological beliefs (Senellart 2009, 389).

Foucault argues that a similar analysis in regard to governmentality in its modern form could also be made. In the analysis of modern governmentality, which is organized in terms of raison d'état—literally "reason of state"—Foucault highlights different sources of specific forms of counter-conducts that are related to civil society, the population, or the nation (Foucault 2009; Senellart 2009, 389). Foucault argues that:

> by saying that what is at stake in the counter-conducts that develop in correlation with modern governmentality are the same elements as for that governmentality, and that from the middle of the eighteenth century a whole series

of counter-conducts have developed whose essential objective is precisely the rejection of raison d'État and its fundamental requirements, and which gets support from the very same thing that raison d'État, through the transformations I have indicated, ended up bringing to light, that is to say: elements of society opposed to the state. (Foucault 2009, 355)

Foucault refers to raison d'état as nothing but an implacable law of modern governmentality that the population henceforth was expected to live with in an indefinite time—there was no hope of getting rid of it (Foucault 2009, 355–56). The counter-conducts against this narrative took and still take temporal forms. Counter-conducts, sometimes, made it a principle to assert the possibility of a "final time," a time when the indefinite governmentality of the state will be brought to an end. It is when the civil society can free itself of the constraints and controls of the state. According to Foucault, resistance is formulated as a temporal narrative: "Time, the time if not of history then at least of politics, of the state, will come to an end as a result" (Foucault 2009, 356). Interestingly, the rupture of state control and the start of a new civil society–based era is addressed by using phases of time, such as "when time will end," "a final time," or "a suspension or completion of historical and political time." Resistance aims for a rupture where: "the indefinite governmentality of the state will be brought to an end and halted" (Foucault 2009, 356). Resistance, here, is depicted as an end of time, a major rupture, where a new timeless phase will start without the time of politics of the state.

All in all, counter-conducts are sometimes played out through a utopia or an image of another (timeless) future and the description of major ruptures is part of the resistance itself. This resistance is directed toward the state as an authority and as the possessor of truths.

Elsewhere, Foucault addresses resistance, not as counter-conducts, but as "anti-authoritarian struggles," which prevail as localized phenomena where subjects interact with authorities in the present in order to object to forms of subjectivization.

In his 1982 piece titled "The Subject and Power," Foucault discusses these anti-authority struggles as he tries to outline what these have in common. In his list of five characteristics of resistance against anti-authority struggles, Foucault argues that these are, firstly, "transversal struggles"; that is, they are not limited to one country and are not confined to a particular political or economic form of government. Still, in some countries these struggles appear more easily than in others. Secondly, the aim of resistance and struggles is the effect on power. Thirdly, resistance is exercised toward the immediate enemy—people do not look for the "chief enemy" or direct their actions to create liberations, revolutions, or the end of class struggles. This implies that they do expect to find a solution to their problem, not at a future date,

but now. Fourthly, the struggles assert the right to be different. They also emphasize everything that makes individuals truly individual; but at the same time, people tend to attack everything that separates individuals and splits up community life. It is a struggle against the "government of individualization." Fifthly, resistance is an opposition to the effects of power, which are linked with "knowledge, competence, and qualification: struggles against the privileges of knowledge." Foucault states that the struggles are:

> an opposition to the effects of power which are linked with knowledge, competence, and qualification: struggles against the privileges of knowledge. (Foucault 1982, 781)

Finally, the question around which all these present struggles revolve around is, Who are we? These struggles are a refusal of the scientific or administrative inquisitions that decide who one is. Overall, the main objective of these struggles is to attack the techniques that govern us—a form of power (Foucault 1982, 329–31). Foucault continues:

> To sum up, the main objective of these struggles is to attack not so much "such or such" an institution of power, or group, or elite, or class but rather a technique, a form of power. This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word "subject": subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to. Generally, it can be said that there are three types of struggles: either against forms of domination (ethnic, social, and religious); against forms of exploitation which separate individuals from what they produce; or against that which ties the individual to himself and submits him to others in this way (struggles against subjection, against forms of subjectivity and submission). (Foucault 1982, 782)

This form of resistance, what Foucault (1982) calls "anti-authority struggles," seems to be localized "here" and "now." It is about struggling with power's effects on people and the immediate enemy. This resistance is primarily about struggles against forms of subjection. However, struggles against other forms of domination and exploitation also prevail. Still, resistance, in this outline, is not primarily formulated in relation to people of the past or the future. Neither has it a longer time perspective that brings in future prospects, which would motivate revolutions, nor does it bring class struggles to an end. A longer temporal perspective

could motivate a prefigurative politics (as in embodying aspired visions or values from a movement's utopia). Anti-authority struggles are a form of resistance that revolves around the present and it seems to partly overlap practices of counter-conducts, while still being pinpointed as specific forms of struggles.

In Foucault's outline of authority, there are sections where authority is connected directly to time issues. He shows, among other things, that control of time is fundamental to disciplinary power and to the techniques of governing. Foucault (1991) points to the importance of time schedules and efficiency in working life. He addresses what the historian Edward P. Thompson (1967) pinpoints as the transition from a "task-oriented time" to a time that is valued in money and is used as an instrument of control over people's working lives. The employer uses the time of his laborers and ensures that it is not wasted. Time is not "passed" but "spent." Having some influence over the social organizing of time therefore means having power over both social actions and subjective experiences (Haraldsson and Lilja 2017).

According to Foucault, timetables have three functions; they establish rhythms, impose particular occupations, and regulate cycles of repetitions (Foucault 1991, 149). Through effective time use and clear time frames, bodies are disciplined: "time measured and paid must also be a time without impurities or defects; a time of good quality, throughout which the body is constantly applied to its exercise" (Foucault 1991, 151). Thus, through controlling people's time, their bodies are kept in control to produce certain subjectivities.

As stated several times by Foucault, specific forms of power give rise to specific forms of resistance.

As we will see below, this implicates that (constructive forms of) resistance, in our contemporary society, also proposes new time speeds. As stated in previous chapters, authorities and institutions, such as schools, sometimes, are inclined toward accelerated time, thereby creating specific modes of subjectivity and disciplined bodies. Foucault describes how using time more efficiently is entwined with self-disciplinary processes:

> Discipline (. . .) arranges a positive economy; it poses the principle of a theoretically ever-growing use of time (. . .). This means that one must seek to intensify the use of the slightest moment, as if time, in its very fragmentation, were inexhaustible or as if, at least by an ever more detailed internal arrangement, one could tend towards an ideal point at which one maintained maximum speed and maximum efficiency. (Foucault 1991, 154)

As stated in previous chapters, Rosa (2014) adds to Foucault's theorizing by arguing that deceleration is, in some cases, a strategy through which people are able to discipline themselves and become capable of surviving the onrush of social processes. Deceleration is, in some cases, a strategy through

which people are able to discipline themselves and become capable of surviving the onrush of social processes. However, there are also entire communities "stuck behind" global acceleration, which thereby connects poverty and inequality to the organizing of time (Haraldsson and Lilja 2017).

Still, when departing from Foucault's basic notion that resistance is entwined with, and formulated in relation to, power, one could speculate that resistance in accelerating spaces might occur as points of deceleration too. If discipline is entwined in an acceleration of time and an efficient use of time, resistance should be formulated, produced, and played out in a close relationship with these time measurements. This resistance can be addressed in terms of slow-motion resistance (Haraldsson and Lilja 2017). It is constructive in the sense that it promotes another temporality.

TEMPORALITY IN FOUCAULT'S THEORIZING OF DISCURSIVE RESISTANCE

In some of Foucault's texts, resistance is outlined as emerging from, or working through, discourses rather than being addressed as anti-authority struggles. Discourses are seen as both a starting point for, and an instrument of, resisting practices and when addressing discourses, Foucault finds resistance to be both necessary and improbable. Overall, resistance is parasitic on discourses as these are the bearers of power relations, control, and authority.

Sometimes this discursive resistance, according to Butler, emerges "through convergence with other discursive regimes, whereby inadvertently produced discursive complexity undermines the teleological aims of normalization" (Butler 1997, 92–93). In other texts, discursive resistance is pictured in a broader sense as a "multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies" (Foucault 1990b, 100). Foucault states:

> We must make allowance for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it. (Foucault 1990b, 101)

Here, discourses are embraced as both an instrument and an effect of power, but also as points of resistance or as a starting point for subversive strategies. Some of the resistance practices that are addressed as counter-conduct, but not all, might be included into the category of "discursive resistance," for example, the construction of the notion of a rupture of time, and an end

of time, as a response to the idea of long-lasting governing. This reasoning resembles how utopias are pictured by Foucault, in *The History of Sexuality*, as a part of political struggles (Foucault 1990b, 145). Overall, different imaginaries can be regarded as expressions of temporal as well as constructive resistance.

Foucault's notions of time-ruptures or utopias as constructive resistance reveal how discourses of power and resistance fuel and produce each other and, by definition, how resistance exists as intertwined with, or next to, power relations. Discursive, and constructive, resistance should be embraced as points or knots that are spread over time and space, at varying densities, in a close interaction with power. Foucault states:

> there is no single locus of great Refusal, no soul of revolt, source of all rebellions, or pure law of the revolutionary. Instead there is a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case: resistances that are possible, necessary, improbable; others that are spontaneous, savage, solitary, concerted, rampant, or violent; still others that are quick to compromise, interested, or sacrificial; by definition, they can only exist in the strategic field of power relations. But this does not mean that they are only a reaction or rebound, forming with respect to the basic domination an underside that is in the end always passive, doomed to perpetual defeat. (Foucault 1990b, 96)

Resistance, here, is described as always existing in relation to power, but not as non-creative replies that are always doomed to be subjugated. Instead Foucault displays the multitude of creative strategies, with different aims, which might set off major changes.

In the above quotation, Foucault states that resistance mainly appears as a multitude of different small practices that are highly involved in power. Foucault also points to resistance as appearing in an irregular fashion with varying densities that are spread over time and space. In the very same text, Foucault also pictures resistance as a swarm of points:

> Are there no great radical ruptures, massive binary divisions, then? Occasionally, yes. But more often one is dealing with mobile and transitory points of resistance, producing cleavages in a society that shift about, fracturing unities and effecting regroupings, furrowing across individuals themselves, cutting them up and remoulding them, marking off irreducible regions in them, in their bodies and minds. Just as the network of power relations ends by forming a dense web that passes through apparatuses and institutions, without being exactly localized in them, so too the swarm of points of resistance traverses social stratifications and individual unities. And it is doubtless the strategic codification of these points of resistance that makes a revolution possible, somewhat similar to the

way in which the state relies on the institutional integration of power relation-
ships. (Foucault 1990b, 96)

Thus, according to Foucault, resistance works through the strategic codifica-
tion of the swarm of points of resistance. The web of power and resistance
seems to occur in longer processes that rely upon a specific form of tempo-
rality that rests on long-term and discursive processes. These processes can
be viewed as non-synchronized time sequences, which are not occurring at
predetermined or regular intervals and which, through time, can "wrench"
the "script" out of order and open up opportunities for other ways of being.
Interestingly, the above quotation also displays how not only power but also
resistance can be transmitted in more of a net-like organization that involves
mini-ruptures or counter-intensities. Thereby, it is resistance that should be
analyzed as it constantly pops up in the network of power, and the existence
of power depends on a multiplicity of points of resistance. This reveals how
more discursive forms of constructive forms of resistance are intimately
interweaved with power.

   Resistance, in the above quotations, is understood as a "swarm of points of
resistance," and as a result resistance is able to intensify and "makes a revolu-
tion possible." Resistance occurs as micro-complexities—with words and sen-
tences—and spreads itself about as a network. Still, the net-like organization
of small instances of resistance, which are imperceptibly repeated in all venues
of society, can give rise to alterations and uprisings after a delay of time. Or,
as expressed above, "it is doubtless the strategic codification of these points
of resistance that makes a revolution possible" (Foucault 1990b, 96). This
indicates that constructive resistance sometimes has major impacts on society.

   This time-delay between the points of resistance and a possible revolution
might be close to Homi Bhabha's (1994) theorization of signification that was
mentioned previously. For those who are in subversive positions in relation to
hegemonic truth regimes, there is a "time lag" between the establishment of
new, alternative truths and the people narrating these resisting truths.

   The time lag of the resistance that is outlined by Foucault may also be
due to the tight relationship between power and resistance, where resistance
might challenge power but sometimes instead ends up creating and support-
ing power. Foucault states:

   Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this
   resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power. Should it
   be said that one is always "inside" power, there is no "escaping" it, there is
   no absolute outside where it is concerned, because one is subject to the law in
   any case? Or that, history being the ruse of reason, power is the ruse of his-
   tory, always emerging the winner? This would be to misunderstand the strictly

relational character of power relationships. Their existence depends on a multiplicity of points of resistance: these play the role of adversary, target, support, or handle in power relations. These points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network. (Foucault 1990b, 95)

Power then, in Foucault's view, depends on a multiplicity of points of resistance. These micro-expressions of resistance—or points of resistance—have different functions. In the quotation above, resistance is not only pictured as an opponent or the target of power, but it also supports power relations and/or constitutes a means to handle power relations. It is resistance that prevails as closely entwined with power, and for which it plays "the role of adversary, target, support, or handle in power relations." Resistance does not simply undermine discourses, but it also backs up or "handles" power relations; thus in different ways it interacts and coexists with, and supports, power. Therefore, the entwinements and close relationship between power and resistance, in which the interaction and struggles between points of power and resistance create discourses, probably slow down the impact of the struggles. Foucault's definition of resistance, in this sense, seems broader than the one used by me and other resistance researchers.

RESISTANCE AS REVERSE DISCOURSES

Sometimes constructive resistance practices appear in the shape of reversed discourses, which are parasitic on, and can challenge, discursive truths (Butler 1995). Butler argues that there are textual movements in Foucault's work where the body is expected to "return in a non-normalizable wildness" (Butler 1997, 92); however, more often resistance appears as something "that exceeds the normalizing aims by which it is mobilized, for example, in 'reverse-discourse' " (Butler 1997, 92–93). Reversed discourses can be seen as a specific form of constructive and discursive resistance. According to Foucault:

There is no question that the appearance in nineteenth-century psychiatry, jurisprudence, and literature of a whole series of discourses on the species and subspecies of homosexuality, inversion, pederasty, and "psychic hermaphrodism" made possible a strong advance of social controls into this area of "perversity"; but it also made possible the formation of a "reverse" discourse: homosexuality began to speak in its own behalf, to demand that its legitimacy or "naturality" be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which it was medically disqualified. There is not, on the one side, a discourse of power, and opposite it, another discourse that runs counter to it. Discourses

are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations; there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy; they can, on the contrary, circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another, opposing strategy. (Foucault 1990b, 101–2)

Thus, according to Foucault, after the nineteenth century, homosexuality began to demand that its legitimacy should be acknowledged, often in the same vocabulary, and by using the same categories as those who had epistemological authority. Resistance toward discipline is possible—in a Foucauldian perspective and according to Butler—through reiteration, rearticulation, or repetition of the dominant discourse with a slightly different meaning (Foucault 1981, 101; Foucault in Butler 1995, 236). Reversed discourses are used to describe how the categories and vocabularies of the dominating force or superior norm are used, precisely in order to contest them (Butler 1995, 236). Resistance can be played out through using the possibility of a repetition that repeats against its origin (Butler 1997, 93; Foucault 1981, 101). This reverse discourse is then parasitic on the "dominant discourse" and resistance then appears as the effect of power, and as a part of power itself (Butler 1995, 237; Mills 2003; Lilja and Vinthagen 2014, 2018). Resistance builds on the possibility of a repetition that undermines the force of normalization (Butler 1997, 93). The power, which resistance challenges, is not an authority or the governing by institutions but rather the optimum norm, repressing of truths or, in other words, what is considered to be normal.

Resistance here should be seen as a continuation of a pattern. It is a repetition of words that continue—only now the words are given a new and different meaning. While the words are repeated as before, they are now part of another, subversive discourse. The discursive processes, including power and resistance, however, are not stable. It is a temporal pattern, which simultaneously displays both continuation and change. The constructive mode of resistance thus makes it an unstable journey.

RESISTANCE AS TECHNIQUES OF
THE SELF AND CRITIQUE

Foucault suggests the potential of recreating subjectivity through techniques of the self; that is, where the individual acts upon himself or herself. At a presentation in Berkeley, United States, in 1980, he stated:

If one wants to analyse the genealogy of the subject in Western societies, one has to take into account not only the techniques of domination but also techniques of the self. Let's say one has to take into account the interaction between

those two types of techniques, the point where the technologies of domination of individuals over one another have recourse to processes by which the individual acts upon himself. (Foucault in Habermas 1994, 86)

Foucault summarizes different types of "technologies," which hardly ever function separately. The technologies of sign systems permit us to use signs, meanings, or symbols, which work together with technologies of power that, among other things, determine the conduct of individuals. Over and above this, the technologies of the self allow individuals to—through different operations on their own bodies and souls—transform themselves with the aim of attaining, for example, happiness or purity (Foucault 1988).

Technologies of the self are possible to use in a norm-confirmative (and neoliberal) project of self-development. But, the technologies of the self also constitute a possibility for subjects to transform themselves in a manner that is counter to existing dominant norms. The technologies are the same as those applied by discipline, but they are utilized for other ends in a self-reflexive attempt to achieve some level of "autonomy." In this latter case, the care of self can be understood as a resistance to the subjectivity given by power relations (Allen 2011; Lloyd 2012; Lilja and Vinthagen 2018). By refusing the common story, subjects assume and promote alternative narratives and "promote new forms of subjectivity" (Foucault 1982, 785).

According to Foucault, technologies of the self permit individuals to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of purity, perfection, wisdom, or immortality (Foucault 1988, 18). Overall, Foucault suggests that a history of ethics consists of a study of the "models proposed for setting up and developing relationships with the self, for self-reflection, self-knowledge, for the decipherment of the self by oneself, for the transformation that one seeks to accomplish with oneself as an object" (Foucault 1990a, 29).

The technologies of the self, as a political practice, involve remembering the past and narrating the present, as well as embracing ethical considerations that involve the future. This is, among other things, revealed in Foucault's outline of the ancient use of the hypomnemata or notebooks. In his discussion of the hypomnemata, he embraces the time-aspects of self-technologies, stressing that the notebooks were not only external memory devices that serve as memoranda, but they are also "books of life, guides for conduct" (Foucault 1994, 364). They were books where one entered actions to which one had been witness, reflections, or reasoning that one had heard, and so on. Thus, they constituted a material memory of things that were read, heard, or thought. The notebooks were used not only for one's own self-training but also depicted and guided the owner of the notebook in regard to future potential courses of action (Foucault 1994, 363–66). This indicates that technologies of the self involve complex entwinements between the present, past, and the future. In

self-conscious acts of resistance, the "now" "stretches beyond the immediate perceptual horizon and gets filled with memory and anticipatory imagination" (Adam 2004, 65). As the individual is portraying a self-image, this involves anticipating the future and who one wants to be. Time-travels into different utopian scenarios are a part of subversive resistance strategies of self-making. To this can be added that the resistance itself, over time, impacts our subjectivities: "the points, knots, or focuses of resistance are spread over time and space at varying densities, at times mobilising groups or individuals in a definitive way, inflaming certain points of the body, certain moments in life, certain types of behaviour" (Foucault 1990b, 96).

The possibility of constructing oneself differently and to not let the two types of techniques interact—the technologies of domination and the processes by which the individual acts upon himself or herself—has been displayed in Foucault's outline of critique. Overall, the related notions of critique and technologies of the self are very important in Foucault's later ethical writings (Allen 2011, 44). Critique, in Foucault's reasoning, ensures the desubjugation of the subject, which provides it with a certain kind of autonomy (Foucault 2007). Foucault proposes, as a very first definition of critique, that it is "how not to be governed like that, by that, in the name of those principles, with such and such an objective in mind and by means of such procedures, not like that, not for that, not by them" (Foucault 2007, 45). This definition, he argues, allows him to identify some points that are inherent to "the critical attitude." When outlining these points, he argues:

> Not wanting to be governed (. . .). Not wanting to be governed like that also means not wanting to accept these laws because they are unjust because, by virtue of their antiquity or the more or less threatening ascendency given them by today's sovereign, they hide a fundamental illegitimacy. (Foucault 2007, 46)

Foucault also, as stated previously, connects resistance to the critical opposition against "truth regimes":

> To not want to be governed is of course not accepting as true (. . .) what an authority tells you is true, or at least not accepting it because an authority tells you that it is true, but rather accepting it only if one considers valid the reasons for doing so. (Foucault 2007, 46)

He then continues:

> if governmentalization is indeed this movement through which individuals are subjugated in the reality of a social practice through mechanisms of power that adhere to a truth, well, then! I say that critique is the movement by which the

subject gives himself the rights to question truth on its effects of power and question power on its discourses of truth. Well, then! critique will be the art of voluntary insubordination, that of reflected intractability. Critique would essentially ensure the desubjugation [désassujettissement] of the subject in the context of what we would call, in a word, the politics of truth. (Foucault 2007, 47)

Foucault's outline of critique reveals how it provides subjects with the possibility to transform themselves counter to existing dominant norms. "Critique," as stated above, is seen as the undertakings through which the subject is able to question truths (Foucault 2007, 47). Critique might provide the very base for constructive resistance.

CONCLUDING REMARK

This chapter has discussed the temporality of resistance, with a particular focus on Foucault's formulations on resistance. The discussion has been divided into four major sections, which distinguish and elaborate on some of the forms of resistance that are depicted in Foucault's works: (1) Discursive Resistance; (2) Reverse Discourses; (3) Counter-conducts and Anti-Authority Struggles; and (4) Techniques of the Self.

Resistance, in Foucault's texts, is sometimes described as resistance against authorities (sometimes the state and other governing units, and sometimes local authorities). This resistance is occasionally addressed in terms of counter-conducts and/or is displayed and elaborated as practices against nearby authorities and the power effects of authoritarian relations. Although counter-conducts are described in terms of their richness, with complexity and depth, they are sometimes narrowed down to the principle of asserting the coming of a time, a final time, or when time will end. The indefinite governmentality of the state, in this narrative, will finally be halted. Civil society, as a strategy of resistance, claims its ability to free itself of the constraints and controls of the state. Other anti-authoritarian resistance practices, on the other hand, are depicted as "here-and-now," as struggles without longer utopian temporality.

In other parts of his texts, Foucault describes resistance as a discursive phenomenon, and discusses the points of resistance that interact with power. This form of constructive resistance, which occasionally aims to establish alternative truths, could be seen as a slow-motion form of resistance as it suffers from the inescapable time lag of processes of signification. It is the strategic codification of different points of resistance that, in the end, makes a revolution possible. This is, according to Foucault, similar to the way in which the

state relies on the institutional integration of power relationships (Foucault 1990b, 96). The time-delay that is envisioned by Foucault resembles the theorizing of Homi Bhabha, who argues that there is a time lag between the establishment of new, alternative truths and the people narrating these resisting truths (Bhabha 1994).

Discursive resistance, which appears as repetitions of signs across time, more generally, does not signal major ruptures, breaks, or cuts. Rather, it is mostly a constructive form of resistance, which over time constructs new truths or counter-narratives, or appears in the shape of reversed discourses that are parasitic on, as well as challenging to, discursive truths; thus, power and resistance are closely connected (Butler 1995).

Self-making and resistance are also displayed, and seen, as being entangled with each other. Constructing and disciplining oneself as a resisting subject involves rhizomatic movements between now, then, and the future, which make the techniques of self-making possible.

Overall, by bringing in the concept of time when exploring the crossroads between power and resistance, new patterns and indicated paths of social change are revealed. Foucault's theorizing on resistance displays how time, power, and resistance are all intertwined. To summarize the above, different descriptions of time are used as constructive resistance (picturing time ruptures, deceleration of time, etc.). But resistance also has a temporality of its own. For example, authorities are instantly resisted, while discursive resistance has a time lag and, through time, creates new effects/impacts (grand resistance and revolutions). In addition, resistance that is carried out by remolding oneself through the promoting of new forms of subjectivity is repeatedly done over time by various practices, which also connect the past to the present and the future.

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Bodies, Non-bodies, and the Desert

Resistance and Political Time Concepts in Photo Images

For many scholars, the question of what sort of power images can possess, and the aesthetic dimensions of world politics, has become of central importance (Bleiker 2018; Hansen 2015; Hochberg 2015; Stella 2012). Roland Bleiker, among others, states that "images play an increasingly important role in global politics, so much so that some speak of a 'pictorial turn' " (Bleiker 2015, 872). This chapter will add to the rigorous scholarship on the interrelations between politics and "the visual." This will be done by embarking on what can be read as resistance in Swedish photographer Kjelbye's images, which provide us with different narratives about Western Sahara (sometimes referred to as the occupied areas in Morocco).

In particular, the chapter will discuss the signification of photos as a form of constructive resistance. By this, the chapter adds to the variety of international research by scholars who "have turned to the visual site of politics, the political site of visuals as well as the global dimensions of both" (Schlag 2019; cf. Bleiker 2018; Hansen 2015).

The photos that are analyzed in this chapter are embraced as performative cultural artifacts, which produce complex and contradictory interpretations of armed conflicts in general and the Western Sahara conflict in particular. The photos were sent to me by Kjelbye as I encouraged him to forward images that could be interpreted as resistance. Overall, the analysis within this chapter pinpoints the different strategies of representation that are displayed in the photographs. Resistance appears in the form of the absence of bodies, the hypervisibility of the land, and the repetition of visible representations of the border conflict. In addition, temporalities other than the standard seem to dominate the images. All these moves can be, as suggested in the forthcoming sections, understood in terms of constructive resistance.

Given the above, I will start with a short historical background of the Western Sahara conflict. Next, I will discuss some mechanisms of representation (Barthes 1977; Imada 2017). After discussing this, I will approach and analyze Kjelbye's images asking the following questions: How do the photos display repetitions as a form of constructive resistance? How do the captured and hidden sculpt out knowledge about the conflict of Western Sahara? How can the concept of "temporality" shed light upon photographic images as a means of constructive resistance? In the analytical section, different strategies of representation will be identified, which also can be understood as forms of "doing politics" through performances of constructive resistance.

THE WESTERN SAHARA CONFLICT

The Western Sahara conflict is an infected dispute, which involves the movement Polisario Front and the Kingdom of Morocco. According to Morocco, by claiming the Western Saharan territories, it is merely restoring its own territorial integrity, which was disrupted by French and Spanish colonialism. More specifically, they argue that it is their right, as a state, to express sovereign power over its territory. On the other side, we have the Polisario Front, who insists that they are a nation that is inhabiting a territory and thereby should have the right to claim sovereignty over it (Joffé 2010).

The UN has committed itself to making an effort to find a "just, lasting and mutually acceptable political solution that gives Western Sahara people self-determination in accordance with the principles adopted by the UN Security Council" (Yearbook of the United Nations 2005, 370). This has also led to some friction between the UN and Morocco. In 2016 Morocco ended up in one of the most serious disputes so far with the UN. The background to the 2016 disagreement was that the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon used the word "occupation" for Morocco's annexation of Western Sahara during a visit to the region. He also visited the refugee camps in Algeria (MSB 2012). Approximately 125,000 Saharan refugees live on Algerian territory around the western desert town of Tindouf (Joffé 2010).

Western Sahara is rich in natural resources. Among other things, phosphate, iron, copper, and uranium can be found in the area. Under Spanish rule, different strategies of representation of the Polisario gave rise to specific discourses and a Sahrawi national identity, where natural resources, above all phosphate, became a symbol of colonized nationhood (Allan 2016). While the natural resources of the region played a central role in the conflict between the Polisario Front and the Kingdom of Morocco, there are few minerals that are currently being extracted. Instead of booming, the area suffers from freshwater shortages and a lack of arable land. In addition, Western

Sahara and international groups also warn of the exploitation of the fishing waters of Western Sahara. Income and living standards in Western Sahara are significantly lower than in Morocco (MSB 2012; Thunberg n.d.).

PHOTOGRAPHS AS REPRESENTATIONS

As stated in previous chapters Roland Barthes' has produced a number of texts, which can be seen as answers to his desire to understand why certain images are able to move us in ways that other media cannot. One of these texts, *Camera Lucida*, offers a highly interesting elaboration on photographs as representations. All in all, this text suggests why some images, in this case photographs, are able to touch or provoke us in an unique fashion (Rice 2016). For example, representations, such as photographs, embody time and space in specific ways. In the moment a photo is taken, the moment captured is simultaneously immortalized and gone forever. As stated in previous chapters, photos are often regarded as proof of material facts (Rice 2016). It is possible to create other kinds of images from any place, but while filming or taking a photo the persons/artifacts are usually in front of the camera. Still, while the moment is accessible for us, we have no access to the moment through the photo. A photograph displays moments in the past—but, nevertheless, it represents a moment in such a way that it appears in the present. The confusing time line in which "now" and "then" overlap leads to different comprehensions and emotions.

Moreover, the photo is not merely a copy of the real, but the photographer also includes or excludes what is captured (Sontag 1973, 2). Imada (2017), however, suggests that the objects that are photographed do not always play along with the meaning-making of the photographer. With their emotional expressions and practices, the subjects that are "frozen" in the images can sometimes create a surplus of meaning, which exceeds the aim of the photographer. Or as expressed by Imada in her study of documented leprosy victims:

> Patient performances in front of the medical camera disrupted the exposure of surveillance and suggest meanings and relationships that exceed the frame. Medical photographs, despite their archival authority, did not uniformly support the interpretation of its subjects as loathsome, threatening suspects. Patients appropriated clinical photographic settings and poses for their own discrepant authorizing systems. (Imada 2017, 23)

The photographs of Hawaiian leprosy patients with open lesions on their feet and fingers, as displayed by Imada, offer an intimate and emotional encounter with the subjects who carry the disease.

As addressed in previous chapters, different forms of representations—images, artistic installations, or descriptions—are sometimes displayed simultaneously, which makes the message that is being disseminated more complex. Barthes suggests that there is a tension between photographic images and texts. The photograph is often in communication with at least one other "structure," namely, the text, title, caption, or article that is accompanying artistic and press photographs. As stated previously, Barthes suggests that the totality of the information is, then, carried by two different structures, which are cooperative but, since their units are heterogeneous, still remain separate from one another (Barthes 1977, 16). For example, in a multimodal text that uses images and writing, the writing may carry one set of meanings and the images carry another (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 20). According to Barthes, the two—the photograph and the text—where one is linguistic and the other is composed of lines, surfaces, and shades—occupy their own defined spaces. The two expressions are contiguous and complement one another, but they are still not "homogenized." Barthes argues that the photographic paradox can:

> then be seen as the co-existence of two messages, the one without a code (the photographic analogue), the other with a code (the "art", or the treatment, or the "writing", or the rhetoric, of the photograph); structurally, the paradox is clearly not the collusion of a denoted message and a connoted message. (Barthes 1977, 19)

Different remarks could be made in regard to the texts that accompany press photographs—among other things, the text might repeat the message of the photography, thereby strengthening its meaning. Or, the written words can be seen as a parasitic message that is designed to connote the image, and "the image no longer *illustrates* the words; it is now the words which, structurally, are parasitic on the image" and "it is not the image which comes to elucidate or 'realize' the text, but the latter which comes to sublimate, patheticize or rationalize the image" (Barthes 1977, 25). Overall, different patterns can be distinguished when unpacking the assemblage of different representations in photo exhibitions, newspapers, journals, or books.

Below, different aspects of images and descriptions—which have the effect of disrupting narratives and change how we know things, bodies, and practices—will be elaborated through Kjelbye's images of Western Sahara (Imada 2017). Overall, I am interested in meaning-making as a form of constructive resistance, in this text played out against, what can be comprehended as, diffuse power relations. I would suggest that the photos are contesting, in different ways and in various degrees, the discourses around the occupied areas, the poverty and marginalization of refugees, discourses and practices of war, and the nation-state of Morocco.

RESISTANCE AND THE POLITICS OF VISIBILITY

This chapter draws on the notion of a "new politics of visibility" (Bleiker 2018; Hansen 2015; Hochberg 2015; Stella 2012) in order to display the importance of the invisibility and visibility in conflicts and how the visual is vital in political struggles. The photos are analyzed as an entity, which is a discursively constructed materiality. While they are taking their own paths, the photos evoke new meanings as they encounter new readers. Thereby, they are to be seen as part of meaning-making processes. The notion of photos, which are not merely to be seen as passive objects that transport meanings, is drawn partly from the works of Bruno Latour (2005) and partly from discussions on the "new materialism" (Martinsson and Lilja 2018; Martinsson et al. 2018).

The images of Kjelbye, as we will see below, construct knowledge, shake existing cultural boundaries, and open up unanswered questions and complexity. It is not always obvious which discourses and norms are being problematized in the photographs. There is no stable knowledge that is challenged or negotiated. Rather, the resistance that is displayed in the photographs is more of the productive sort, which constructs knowledge rather than merely challenging power relations, decision-making processes, or particular stereotypes. The photos present different understandings of the Western Sahara land conflict, but they also complexify and problematize various dimensions of the conflict. The photographs can be read as being in support of the colonized subjects of the conflict, but they also seem to question the conflict itself.

As we will see below, Kjelbye considers Western Sahara to be occupied. As the word "occupied" denotes illegal confiscations of land, the use of the word indicates that he is expressing his support to the people of the occupied territory. The showing of support to those who are read or seen as subalterns in a conflict can be regarded as proxy resistance, motivated by a sense of solidarity.

BODIES, NON-BODIES, AND THE DESERT: RESISTANCE IN PHOTO IMAGES

Above, some understandings of resistance and representations have been outlined. Below, these notions will be drawn upon in order to suggest some strategies of representation in photographic art that are productive of innovative and diverse knowledge. While Kjelbye's images are rich and could be interpreted and understood from different angles, I will elaborate on the

conceptualizations of time, repetition, and the visible/invisible couplet in Kjelbye's images.

Kjelbye's pictures represent a series of repetitions—a constant reproduction of representations of soil and sand. What do they tell us? The lack of bodies, artifacts, and motion in the pictures make us focus on the earth and the sand. The ground itself becomes "hypervisible" in the absence of other clear objects. Emphasizing the earth before houses, roads, and humans displays the authority, interest, and taste of the photographer (Sontag 1973, 6). Or, as put by Sontag, "Even when photographers are most concerned with mirroring reality, they are still haunted by tacit imperatives of taste and conscience" (Sontag 1973, 4).

The photos are—according to an email that was sent to me from Kjelbye—depicting Western Saharan areas and, in some cases, the refugee camp of Tindouf in Algeria. Although some of the photographs are taken around a refugee camp, Kjelbye has deliberately chosen not to present any pictures containing people, but instead he focuses on the sand and the desert. He states in the email, to which the images were attached, "The photos are taken in Western Sahara, occupied by Morocco, and around the refugee camp in Tindouf in Algeria where about 100,000 refugees from Western Sahara are located. I have removed photos on people and are compiling a book with only desert images."

Why are the pictures taken and being exposed to spectators? The pictures (below), by representing "occupied" earth, repeat the conflict, perform the conflict, and keep it alive. The photographs, along with other similar images, reiterate different notions of occupied land, marginalized groups, and life and death, although in its own specific way. The photographs themselves visualize and police the conflict and are therefore part of it. As stated above, visual politics is vital in land conflicts and the photos can be understood to illustrate as well as constitute a political practice. Overall, as suggested by Gil Z. Hochberg, political transformation and empowerment are dependent on, among other things, "visibility, being visible, or having access to the gaze" (Hochberg 2015, 7; Stella 2012)

As images, they bring our minds and thoughts to the conflict, which are then relived, beheld, and noticed as well as they evoke new understandings of the conflict. In this, the photographs can be understood as acting as a kind of proxy resistance, where resistance is carried out in solidarity with other subjects. Still, the photos are complex and rich and carry no stable message. Instead, they suggest a plurality of meanings, each of them a special case, which prevail as both supportive and critical, as well as loyal and problematizing.

The images of the sand and earth can, among other things, be understood as putting the whole conflict into perspective, thereby resisting the whole idea of struggles, war, and pain. The sand looks dirty and the grass is dehydrated. No real colors appear in the pictures. The stripped images can be seen as a form of resistance to the conflict as such, against the struggle and the present violence. The land reveals no promises of progress, togetherness, or of a new beginning. Ultimately, the images express doubts about the value of the contested land and the core of the conflict. Is the fruitless terrain worth dying for? The photographic mode opens up the possibility for questions as well as produce new knowledge and by this showing the complexity of constructive resistance.

Kjelbye's descriptions of the refugee camp and the usage of the word "occupation," together with the photographs, give the pictures a more concrete, localized, and particular meaning. We now come to know that the land is lived in. Thereby, an absent-presence of non-visible bodies emerges, in the photographs. By the text, we get to know that there are bodies occupying the land and that there are bodies where the images are taken; however, no bodies are present in the photographs. In the moment of taking a photograph, bodies have been avoided. In our imagination we can see them behind the edge of photography. Who are these people, who are not observable? They are present but invisible and unobservable? How many are there? In our emotional readings of the images, the bodies become shadows that are still open for our imaginations and fantasies, which are informed by our encounters with previous images, ideas, and experiences of the region, colonial ventures, and

warfare. The absent-presence of humans is represented to us by images of empty doorways. In other pictures, we discern some contours of houses at the horizon (see images below).

The non-inclusion of the inhabitants in the photographic images could also be seen as a kind of resistance against a postcolonial situation, in which "representing difference" and "other cultures" are practices inscribed by relations of power, especially the relations of power between the people who are represented and the ones doing the representing. Racial and ethnic difference is often in the foreground of these images, which seems to emphasize difference rather than sameness (Hall 1997). Spivak has questioned how the Third World subject is represented in Western discourse. When speaking for, or representing, others, all economic and intellectual privilege this involves must be revealed (Spivak 1988). To not represent "the other" can be seen as a disruption of the standard narratives of the Western Saharan areas.

Or, are the pictures to be seen as a critique of, and resistance against, the marginalization and deceleration of abandoned spaces? While an accelerated tempo, entwined subjectivities, and contemporary forms of human experiences have emerged in parts of the world, there are also entire communities "stuck behind" global acceleration. Can the photos be seen as a critique of the marginalization of these societies? In this interpretation, the lack of modernity, of linearity and the "standing still" in the images are all constructed in relation to the European location, which is often pictured as progressive and constantly in motion. Are the images, and this analysis, colored by the postcolonial situation, its hierarchical dichotomies and categorial logics? Or, are the photos to be seen as a comment on the ever-growing acceleration of time in "modern" parts of the world?

The photos, together with Kjelbye's descriptions of them, reveal how different forms of representations—in this case photographs and descriptions—coexist and make messages more complex. And, as stated by Barthes, the two are cooperative, contiguous, and complement one another, but they are still not "homogenized." The text repeats the message of the photography in another more descriptive form. It also adds information and problematizes the images. The written words would not make sense by themselves, but they are parasitic on the images. Knowledge is constructed in the assemblage of different representations. Together the representations construct unique knowledge that is the result of the merging of different representations. Together, the photos and the descriptions construct something new. It is first, when the text is added, that the photos come to constitute resistance and construct new meaning around the Western Saharan areas.

As stated above, the earth appears static in the photographs; it seems to remain century after century. It is untouched by the violence and conflicts that are played out on its surface. The earth gives the impression of following

another temporality than those who live on the land. Thus, in line with queer theory, the images introduce a radically different conceptualization of time than that which is connected to personal development, family, and reproduction, life stages, and death. This "queer time" deviates from the hegemonic "heteronormative" time and is focused on the "here-and-now" while simultaneously suggesting the eternity of the situational moment (cf. Halberstam 2007). In the light of a longer temporality, where days and nights come and end with repetitive and unrelenting regularity, the conflict takes a back seat. People perish but the land persists. The country, the conflict, and the people and the sand do not only have a different materiality, but they also follow different temporalities. The constructions of time in the photos can be read as a form of constructive resistance, which produce new meaning as resistance besides being in opposition.

The light in the pictures almost appears as Nordic, despite the drought, which creates an ambivalence. The pictures both fit and do not fit within a Nordic framework of understanding. The images appear as both familiar and, at the same time, strange. From a Nordic location, from which both the photographer and I speak, some might recognize themselves in the beautiful light, but not in the heat, the drought, the sand, and the dried and shrunken vegetation. The people who are not seen in the pictures, but who we know are there, live in a similar but still unknown context.

While we do not see the inhabitants in the images, they prevail in our imaginations. While the land is made concrete, there is no proof of the existence of the inhabitants on the ground, as we cannot access them

through the photos. Thus, the description in the e-mail of the visited area (refugees, camp, etc.) is less convincing, less concrete, and less stable in the meaning-making process. The sentences in Kjelbye's email evoke a complexity of both knowing and not-knowing. As Barthes states, photographs can be seen as proof of material facts or a testament to the existence of a specific thing in a specific place at a specific time. Descriptions, on the other hand, deal with signs that represent an object, that is, a word that represents a notion; thus it lacks the ability of the photograph to establish a direct relationship with the object that it represents. Thus, the soil can be seen as "proven" in the photos, while the existence of bodies emerges as unstable knowledge.

The photographs only embody the earth, which, in the moment that the photo was taken, was simultaneously eternalized and gone forever. The "now" and "then" overlap in the photographs. The ground in the images with its drought seems to make its own resistance. Through its infertility, it appears to force those who populate the country of its surface. Their mere existence on an infertile land can be understood as a form of resistance—a resistance not only to occupation but also to nature. In one picture the sand forms a pattern, a stretch, in the otherwise bare ground. The pattern has the formation of a scar or a wound, which has been created by the absent. Does the sandy desert not shelter its inhabitants? Do they damage its surface?

In the above, I have constructed different configurations of resistance, which build on the photographer's descriptions and his reinventions of the land in the images, the actual land represented in the images as well as my interpretations of these reinventions. In this, I embrace the inseparability of the observed object and agencies of observation, and the fact that matter and the meaning assigned to matter interact with my body and mind. In other words, the analysis is created and re-created in an assemblage of encounters and interrelations. The politics that the photos compose involves human- and non-human agency: the action and interpretations of the photographer, the photos, the objects that are photographed, and the readers of the images.

CONCLUDING REMARK

This chapter has elaborated on photographs as political representations and the different strategies of representation that are displayed in political photographs. By conceptually reflecting on photographs as a specific form of constructive resistance, the findings of this chapter contribute to current scholarship on visual politics. The chapter discussed strategies of representation through an analysis of Kjelbye's images, which revolve around what is sometimes understood as the occupied areas in Morocco. In particular, I have argued for the need to understand the aspects of time, repetitions, and the visible/invisible couplet in regard to photos. Resistance appears in the form of the visible repetitions of land and the invisibility of the bodies of the border conflict. In addition, other temporalities other than the standard seem to be dominant in the images. The construction of time, which is offered in the images, can be regarded as a political performance.

Overall, while Kjelbye repeats the conflict by representing it, he (re)performs it and thereby keeps it alive and maintains it. As images, the photos bring our attention to the conflict, which is then relived, noticed as well as politicized. Photographs, in general, are therefore themselves part of the conflict that they represent and contribute to the knowledge-making around different conflicts. The photos, along with other linguistic representations that reiterate different notions of occupied land, can thereby be said to illustrate,

as well as constitute, political doings. The images can be seen as constructive resistance that also constructs different meanings around the Western Sahara conflict.

The representations of the Western Sahara conflict seem to abandon standard approaches to time; the earth appears static in the photographs, and it seems to remain century after century. Or in other words, the earth gives the impression of following a temporality that is different from the one of those who live, struggle, and die on the ground. The country, the conflict, the people, and the sand follow different temporalities. People perish but the land persists. In the light of a longer temporality, the conflict seems to take a back seat. In one sense, the images seem to question the conflict and remove the importance of "now" in the perspective of a longer time span. The photos are a way of rearticulating the conflict from another temporality.

The images also, given that they focus on nothing but the land, make the sand and earth hypervisible. What is emphasized is the dry sand and infertile soils—a dehydrated landscape, which itself seems to resist the humans who struggle in the conflict over the area. The hypervisibility and concreteness of the sand are due to the fact that the photos are experienced as imprisoning a piece of the reality. Thereby, the images appear as a proof of the existence of the sand, and each time we look at the images we travel in time into the photos (which still deny us of the access to the sand and earth).

Descriptions have other functions. In the above text, the description of the photos opened up the opportunity for questions. The knowing and not-knowing of the photos emerge in the crossroads between the images and the photographer's description of the images. And what we come to know is a mixture of what could be read as "the real" and "the imagined." This in itself provides a ground for complex knowledge, diversity, and the lack of stable knowledge. For example, the absent-presence of bodies becomes a base for uncertainty. The creation of ambiguity and diversity resists fixed stereotypes (knowledge can be seen as resistance).

In addition, as the photographer focuses on some aspects of the real, while leaving others out, the absent-presence of subjects could also be seen as a kind of resistance—in particular against a postcolonial situation, in which representing "difference" and "other cultures" is a practice inscribed by relations of power, especially the relations of power between the people who are represented and the ones who are doing the representing. Racial and ethnic difference is often in the foreground of these images, which seems to emphasize differences rather than sameness (Hall 1997). Therefore, the avoiding of representing "the other" could be seen as an attempt to avoid (re)practicing a (post)colonial pattern.

In this chapter, not only Kjelbye's text but also my analysis has added meaning to the images. My analysis exceeds the photographer's initial conceptualizations of Western Sahara by adding new meaning to the images from a academic location. In one way, the meaning-making from different positions could be interpreted as coalitions of resistance and coauthored knowledge, which involve several subjects, who are located in different places in which knowledge is produced. This also produced new knowledge, which surpasses the knowledge that merely emerged from the images.

The above text has displayed how images are able to move us in certain directions, construct new knowledge while also forwarding or complicating political messages. The images can be seen as a way of "doing politics" or composing resistance. Still, they contain so much more by constructing ambivalent knowledge, shaking cultural boundaries as well as opening up unanswered questions and complexity. The images are an interesting example of the complexity of more constructive forms of resistance.

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Chapter 11

Conclusion

The previous chapters have been fleshed out in order to contribute theoretically to the understanding of (intended or unintended) meaning productions as a form of constructive resistance. The book has mapped resistance, in which the subjects carrying it out have employed language and matter as (sometimes powerful) practices of dissent. All in all, artifacts, bodies, belongings, descriptions, and photos are analyzed as means of constructive resistance.

Constructive resistance can be seen as the "putting forward" of an alternative, in a context of power. Or, as expressed by Koefoed, it is a "subaltern practice" that might destabilize or undermine different modes and aspects of power in their "enactments, performances and constructions of alternatives" (Koefoed 2017a, 43). Having said this, I would like to pinpoint the complexity of constructive resistance. As Avery F. Gordon's (2008) *Ghostly Matters* demonstrates, we need to present life in different and more complicated ways than most social analysts presume. Resistance is carried out individually, by networks or by more organized social movements. It is practiced once, or repeatedly, in patterns. Sometimes resistance is played out in glaring and loud ways, while on other occasions the resistance is hidden, which is illustrated by James Scott's concept of everyday resistance (Lilja and Vinthagen 2017). Resistance, thus, prevails as hidden, visible, or comes across as hypervisible.

Another complexity of resistance becomes visible as we embrace "proxy" resistance—resistance that is carried out on behalf of others and is motivated by "solidarity." This kind of resistance creates unexpected alliances across social sections. In Japan, for example, social movements are struggling for farmers who live in poor conditions in other parts of Asia. Similarly, some artists pinpoint the precariousness of migrants by placing their belongings in Swedish museums (as a form of constructive resistance).

Establishing alternative knowledge, as a form of resistance, has previously been described in terms of reversed discourse, (re)categorizations, hybridization, or the (re)loading of artifacts with new meanings (Bhabha 1994; Hall 1997; Foucault 1990; Lilja 2008; Baaz and Lilja 2016; Hall 1997). The core idea behind these concepts is that dominant truths are challenged as new ones emerge. However, in this book I suggest that, in relation to constructive resistance, it is not always exactly obviously which discourses and norms are being problematized. In the cases that I have drawn on in this book—for example, migrants' belongings in Swedish museums, the Preah Vihear temple conflict between Cambodia and Thailand, and the self-making of (society- and self-defined) women politicians in Cambodia— the knowledge that is challenged, negotiated, and/or complemented is more or less stable in different situations. When analyzing the knowledge-making of Japanese civil society organizations, the senders (civil society organisations) and addressees (multinational companies and local and local retailers of their products) of the resistance are clearly identifiable. In the case of the "authentic artifacts" of the museum exhibitions, that which is opposed, complemented, or negotiated is less obvious. Overall, the knowledge that is negotiated is more or less discernible.

The same goes for the intension of the resister: intentions could be considered plural, complex, contradictory, or evolving. Intentions could also occasionally become something that the actor views differently in retrospect, only vaguely recognizes, or is unable to account for. Although I suggest that intensions are not needed as criteria for defining what resistance is, by being able to identify a possible intention of the resister, it is easier to detect the power relations and the resistance act. No matter how we judge a resistance activity per se, by searching for the content of a possible existing or emerging intention of the resister, our understanding of why there is resistance increases (Baaz et al. 2017).

The relationships between power and resistance are complicated. As it has been highlighted in previous chapters, power techniques must, as we now know, serve as the corresponding reference point for possible resistance techniques, where the peculiarities of power inform how resistance is conducted. Still, the link between resistance and power are neither simple nor always obvious. How resistance pans out also depends on contextually produced discourses and subject positions. Over and above this, it must also be pointed out that resistance evokes resistance. This is interesting as the attempt to resist might become more effective, in the cases that it provokes, or entangles in, other forms of resistance.

Moreover, as stated above, it should be made clear that different forms of resistance are not mutually excluding—quite the opposite. They are often combined in different ways, overlap, support, or undermine each other. For example, constructive, breaking, or avoiding resistance (Baaz, Lilja, Schulz,

and Vinthagen, forthcoming) could be part of the same resistance strategy, and could also intersect with other practices (such as compliance). All in all, different entanglements of resistance display a complexity, which must be embraced. This conclusion is further confirmed by the observation that power is sometimes used for resistance.

In addition, as the constructive resistance interrogated produces alternative knowledge and subject positions, also what is concealed, not-known, and non-visible in the knowledge production is important. Roland Bleiker (2000) has pinpointed that when opening up a certain perspective, one simultaneously tends to "hide" everything that is invisible from that vantage point: "every process of revealing is at the same time a process of concealing" (276; cf. Shalev-Gerz 2017). Foucault has, in a similar vein, concluded that "the epistemic agency that subjects have within a discursive practice is such that their knowledge and ignorance are co-constituted: their epistemic lucidity and their epistemic blindness go hand in hand, mutually supporting each other. As another epistemologist of ignorance" (Medina 2011).

The tension between knowing and not knowing in the process of knowledge-making is an interesting discussion, addressed in this book too. The above chapters have displayed how alternative knowledge prevails in relation to "not knowing" or is creating the uncertainty of "not knowing." The Japanese civil society organizations, when attempting to establish "knowledge otherwise," (in regard to the usage of pesticides), did not "throw away" the normative understandings, but rather they made other ways of understanding possible, while keeping the original understandings visible (Lenz Taguchi 2004, 177).[1] However, in Kjelbye's images it is what is *not* there that makes the objects in the images hypervisible, and this thereby sculpts what we come to know. Similarly, Swedish museums, by displaying unknown migrants' artifacts, created the feeling of not knowing of the owners of the bags (and where these unknown people currently are). This construction of "not-knowing" appears as a form of constructive resistance. Also, women politicians' hiding of certain dimensions of themselves is to be seen as resistance. Practices of hiding then prevail as a part of the constructive resistance. Overall, knowing and not knowing and the visible and the hidden are important dimensions of constructive resistance.

As I have shown in this book, the concepts of, "repetitions," "emotions," and "time" (and "matter") are important components of a theoretical framework of constructive resistance (dealing with the construction of knowledge and self-making).

Repetition is thus one of the key elements of constructive resistance. There is a crucial difference between strict repetitions and approximate ones. In some situations, the solution will be to repeat something as carefully as possible, but in other cases approximate repetitions will, as is displayed in

previous chapters, enrich or maintain the discourse. There is also a temporal scale or variation that ranges from an immediate to a delayed repetition, which also seems to matter in meaning-making resistance. At public assemblies, placards are repeating other placards in the same venue. At other occasions, repeating less often can make dominant discourses weaken. Moreover, it must be remembered that the meaning of the repeat differs depending on the contexts. In his famous book *Mythologies* (1972) Barthes constructs a model for analyzing cultural representations, in which the locality matters for what is repeated. Similar artifacts, when repeated in different contexts, gain different meaning; as the context changes so do the (de)coding processes/practices. Thus, for every time a similar artifact is displayed its meanings alter due to that the contextual setting has changed (to different degrees). This too impacts on subversive repetitions.

Repetitions also change discourses as they knit together different discourses, actors, and practices. For example, the human rights discourse has emerged as concepts such as "torture," "war crimes," "religious intolerance," "human rights NGOs," and "human rights lawyers" have been repeated together under a joint umbrella. The human rights discourse ties different acts, practices, "victims," and "rescuers" to each other. This "knitting" of discourses, actors, and acts is a means of constructing resistance that produces alternative knowledge; so is repeating in an ambivalent, twisting, simplifying, or concretizing way (as displayed in chapter 3, "Constructive Resistance: Communicating Dissent through Repetitions").

Another aspect of constructive resistance is how emotions is interweaved in knowledge-making. In the chapters that discuss Japanese NGOs and museum exhibitions, the emotional reactions that the authentic artifacts and the poverty tourism induced come across as crucial for the meaning-making processes. When emotions are intensified, in the moment of interpreting or decoding different representations, alternative knowledge is more easily embraced. We remember events, people, or practices that we connect with emotional reactions.

Emotions are important in so many ways for constructive resistance. Emotions can become an engine for resistance, and the aim of resistance can also be to evoke emotions. Emotional expressions can also be seen as means of resistance, as we choose which emotional expressions to display. By departing from Arlie Russell Hochschild's theorizations of emotional management, Koefoed (2017b) illustrates emotional management as resistance through the example of a Kurdish woman who struggled to reduce inner feelings of grief at her brother's funeral, as the emotions, to her, represented the very power of the Turkish state. According to Koefoed's respondents, the psychological power of the Turkish state was undermined as she avoided emotions of sorrow and pain. Putting on faces and trying to "feel" unexpected emotions

might thus work subversively (Koefoed 2017b; Lindqvist and Olsson 2017; Ackroyd and Thompson 1999; Rasmussen 2004). In Koefoed's work, the emotional management of the representations of pain is underscored. The strong relationship between representations and emotions is also pinpointed by Hutchison and Bleiker (2014, 495), who states that representation "lies at the heart of understanding the processes that link individual and collective emotions" and "representation is the process through which individual emotions become collective and political."

In chapter 6, I discuss how different NGOs in Japan send study groups to other countries in order to establish a direct relationship with the farmers, their houses, and farming practices. The chapter suggests that knowledge, which has previously remained invisible to mainstream perspectives, is more easily diffused if understood to represent "the real"; that is, if it creates a "reality effect" and, by this, provokes emotions. Creating an emotional "reality effect" emerges as a form of constructive resistance. In chapter 7, this pattern is further displayed through museum exhibitions. The emotional experience of time-traveling that arise when we are encountering "authentic" objects that were there during the difficult journeys of migrants seems to impact upon our discourses. In a similar vein chapter 5 suggests that (what are considered to be) more concrete representations can be used in constructive resistance in order to provoke emotions and thereby strengthen subversive discourses. Overall, emotions seem to play a key role in constructive resistance.

Moreover, time and temporality are another aspect to consider when analyzing constructive resistance. Resistance is played out across a range of temporal scales. Sometimes resistance is instantaneous and ruptures current knowledge-making. However, more often, processes of signification are burdened with an unescapable time lag; therefore, constructive resistance is often "slow."

Constructive resistance is played out in relation to different pasts and futures. Sometimes, the past or the future is embraced, and we let nonliving, non-embodied inhabitants into lives to form communities across time. Clock time also matters for constructive resistance. As we are governed, for example, toward maximum productivity, this conjures resistance against the acceleration of human productivity. An acceleration of time has stirred up resistance in the form of attempts to decelerate time (Haraldsson and Lilja 2017). In addition, different temporal orders, such as the ordering of time according to the logic of heteronormativity, discipline subjects and thereby also provoke resistance. Trying to establish alternative temporalities or remove or install the future (or the past) is to be seen as a different aim of constructive resistance. Thus, time and how we "do" time are central to how

resistance is performed and what effects it has. Time becomes important for analyzing different repetitions, emotions as well as matter.

Matter, in its various forms, also contributes to the development and transformation of discourses. The temples, bodies, squares, and artifacts that are involved in resistance are to be seen as social agents, discursive-materialities, and as part of meaning-making processes. By this, matter becomes important when analyzing constructive resistance. In line with Otto von Busch (2017, 68), I suggest that "a material perspective can open new dimensions of how humans and objects (or nonhumans) act in concert to open specific possibilities of resistance." Von Busch argues that different types of matter are mobilized by activists and how materials "literally tie together their actions to others and towards their cause" (2017, 75). He approaches the matter of resistance by way of the concept of "assemblages of resistance" and suggests a methodology of "unpacking" these assemblages by examining how the different elements "support, multiply, and act together as a unit" in the shaping of resistance (von Busch 2017, 76; Johansson et al. 2018). This becomes visible in some chapters of this book: the temple "repeat" and the "authentic artifacts" that are discussed are cases that display the importance of analyzing the intersection of matter and meaning-making.

Subversive practices of self-making also prevail in the chapters in this book as an important form of constructive resistance, which intersects with emotional reactions, time spans, and repetitions. Through the everyday recreation of their subjectivities, people reinvent themselves. This is not, however, the optimistic and fundamental creation of "alternative" figurations that break with existing domination in any full sense. This resistance is embedded in the discourses and practices of society that limit the range of possible ways of self-reconstruction. Still, this resistance—creating ongoing, small-scale differences that might look trivial—sometimes becomes significant.

Thus, the chapters in this book not only discuss the practices of establishing "knowledge otherwise," but also how corresponding subject positions are negotiated. This is particularly the case in chapter 4, which shines light upon the self-making of (society- and self-defined) women politicians in Cambodia, who choose to perform a stereotype while simultaneously hiding complexity as well as their attempts to negotiate the stereotype. However, the other chapters also touch upon how subject positions—or figurations—are framed in, for example, public assemblies, in the desert, in times of acceleration, and in museum spaces. Thus, self-making entangles in various forms of knowledge-making in the form of constructive resistance.

As mentioned previously, the body can be used to refuse to perform, or to perform, certain figurations. I would like to argue that the predictable or unpredictable figures of our societies are not only embodied positions; sometimes they are unbodied, thereby shaking the cultural order. While it is not performed,

it is not "proved" to exist, and the misfit between the images and the bodies opens up the possibility for deconstructions, recategorizations, and new discourses. These figures are to be seen as "non-performative" speech acts that do not bring into effect the things that they name (Feministkilljoys 2019). The pulling apart, or unsticking, of different figures, bodies, and representations then prevails as a form of constructive resistance that forms our emerging realities.

But when is constructive resistance most effective? Loud and overt expressions of resistance provoke power. Sometimes hidden forms of resistance are more effective. Being out of sight this resistance may create change processes without bringing about power-reactions. Moreover, resistance movements, networks, practices, or discourses must change to keep us interested and emotionally engaged. As stated above, the repetition of (what we comprehend as) exact representations creates an automatized reading of the sign. If we look again and again at the same picture, the semantics are gradually emptied, and the image's meaning is changed. It is important to have this reasoning in mind if we want to understand possible resistance strategies. To be effective, constructive resistance must be composed by repeated representations, which are constantly reloaded, twisted, and expressed by new persons from new venues and with new representations. And, as stated above, to create alternative narratives or new discourses, these must entangle in emotional processes and be embraced as "the real."

There are different ways of approaching the concept of constructive resistance. Koefoed (2017) discusses constructive resistance in terms of movements' processes of self-organized development. In this book, however, constructive resistance is not about institutions/organizations enactments of "alternatives," such as alternative ways of organizing society and living the nowtopia, but rather the concept of constructive resistance is used as an entrance for discussing alternative knowledge-making and self-making.

This indicates that there are different forms of constructive resistance. Constructing a replica, ambivalently performing a subject position, repeating sentences in a different manner, and displaying photographs of sand are all very different strategies, but they still all take part in meaning-making processes. Thus, the means of constructive resistance are multiple and differing. The common features are that they all propose an alternative in reaction to, and in the context of, power.

NOTE

1. This goes in line with Irigaray's outline of deconstruction. Irigaray promotes the concept of mimesis, which, according to Braidotti, resembles the strategic essentialism. The concept makes visible how repeating "woman" as a negative stereotype, but still slightly different, might call the concept into question and suggest that women

actually are something else than the established view expressed. The negative view must not be ignored though, but rather exposed and demystified (Braidotti 2003, 44–46, 1997, 32–37; Lilja 2008).

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