Resistance in the social sciences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of resistance</th>
<th>Is act intended as resistance by actor?</th>
<th>Is act recognized as resistance by target?</th>
<th>Is act recognized as resistance by observer?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overt resistance</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covert resistance</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unwitting resistance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target-defined resistance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Externally-defined resistance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed resistance</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted resistance</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not resistance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hollander and Einwohrner (2004)

Resistance in surveillance studies

1. Foucault and the Panopticon
2. Resistance to workplace surveillance
3. Sousveillance
4. Welfare surveillance and ‘Weapons of the weak’

Resistance in Foucault’s Panopticon

- Metaphor for disciplinary societies
- Inmates lack agency
- Resistance without agency?
- An outdated metaphor?
- Other ways to theorize surveillance, e.g. as an assemblage

Resisting surveillance in the workplace

- In particular, biometric surveillance
- Resistance occurs where the body and technology intersect
- Strategies of resistance
  - Disrupting information flows from the body to the system
  - Prolonging the surveillance effort
  - Coding the body in a different way
  - Moving the interface between the body and the system
**Sousveillance**

- ‘Watching from below’
- Counter or inverse surveillance
- Returning the gaze
- Undertaken by the subject of surveillance him/herself

**‘Weapons of the weak’**

- ‘Everyday’ resistance by the poor, underprivileged and powerless
- Scott on peasant resistance to unfair taxation – involved no overt protest and exhibited little to no organization
- Gilliom’s study of welfare surveillance – e.g. food stamp fraud
- Not just welfare recipients that resist – case workers resist, too
- Patterns of everyday resistance not unique to welfare surveillance

**Missing perspectives, missing actors**

- International relations perspective (governmental agencies resisting)
- Information systems perspective (technology as a resisting actor)
- Other actors in the surveillance context?
- Overlooked modes of resistance?

**Multiple actors in the resistance nexus**

- Surveyor
- Surveilled
- Surveillance authorities
- Commercial enterprises
- International actors
- Surveillance technologies
- Media
- Civil society / NGOs
- Others?

**The UK National Identity Scheme**

- Centralized database
- Identity documents (ID cards and passports)
- Multiple biometrics (e.g. fingerprints, digital facial photos)
- Online verification
- Audit trail of verifications
- Paid for by the public
- Private sector involved

**Resistance in the UK National Identity Scheme**

- Government non-resistance to international biometric identity document guidelines
- Home Office resisting resistance (counter-counter-implementation)
- Surveyor resistance by sidelining technology
- Technological breakdowns and failures; biometrics striking back
- Eventual resistance by the surveilled (including ‘weapons of the weak’)
- Commercial actors staying away