



The concept of resistance in developing countries in the thought of James Scott: Political theory and perspective

Attallah Sobh Arab Al Oun

Department of Political Science, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University, Giza Governorate, Egypt

Abstract

This study aims to explore the concept of resistance in developing countries, drawing on the theoretical framework developed by the philosopher James Scott. The study focuses particularly on the subtle and covert forms of resistance practiced by ordinary people in their daily lives, which are often overlooked in traditional analyses of resistance.

The significance of this study lies in its contribution to a broader understanding of the concept of resistance, providing a more comprehensive and accurate view of this complex phenomenon. It also assists policymakers in understanding the motivations behind resistance and developing more effective strategies to address social unrest. The primary research problem is the need for a deeper understanding of the nature of resistance in developing countries and how this resistance interacts with existing political and social systems.

The study seeks to answer several questions, including: How can Scott's theories be applied to the context of developing countries? What are the different forms of covert resistance practiced by ordinary people in developing countries? What is the relationship between covert and overt resistance? And what are the implications of covert resistance for the stability of political systems in developing countries? The study relies on a thorough analysis of Scott's works and a comparison with other theories of resistance. It also employs an analysis of empirical evidence from case studies and historical analyses.

Keywords: Resistance, developing countries, James Scott, theoretical framework, covert resistance, subtle resistance

Introduction

Difficult social and economic conditions are among the most important factors that drive peoples in developing countries to resist. Many individuals in these countries suffer from extreme poverty, high unemployment, and inequality in the distribution of wealth. These harsh conditions generate a deep sense of injustice and frustration, which pushes individuals and groups to seek ways to bring about change and improve their circumstances. The feeling of being deprived of basic rights to a decent life—such as access to food, water, healthcare, and education—has fueled many revolutions throughout history (Abu Douh, 2016) ^[1].

James Scott is a prominent figure in contemporary political sociology who has left a clear mark on the study of the complex dynamics between power and resistance, particularly in the context of developing societies. Scott succeeded in providing new and innovative insights in this field through his extensive fieldwork in Southeast Asia, which enabled him to develop a deep understanding of the mechanisms of power and the forms of resistance adopted by popular classes (Gilman, 2014) ^[9].

Scott's analysis focused particularly on what he called "hidden resistance"—forms of resistance that do not take an explicit or overt nature but are practiced subtly and daily by individuals and groups facing authoritarian regimes and major development projects. Scott believes that these forms of resistance are the most common and often the most effective, as they allow marginalized groups to maintain a certain degree of freedom and autonomy in the face of oppressive power structures (Scott, 2018) ^[14].

Political authoritarianism is another major factor contributing to the rise of popular resistance. When authoritarian regimes rule with an iron fist, suppress freedoms, and silence opposition, they plant the seeds of

resentment and anger among citizens. The sense of being deprived of their right to choose their rulers, express their opinions, and exercise their political rights drives people to seek ways to rid themselves of such repressive systems. Moreover, foreign intervention in the affairs of developing countries further exacerbates internal conflicts and destabilizes societies, prompting peoples to resist. Foreign intervention—whether military, economic, or cultural—often serves the interests of powerful nations at the expense of weaker ones. This interference intensifies feelings of occupation and exploitation, pushing people to defend their sovereignty and independence (Certo, 2019) ^[8].

The threat to cultural identity is another factor that drives peoples to resist. A sense of belonging to a particular culture and preserving heritage and traditions are fundamental components of human identity. When peoples feel that their cultural identity is at risk of extinction or coercive transformation, they defend it fiercely. Cultural Westernization and the imposition of foreign values are perceived as existential threats by many nations, prompting resistance to such changes (Al-Khalid, 2014) ^[2].

Scott's studies hold great importance for understanding the nature of the relationship between power and resistance in developing societies. They offer valuable analytical tools that help us understand how individuals and groups interact with authority and how they manage to preserve their identity and culture in the face of homogenization and control. His research also expands the scope of the concept of resistance to include diverse forms beyond open and organized resistance, encompassing every day and passive acts as well (Al-Khalid, 2014) ^[2].

James Scott's analysis represents a valuable contribution to our understanding of social and political conflict,

particularly in the context of developing countries. He succeeded in broadening the concept of resistance to include diverse and multifaceted forms that may not be visible, such as cultural and everyday resistance. In doing so, he provided a more comprehensive and accurate picture of the ongoing struggle between authority and the people in these societies. Scott's work also helped appreciate the role of marginalized groups, particularly the oppressed, in shaping and transforming society—even under repressive conditions. By revealing forms of hidden resistance, Scott highlights the ability of these groups to challenge and resist, as well as their role in preserving cultural identity and fostering critical consciousness (Scott, 2018)^[14].

Significance of the Study

This research constitutes a valuable addition to the field of resistance studies in developing countries, as it provides a broader and deeper vision of the nature of resistance and its multiple forms. Instead of focusing solely on traditional forms of resistance such as revolutions and public protests, the study delves into exploring the hidden and covert forms of resistance practiced by popular groups in their everyday lives. By analyzing the psychological and social motives behind these acts of resistance and the influence of cultural and political contexts on their formation, the research presents a more comprehensive and accurate picture of this complex phenomenon.

The importance of this study extends beyond the academic dimension to the practical and policy-making levels. The findings can help policymakers better understand the motives behind resistance and thus develop more effective strategies for addressing social unrest and building dialogue bridges with the populace. Moreover, the study opens new horizons for researchers interested in social movements and social change, providing theoretical frameworks and methodological tools for analyzing such complex phenomena. Consequently, it contributes to deepening our understanding of processes of social transformation and offers valuable insights for building more just and equitable societies.

Research Problem

The research problem lies in the need for a deeper understanding of the nature of resistance in developing countries and how it interacts with existing political and social systems. This study seeks to explore the concept of resistance as formulated by James Scott and apply it to the context of developing countries, with a focus on the hidden and covert forms of resistance that are often overlooked in traditional analyses.

Research Questions

1. How can James Scott's theories of resistance be applied to the context of developing countries?
2. What are the different forms of hidden resistance practiced by popular groups in developing countries, and how do these forms interact with the prevailing political and social systems?
3. What is the relationship between hidden and overt resistance in developing countries? Can hidden resistance evolve into open resistance?

4. What are the implications of hidden resistance for the stability of political regimes in developing countries?

Research Objectives

1. To provide a broader and deeper understanding of the concept of resistance and to move beyond the traditional view that associate's resistance solely with overt and violent acts.
2. To identify and classify the different forms of resistance practiced by popular groups in developing countries, with a focus on hidden and covert forms.
3. To understand the relationship between these two forms of resistance and how one may transform into the other.
4. To assess the impact of hidden resistance on the stability of political systems in developing countries.

Methodological Framework

First: In-depth Analysis of Scott's Works

This part of the research involves a careful reading of James Scott's writings, particularly those that directly address the concept of resistance. It will analyze key concepts and terms used by Scott—such as “transcripts,” “infrapolitics,” and “everyday forms of resistance”—to understand how he constructed his theory of resistance. It will also trace the evolution of his ideas across his works to identify major developments or shifts in his theoretical framework.

Second: Comparative and Theoretical Evaluation

At this stage, Scott's theory will be compared with other theories of resistance, such as those of Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault. This comparison will help identify the strengths and weaknesses of Scott's theory and how it differs from others. It will also assess the extent of Scott's contribution to our understanding of resistance and the aspects that may be further developed or refined in light of other theories and empirical evidence.

Study Axes

Axis One: The Concept of Resistance in Scott's Thought and His Research Methodology

James Scott, a prominent scholar in the social sciences, offers a sharp and innovative perspective on the concept of resistance—one that transcends the traditional view linking resistance exclusively to overt and violent acts. He presents a more complex and nuanced image. According to Scott, resistance is a series of small, everyday acts performed by ordinary people to confront power and domination—acts that are often subtle and concealed (Scott, 2018)^[14].

Resistance, in Scott's framework, is characterized by its secretive nature. Individuals who engage in it are aware of the risks involved in openly expressing opposition to authority, and thus resort to indirect and covert means to express dissent. Such resistance may take various forms—deliberate negligence of orders, evasion of rules, rumor-spreading, or the preservation of local traditions as a way of resisting imposed change. Though these acts may appear trivial, they represent a continuous challenge to authority and undermine its legitimacy (Abu Douh, 2016)^[1].

Scott views resistance not as an exceptional event but as an integral part of daily life. It manifests through small, routine acts carried out by individuals in their ordinary lives—acts that might seem insignificant at first glance. These may include resisting official directives, maintaining private spaces free from state intrusion, or secretly exchanging

information. Together, such actions form an ongoing pattern of resistance against power.

1. Scott's Vision in Domination and the Arts of Resistance

In his book *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, James C. Scott presents a new and insightful vision of resistance. Rather than focusing on explicit and violent forms of resistance that dominate historical narratives, he draws attention to the hidden, everyday forms of resistance practiced by the oppressed. Scott begins his analysis with a witty Ethiopian anecdote describing how a peasant cleverly expresses discontent toward his master indirectly—an example that piques readers' curiosity about the multiple ways resistance can manifest (Scott, 2018)^[14].

Scott's study centers on societies suffering from various forms of oppression and domination, such as hierarchical and class-based communities. He argues that resistance in such contexts is not limited to open revolts or acts of sabotage but includes a wide range of daily behaviors that may appear ordinary yet carry deep symbolic meaning. Examples include work slowdowns or rumor circulation—actions that, while seemingly minor, constitute subtle forms of defiance against the established order (Pye, 1986)^[13].

Scott goes even further, asserting that resistance is not merely a reaction to oppression but also a means of self-expression and identity assertion. Even under repressive conditions, individuals and groups find ways to express rejection of the status quo and affirm their identities. These forms of resistance, he explains, are not mere escapism but an integral part of the human experience—a means of survival and preserving dignity in the face of injustice (Certo, 2019)^[8].

Scott's research revealed that overt rebellions are relatively rare, seldom occur where or when expected, and often have limited impact. Instead of viewing resistance as organized collective action, he focuses on every day, less visible forms such as "foot-dragging, evasion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, and sabotage." He identifies such behaviors in rural and industrial settings as well as among the middle and elite classes—for example, through tax evasion or draft dodging—but most notably among rural populations, who are geographically dispersed and less politically organized than urban dwellers (Scott, 1985)^[15].

2. The Concept of "Transcripts" and Its Role in Resistance

Closely tied to Scott's idea of resistance is his concept of "transcripts"—both public and hidden. These refer to the behavioral and discursive norms practiced by specific actors within particular social settings, whether dominant or subjugated. Resistance, in this view, takes the form of a covert challenge to the "public transcript" through the use of prescribed roles and language to counter abuses of power. This includes subtle acts such as gossip, rumors, disguise, linguistic tricks, metaphors, folktales, ritual gestures, and secrecy (p. 137). Such methods are especially effective in contexts where violence is used to maintain the status quo, enabling "a hidden discourse of dignity and self-empowerment within the public transcript—where ideological resistance is forged, silenced, and disguised for the sake of safety" (p. 137).

These forms of resistance require little coordination or planning and are used by individuals and groups to resist without directly confronting or challenging elite norms.

More importantly, through his concept of transcripts, Scott recognizes that both the dominant and the weak are often trapped in the same web of social roles and behavior (Scott, 1992). These are often expressed without explicit or conscious intent. In this sense, Scott adopts a cultural-psychological view of domination as internalized and subconscious (through transcripts), rather than as deliberate and coordinated acts of control. With his notion of "resistance," Scott places power within a dynamic space between structure and agency:

"Most of the political life of subordinate groups can be found neither in overt collective defiance of powerholders nor in complete compliance with domination, but in the vast territory between these two polar opposites." (Scott, 1985, p. 136)^[15]

3. Hidden Power and Collective Nature of Resistance

There are clear links between resistance and the concept of hidden or invisible power. Just as forms of covert power can be used by dominant actors to exclude certain issues or voices from public agendas, relatively weaker groups can employ strategies of resistance that "hide" their actions from the powerful or use symbols to render them invisible. A historical example can be found in African American spiritual songs, which were sometimes used during slavery as coded forms of communication and resistance.

Although resistance may appear to be an individual act, Scott emphasizes its collective nature. Individuals who practice resistance do not act in isolation but influence and interact with one another, bound by a shared sense of belonging to a larger group that holds common values and principles. This collective consciousness strengthens resilience and enhances the effectiveness of resistance.

In Scott's framework, resistance does not necessarily aim to overthrow the system entirely but rather to preserve spaces of freedom and autonomy within it. Such resistance may be negative—expressed through non-cooperation with authority—or positive—through building alternatives to official institutions. This elusive and indirect nature of resistance makes it harder for authorities to detect and suppress.

4. Scott's Vision in Weapons of the Weak

James Scott offers another perspective on domination and "invisible power," one that has been both influential and controversial. In his seminal work *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Resistance* (1985), Scott presents the idea that oppression and resistance exist in a constant state of flux, and that focusing—as political scientists often do—on visible "events" such as organized rebellions or collective actions can cause us to overlook subtle yet powerful forms of "everyday resistance." He examines peasant and slave communities and the ways they respond to domination, focusing not on visible acts of rebellion but on cultural and non-cooperative practices developed over time during prolonged subjugation (Vinthagen, 2013)^[18].

In *Weapons of the Weak*, Scott introduces a unique concept of resistance embodied in the small, habitual acts practiced by oppressed individuals and communities as a means of confronting authoritarian power. Unlike the conventional understanding of resistance—associated with open

revolutions and mass protests—Scott focuses on what he calls “hidden resistance,” referring to simple, everyday behaviors such as procrastination, feigned obedience, rumor-spreading, jokes, and sarcastic hints. Though these forms of resistance may seem insignificant on the surface, they express a profound rejection of domination and serve to undermine authority from within, without provoking direct repression (Baaz, 2016)^[7].

Scott asserts that this hidden resistance constitutes the “weapons of the weak”—the tools used by individuals and groups who lack the power or resources to confront oppressive systems directly. Through these covert acts, subjugated people preserve their identity and dignity, expressing their rejection of tyranny and injustice in ways the authorities cannot easily detect or suppress. These hidden forms of resistance, according to Scott, carry symbolic power: they build collective awareness and an invisible form of opposition, demonstrating how the weak can challenge the strong through methods that transcend direct confrontation (Scott, 1985)^[15].

Scott’s conceptualization of resistance is distinguished by its ability to explain forms of opposition that are difficult to observe and often neglected in traditional analyses. It also helps us understand how individuals and groups can confront authority through unconventional means and maintain their identity and autonomy under repressive conditions.

Axis Two: The Relationship Between Hidden and Overt Resistance

Hidden resistance represents an intelligent form of defiance directed against authority or existing systems through indirect and inconspicuous means. This type of resistance takes many forms. One example is deliberate negligence of orders—a passive form of rebellion aimed at disrupting workflows without resorting to direct confrontation. Hidden resistance can also manifest through legal evasion, where individuals exploit loopholes or devise creative ways to circumvent imposed regulations, thereby weakening the system’s grip.

It is not limited to individuals—entire communities may engage in it by holding fast to their traditions and local customs. Preserving cultural identity and passing traditions from generation to generation constitutes a form of resistance to cultural homogenization or the imposition of foreign values. Additionally, rumors play a significant role in hidden resistance by spreading misinformation that undermines the legitimacy of authority or erodes public trust in the ruling order.

Hidden resistance thus serves as an effective strategy in confronting oppressive systems, allowing individuals and communities to express dissent without facing direct persecution or repression. However, it carries certain risks—it may exacerbate social tensions or intensify conflict. Therefore, this strategy must be used cautiously and thoughtfully, with careful consideration of potential consequences (Al-Khalid, 2014)^[2].

Overt resistance, by contrast, is a visible and explicit form of protest and opposition. It openly displays its intentions and is recognizable to all. This type of resistance often arises in response to unacceptable political or social conditions, as individuals and groups seek to alter the status quo. Overt resistance takes various forms, most notably protests, strikes, civil disobedience, and revolutions.

Protests typically manifest as peaceful or violent demonstrations aimed at voicing demands. Strikes represent collective suspension of labor to pressure authorities. Civil disobedience entails voluntary refusal to obey certain state laws, serving as a more peaceful form of protest than revolutions, which seek to overthrow the political system through force. The primary goal of overt resistance is to achieve positive change—whether by reforming specific policies or transforming an entire system of governance. Nonetheless, the forms and objectives of overt resistance vary according to the surrounding political, historical, and social context (Nassar, 2023)^[5].

Hidden and overt resistance can be viewed as two sides of the same coin in the broader struggle for change. Hidden resistance includes the small, everyday actions individuals and communities undertake to express rejection of existing conditions and challenge authority—such as boycotting products, sharing information, or organizing small-scale demonstrations. Overt resistance, in contrast, encompasses large-scale collective acts aimed at directly transforming the system—such as mass protests, sit-ins, and strikes (Baaz, 2016)^[7].

The importance of the relationship between these two types of resistance lies in their mutual reinforcement. Hidden resistance prepares the ground for overt resistance by fostering public awareness and undermining the legitimacy of authority. Conversely, the success of overt resistance enhances individuals’ courage and motivates them to engage in other forms of resistance. Thus, the interplay between hidden and overt resistance increases the likelihood of achieving meaningful social and political transformation (Abu Douh, 2016)^[1].

Axis Three: The Effects of Hidden Resistance on Political Stability

Hidden resistance—carried out silently and away from public view—is a crucial element in the dynamics of political change. These small, individual or collective acts may appear insignificant at first, yet over time and through accumulation, they reveal their capacity to undermine ruling regimes and pose a genuine threat to their legitimacy.

Every act of resistance, no matter how minor, represents a direct challenge to the legitimacy of the ruling system. As such acts multiply, public confidence in the regime’s ability to meet citizens’ needs and ensure their protection gradually erodes. This erosion of legitimacy significantly weakens the regime’s grip on power, rendering it increasingly vulnerable to challenge. Each act of defiance is a declaration that alternatives exist—and that no regime is eternal (Vinthagen, 2013)^[18].

Hidden resistance contributes to a fundamental shift in public perception of the ruling regime—from being seen as a powerful, unchallengeable authority to a fragile system susceptible to change. This transformation in collective consciousness encourages more individuals to engage in resistant activities, creating an escalating dynamic. Each act of resistance plants seeds of doubt in people’s minds, prompting them to question the nature and legitimacy of power itself (Baaz, 2016)^[7].

Hidden resistance also plays a vital role in mobilizing public opinion against the regime. Through symbolic actions and covert messages, dissidents manage to unify their ranks and expand their base of support. This popular mobilization amplifies pressure on the regime, isolating it further. Every

act of resistance becomes a call for unity and solidarity, revealing to the oppressed that they are not alone in facing injustice. Hidden resistance thus acts as the seed that grows into large-scale popular movements. It cultivates the psychological and social conditions necessary for uprising by fostering a sense of empowerment among individuals and demonstrating that change is possible. Each act of resistance proves that an individual can make a difference and that transformation is not impossible (Abu Douh, 2016) [1].

Hidden resistance often targets the institutions of the ruling regime, such as the police, the military, and the media. By weakening these institutions, the state loses its ability to maintain control and preserve public order. Each act of resistance strikes at the credibility of these institutions, casting doubt on their capacity to protect citizens. Hidden resistance also heightens social tension and deepens divisions between regime supporters and opponents. This persistent tension makes it increasingly difficult for the regime to maintain stability and raises the likelihood of violent outbreaks. Each act of resistance reopens old wounds and reminds people of the injustices they endure (Nassar, 2023) [5].

Scott argues that there exists a form of resistance grounded in cunning and illusion—used to confront despotism before it escalates into violence or revolution. This form of resistance creates a balance between the tyrannical ruler and the oppressed subject through the existence of two parallel discourses for each. The ruler relies on a public discourse filled with affection and flattery toward his subjects, showering them with promises and reassurances. As Hitler once noted, brute force alone is insufficient for control—it must be accompanied by rhetoric that deceives the ruled into believing that power serves their interests. Behind this public discourse, however, lies a hidden one—expressed privately among peers and courtiers—revealing the ruler’s exploitation of the populace and his true feelings toward them (Ho, 2011).

Conversely, the governed also possess two parallel discourses. Their public discourse conveys obedience and loyalty to the ruler, while their hidden discourse stands in complete contradiction to what is displayed outwardly. This concealed narrative reflects the subjects’ resistance to the tyranny of their rulers—a natural outcome of the oppression and exploitation that instill a deep sense of humiliation. Such feelings drive them to employ irony and indirect expression instead of open confrontation, which would expose them to punishment. Hence, this hidden discourse expresses itself through euphemisms and metaphors that keep it beyond the ruler’s comprehension or reach (Pye, 1986) [13].

Scott believes that the oppressed live in a state of duality or “split self”: they possess both a genuine self and a false self that performs a role on the political stage. This “false self” grows thicker and more significant as repression intensifies and the space for the oppressed narrows. The subject carefully maintains a balance between the public and hidden discourses, as the collapse of this equilibrium could endanger their personal freedom, livelihood, or even life. Meanwhile, the ruler constantly seeks to uncover this hidden discourse, attempting to penetrate the layers of meaning embedded in the subjects’ speech and behavior (Certo, 2019) [8].

In this covert confrontation, the oppressed conceal their hidden discourse behind multiple masks—through humor, innuendo, jokes, folk songs, symbolic speech, metaphors, gentle expressions, tales, and even myths. These various masks serve as shields, protecting the hidden transcript from the ruler’s scrutiny—either through what is spoken publicly or by avoiding traditional channels of surveillance. Consequently, numerous methods are used to hide this discourse: gathering in places beyond the reach of authority, disguising nearby meeting spots, and other material tactics. Yet Scott emphasizes that the most important means has always been to conceal this discourse in a form recognizable only to members of the resistance—a practice that has taken many shapes throughout history (Scott, 2008) [16].

Conclusion

The concept of resistance as presented by James Scott in *Weapons of the Weak* highlights the role of individuals and communities in developing countries in confronting authoritarian regimes and colonial powers through unconventional means—beyond direct violence or overt revolution. Scott emphasizes the significance of hidden resistance—such as cunning, illusion, allusion, and symbolism—as effective tools used by oppressed societies to preserve their dignity and identity in the face of domination and control.

These forms of resistance demonstrate how the weak, despite their limited means, can challenge powerful forces and express their rejection of oppression and tyranny in ways that transcend traditional mechanisms of repression.

Understanding this type of resistance offers deeper insight into the dynamics of the relationship between power and society in developing nations, where resistance is not measured solely by revolutionary movements or mass uprisings, but also by those small, daily acts that embody defiance and determination to preserve identity and dignity. Through his exploration of these subtle forms of resistance, Scott reminds us that change begins with awareness—and that resistance is not merely an external act, but also an inner struggle and a spiritual stance that refuses to surrender to injustice, regardless of its form or strength.

References

1. Abu Douh KKH. Contemporary Political Sociology. *Araa Hawl al-Khaleej*,2016:109:111. Retrieved from <http://search.mandumah.com/Record/807034>
2. Al-Khalid M. Political Sociology, Crises Observed and Warned Against. *Al-Diplomasi Magazine*,2014:75:44–47. Retrieved from <http://search.mandumah.com/Record/797145>
3. Rumaih T. Resistance and the General Theory of Conflict. *Al-Furqan Journal*,2009:62:53–56. Retrieved from <http://search.mandumah.com/Record/595553>
4. Kazem WYO. Social Protest Movements Between Subjugation and Persuasion: A Field Study from the Perspective of Educational Leaders in Baghdad, Al-Zaafaraniya District. *Journal of Arts, Literature, Humanities and Sociology*,2020:53:165–188. Retrieved from <http://search.mandumah.com/Record/1063775>
5. Nassar DGM. Resisting Biopolitics The Social Body as Responsibility. *The Arab Journal for the*

- Humanities,2023:41(164):123–153. Retrieved from <http://search.mandumah.com/Record/1417442>
6. Al-Ajouz RMH. The Policies of Developing States in Enhancing Their Non-Conventional Military Capabilities, North Korea as a Case Study. *Journal of Politics and Economics*,2021:12(11):1–36. <https://doi.org/10.21608/jocu.2021.54535.1084>
 7. Baaz M, Lilja M, Schulz M, Vinthagen S. Defining and Analyzing Resistance. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*,2016:41(3):137–153. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0304375417700170>
 8. Certo M, Leigh J, Rogstad A. Revolution and Resistance in World Politics. *Millennium Journal of International Studies*,2019:47(3):323–325. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0305829819857487>
 9. Gilman N. Transforming the Nature of the Struggle, An Interview with James C. Scott. *Humanity an International Journal of Human Rights Humanitarianism and Development*, 2014.
 10. Hamilton L. Resistance and Radical Democracy Freedom Power and Institutions. *History of European Ideas*, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01916599.2018.1473961>
 11. Ho W-C. James Scott's Resistance/Hegemony Paradigm Reconsidered. *Acta Politica*, 2011, 46. <https://doi.org/10.1057/ap.2010.5>
 12. Pewton T. Marco Checchi The Primacy of Resistance Power Opposition and Becoming. *Foucault Studies*, 2021.
 13. Pye LW. Review of James C. Scott *Weapons of the Weak Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. *The China Quarterly*,1986:107:556–557. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S030574100004008X>
 14. Scott D. Reflections the Meaning of Resistance. *Justice Power and Resistance*, 2018, 2(1).
 15. Scott JC. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. Oxford Oxford University Press, 1985.
 16. Scott J. *Everyday Forms of Resistance*. *Copenhagen Papers*, 2008, 4. <https://doi.org/10.22439/cjas.v4i1.1765>
 17. Ginzberg E. *Weapons of the Weak or The Culture of Everyday Resistance to Power Relations*. *GSTF Journal of Law and Social Sciences*, 2014, 3. <https://doi.org/10.7603/s40741-014-0003-4>
 18. Vinthagen S, Johansson A. *Everyday Resistance Exploration of a Concept and Its Theories*. *Resistance Studies Magazine*,2013:1:1–46.