Introduction

Environment is one of the key sites of global social change, with environmental activist groups seeking to draw attention to the effects of specific practices on the environment, and subsequently seeking to impact policy making and practices that shape the environment (Castells, 1996, 1997, 1998; della Porta & Diani, 2006; Rootes, 2004; Sklair, 1995). In our discussion of the politics of resistance in this chapter, we will specifically focus on global social change movements that emphasize local participation and processes of change, situated amidst the broader backdrop of claims making and presentation of arguments that seek to impact the realms of policy making and programming. Drawing upon examples from the global North as well as from the South, we will particularly examine the ways in which social change processes are constituted amidst policy frameworks and articulations across various global spaces. We will attend to the discursive processes and strategies through which resistive efforts of transforming environmental policies are played out. The voices of resistance weaved together in this
chapter create opportunities for engaging in dialogue with alternative rationalities for organizing the environment and, more importantly, the knowledge about the environment.

In the voices of resistance to the global politics of the environment, entry points are created for disrupting the monolithic narratives of global policies that are dictated by the powerful influences of transnational corporations (TNCs) in shaping global, national, and local environmental policies (Pezzullo, 2004; Rootes, 2002a, 2002b; Sklair, 1995; Smith, 2002; Yearley, 1994, 1996; Yearley & Forrester, 2000). The nexus between transnational hegemonic actors and the realms of policy making is foregrounded into the discursive space, being interrogated for the linkages of influence that ultimately shape global environmental policies, what gets configured within these policies, what gets discussed, and ultimately the kinds of policies that get made. Therefore, central to the voices of resistance is the re-articulation of the realms of decision making, redrawing out the processes of decision making, suggesting alternatives, and seeking to bring the realms of decision making more into the hands of communities at the global peripheries (Dutta, 2011). Therefore, the very sites of policy making and arbitration by global hegemonic actors also emerge as the sites of protest. Consider, for instance, the voices of youth activists presented in a YouTube video organized at the very site of the United Nations Climate Meeting COP17 summit:

Youth trying to buy back. Youth organizing bake sale at the Durban Climate Conference COP 17 to buy back the influence of everyday publics with policy makers. Noting the inequities in decision making structures and structures of policymaking in the context of environmental policies, the youth participants in the resistance movement note that the policy makers only seem to understand the language of money and therefore the bake sale is an attempt to engage policy makers in their own language. (http://youtu.be/-KhTSqsby6-w)

The notion of inequities in communicative opportunities for participation becomes the center point of various movements of resistance against neoliberalism (Dutta, 2011; Dutta & Pal, 2010). That the paradox of the neoliberal principles of freedom and liberty are essentially caught amidst
the consolidation of communicative resources in the hands of powerful global actors motivates processes of organizing. That policy makers understand only the language of money becomes the entry point for organizing resistance, with the bake sale serving as a symbol of resistance by raising money to engage policy makers. Voices of resistance are narrated in the backdrop of the material constraints on the symbolic and discursive sites of articulation. The three examples of social change that we will specifically look at are 350.org, the campaign against the Keystone XL Tar Sands pipeline, and the International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal (ICJB).

350.org
The 350 movement is built on the framework of organizing to set the safe upper limit for CO2 in the atmosphere to 350 parts per million (ppm), based on the findings of climate science. The website of the 350 movement opens up with the slogan: “We’re building a global movement to solve the
climate crisis.” This teaser that articulates the voice of the movement within the broader context of social change then opens up into the question “Why?” which is hyperlinked into a new page that explains the broader goals and objectives of the movement. Offering the rationale for the movement, the website notes the following key points (http://www.350.org/):

1. The climate crisis is the biggest problem facing the world. Unchecked climate change means more natural disasters, more outbreaks of disease, more food shortages, and more sea level rise.

2. We need to make large-scale changes. The climate crisis is so big that we can’t solve it with small, personal actions alone. We need to think bigger and bolder.

3. Large-scale change means changing policy. We need laws that rewire the way the world produces and consumes energy so that clean power is cheap, dirty power is expensive, and people everywhere can live sustainable lives.

4. Getting strong climate policy won’t be easy. It means fighting the wealthiest and most powerful group on the planet: the fossil fuel industry.

5. We can win with a people-powered movement. We’ll never have as much money as the fossil fuel industry, so we need to overpower them with our numbers and our determination instead. From the Civil Rights movement to women’s suffrage, social movements have changed the course of history—so we’re building a movement of people to solve the biggest problem in the world.

The problem of climate change is connected to other global problems such as food shortages, disease outbreaks, and rising sea levels. In connecting climate change to the broader domains of other global problems, the movement highlights the large-scale scope of change that needs to be made, and drives home the relevance of changes in the realms of policy making. It is in this backdrop of setting up the broader problem of climate
change that the voices of resistance point toward the domains of policy making that are controlled in the hands of the wealthy. The concept of a people-powered movement is articulated in resistance to the top-down decisions and decision-making processes around climate change. This notion of people-powered politics of change seeks to dislocate the realms of decision making from the broader structures of power under neoliberal governance and instead place decision making in the hands of communities, foregrounding the role of people in shaping policies around climate control. The monetary power of influence of the fossil fuel industry is resisted by the empowerment, solidarity, and determination of the movement. In doing so, top-down power is dislocated by bottom-up power that emerges from the participation and voice of people who have been placed at the margins of communicative systems of decision making. Examples of the Civil Rights movement and women’s suffrage are offered as examples of the influence of people-powered movements in achieving change and in solving some of the biggest problems of the globe.

Along the lines of the voicing of grassroots resistance, entry points are sought for building solidarities of resistance with other movements across the globe, both along issue lines as well as across issue lines. For instance, solidarity-building with the Occupy movement is envisioned under the umbrella of the “Occupy and the Climate Movement” hyperlink that asks readers to join the 99% (the Occupy movement is discussed in greater detail in chapter three). The hyperlink leads the reader to a page that notes the linkage between economic injustices and the politics of climate change. Note, for instance, the following explanation (http://www.350.org/occupy):

- Fossil fuels enable the current economic system to continue because it is global and requires a lot of fossil fuels for production and transportation. Multi-national corporations won’t do well if we stop burning fossil fuels.

- Failure to act will result in catastrophic and runaway climate change that will dramatically undermine the systems that make earth livable. Therefore the reality of the climate science and the call for climate justice are critical filters through which all con-
cerns for the economy, education, healthcare and democracy should be considered.

- We shouldn’t build the revolution on a dirty energy economy. Those who are concerned about the economy and jobs today, shouldn’t settle for short term economies based on fossil fuels which will undermine both the planet and economic opportunities and health for future generations.

Linkages are offered between the global economic injustices and the politics of climate control. The global economic system is connected to fossil fuels, pointing out how the use of fossil fuels supports the production and transportation systems of multinationals. The interconnectedness of issues is made salient when the effects on climate are interlinked with the effects on economies. The realms of education, health care, economy, and democracy are placed in the backdrop of the frame of climate science and climate justice. The articulation of an alternative economic system is interlinked with the articulation of an alternative energy economy. The sustainability of the planet is interwoven with the economic opportunities and health for future generations. The grassroots solidarity of resistance, therefore, creates the local space for the inter-linkages among issues, connecting climate justice with economic justice and the health for future generations. Local-level participation then creates an entry point for the narrativization of alternative rationalities, connecting several grassroots issues together under a broader frame that resists neoliberalism and its centralization of decision-making processes in the hands of those with economic power. This becomes further evident in the following excerpt about Occupy as a process:

The occupations all over the world are bigger than a single issue, or a single campaign. Rather than a set of demands or a specific objective, it is a process that empowers communities to formulate and develop their own decisions. An occupation is space for all issues to be raised, discussed and put into action through a direct and consensus based process. An occupation turns a space into a forum for discussion and participatory democracy. By occupying a space, the physi-
cal structure of the camp reflects the goals of the people gathered—
to discuss and develop new participatory processes for democracy. Those of us with in-depth knowledge on more specific subjects (like tar sands, healthcare, or climate justice) can help draw the important connections between our specific issues and the larger societal problems they embody. (http://www.350.org/occupy)

The empowerment of local communities to make their own decisions lies at the heart of the processes of social change and social justice embodied in 350.org and the Occupy movements. The linkages between these movements, therefore, offer a framework for connecting the issues to identify and resist the broader domains of corporate control that influence decisions around a variety of issues. As embodied in the depiction above, occupations are envisioned as sites of local decision making based on consensus as opposed to top-down decision making embodied in dominant structures of neoliberalism. The development of new participatory processes of democracy remains at the center of resistance, where participation becomes conceptualized as a process through which frameworks of participatory decision making are articulated, debated, and configured.

The narrativization of the 350 movement discusses the grassroots efforts in 2007 that brought together communities across the US in raising awareness and mobilizing politically to cut carbon 80% by 2050 under the umbrella of the “Step It Up” campaign. What is pivotal to the voices of resistance in the Step It Up campaign is the re-articulation of iconic places in all 50 of the United States to share the story of climate change. The networks of solidarity further built from the spaces within the US to connect with other spaces globally to recruit participants in creative forms of activism, bringing together activists from across the globe to organize events on global days of action, to envision creative avenues from change through participatory local action, to organize globally at the very sites where climate policies are being arbitrated and decided upon. For instance, the global day of action, October 24, 2009, brought together activists from 181 countries, who organized diverse resistive projects at various local sites. Video narratives available on the website then wove together these different stories of resistance that were constituted around the broader
theme of reducing carbon. On the website (http://www.350.org/en/story), YouTube videos document various messages of protest from around the world, coordinating messages for political leaders from various globally distributed local sites. Performances, street protests, and creative forms of action are mobilized to communicate the 350 movement message. The 350 movement’s signage is displayed creatively at these various local sites. Also, events such as the Global Work Party hosted on October 10, 2010 across the globe bring about opportunities for local communities to develop alternative solutions to the carbon problem and to create platforms for voicing these solutions. Therefore, integral to the co-constructions of resistance among the various activist groups from around the globe is the emphasis on local solutions that are globally connected through the networks of solidarity.

The participatory frameworks of organizing in the 350 movement also emerge as creative sites of developing performative processes and messages that are creative and novel in nature. For instance, under the 350 Earth project, local communities across various global sites came up with novel messages of resistance communicating the key concept of carbon control (see, for instance, http://earth.350.org/). At the 350 Earth website, the purpose of the Earth project is described as using art to mobilize global climate movement. The description further discusses the ways in which art is creatively used to communicate the key messages of the movement:

EARTH collaborates with creatives to transform the human rights and environmental issues connected to climate change into powerful art that gets people to stop, think and act.

In 2010, 350.org launched EARTH, the world’s first ever global satellite art project. In over 16 places around the world, the public collaborated with artists to create art so large it could be photographed from space.

The art pieces highlighted a local climate change issue or solution. We found that art had the remarkable ability to bring thousands of people around the world including India, Egypt, South Africa, China, the
United States and more, to engage in the climate change movement for the first time. Many who participated and witnessed the pieces were transformed. Immediately after we heard in Spanish, Arabic, English, Hindi, “What can I do next . . .” And so EARTH was born. (http://earth.350.org/)

The principles of the 350 Earth project are defined in terms of utilizing locally created art to raise awareness and mobilize people around the issue of climate change. The global satellite component of the 350 Earth project, highlighted as the first of its kind, involved artistic installations co-created through the collaborations of people with artists into big formations that were so large in size that they could be photographed from space. The website offers links to the Earth art installations that were created in 2010, providing images of each of the installations. The local-global linkages in the 350 movement once again becomes salient here as the art pieces depicting local climate change issues or solutions across various sites around the globe including India, China, Egypt, South Africa, and the United States are interconnected under the 350 movement’s broader message on climate change. Under the heading “Climate Street Art,” links are provided to several art installations at numerous sites across the globe that take on specific local issues and seek to mobilize action around these local issues, interconnected around the broader umbrella of climate change and controlling the carbon content in the environment. Take, for example, the installation art titled “The Invisible Man,” which was created by the artist Liu Bolin (see Figure 4.2).

The photograph of the art installation is accompanied by the following description on the website:

Artist statement: China consumes more coal than any other country in the world, using it for everything from electricity and producing steel to deadly indoor heating and cooking in some rural areas. With their unregulated mines, China’s coal mines are also fatal and thousands of people a year die due to explosions, cave-ins, and other disasters. Coal Pile is a conceptual commentary on the consequences of not only the dependence on coal, a limited resource, but the dan-
gers that come for families who work with and use coal, ironically, to survive. (http://earth.350.org/street-art/)

Worth noting here is the attention draw to the high usage of coal in China, the effects of coal use on the environment, and the conditions of the workers who toil in the Chinese coal mines. The depiction of the coal pile then draws attention to the dangerous consequences of coal use on the environment as well as the everyday risks that are posed for the individuals and families that work in the mines.

Similarly, another art installation titled “LA’s Dirty Secret” depicts a yellow background with a black circle in the center. Below the black circle is the statement “Don’t connect the dots.” A link is offered to the site quit-coal.org/la. The illustration is accompanied by the following description on the Earth website:
Artist statement: Zelida collaborated with 350.org and Greenpeace to design this simple, provocative poster exposing Los Angeles’s dirty secret. Los Angeles, the 15th largest economy in the world, receives over 40% of its energy from dirty coal. Globally, the burning of coal is the largest contributor to climate change. Los Angeles is based in the proverbial “Sunshine State” and could easily switch to solar. We hung these posters in the windows of Los Angeles businesses who want LA’s City Council to drop coal and switch to renewable energy. The number of LA businesses opposed to coal is 400 and growing. See quitcoal.org/la for more. (http://earth.350.org/street-art/)

The description points to the large-scale consumption of coal in Los Angeles, seeking to expose this secret and create awareness about the role of burning coal in climate change. The poster serves as an entry point to mobilizing businesses and community members to pressure LA’s city council to switch from coal to alternative energy sources. The link on the installation connects to the LA Quit Coal movement website, which is part of a broader US-wide Quit Coal movement hosted at quitcoal.org. What these installations depict are the ways in which local issues are connected to specific actionable steps, articulated within the broader framework of the 350 movement that seeks to reduce the carbon footprint globally.

The 350 movement utilizes other forms of performance, such as songs, in order to spread the message of the movement. For instance, the song “People Power,” created by African musicians, became a vehicle for carrying the message of the movement. Here is a description of the song and the broader context within which it originated:

The United Nations climate talks have unfortunately been just that for 16 years—just talk and no real action, the most famous of these so far being the failed conference in Copenhagen in 2009. After the deep disappointment of Copenhagen, a South African anti-apartheid activist teasingly noted that the talks had failed because the climate movement didn’t have a song!

For the 17th conference in Durban this December, we didn’t want to make the same mistake twice! A group of leading musicians through-
out Africa and other parts of the world to create a song that both tells the truth about how hard climate change is affecting Africa and that also inspires people to join together to create a brighter future for everyone.

Africa is the continent that is most vulnerable to climate change (according to the recent Maplecroft report, of the world’s most highly vulnerable countries, approximately two-thirds are located in Africa). These impacts include more severe droughts, increasing deserts, worsening storms that damage people’s croplands, and sea level rise affecting the coastal communities. People in the Eastern Horn of Africa are already being forced off their homelands due to the drought and famine made worse by climate change.

The African continent also has a rich history and recent past of fighting injustice, of creativity, of perseverance, of communal caring, and of traditional wisdom of living in harmony with nature. And it is the birthplace of humanity—all people, the world over, carry memories of Africa in their cells.

By filling the airwaves around the globe with the power of song and story, maybe we can reignite some of these memories and remind people of the power we have when we stand together. Together we can overcome climate change. Together we can create a brighter future! (http://radiowave.350.org/share-the-song/about-the-song/)

The story of the history of the “People Power” song positions itself in resistance to the empty conversations of United Nations climate talks. The UN climate talks are positioned in the backdrop of the power of songs to achieve social change and social justice. “People Power” seeks to tell the truth about the politics of climate change, drawing attention to the real impacts of climate change in the form of severe draughts, increasing deserts, worsening storms, and rising sea levels, also noting that Africa as a continent is most vulnerable to these effects of climate change. The local context of the issue, then, is organized as a framework for delivering a call for collective solidarity-building.
In the backdrop of the articulation of the materiality of climate change (narrated in terms of its impact, based upon linkages offered to evidence), the rich history and creativity of the African continent are foregrounded to put forth alternative rationalities of communal caring. The traditional wisdom of Africa is celebrated, foregrounding the richness and wealth of knowledge that the continent has to offer and locating Africa as the birthplace of humanity. It is from its origins in local spaces of Africa that the “People Power” song becomes the conduit for connecting global voices, songs, and stories of resistance. The song becomes an avenue for filling up the radio airwaves with songs and stories of resistance to climate change, mobilizing people globally by reigniting their memories of the power of people to bring change through collective solidarity. The local-global interplay of the movement is also visible in the lyrics of the song, with multiple artistes collaborating together in their own native languages. Here is a short excerpt of “People Power,” sung by Zolani Mahola of Freshly Ground in isiXhosa and isiZulu:

The sun was at its brightest
the seasons coming in their own time
flowers blossoming
the rain bringing freshness to mother earth
the rain releasing a smell of wonder
the birds with their singing
every season came in its right time

Fix this mess you have created/this mess before us (http://radio-wave.350.org/share-the-song/song-lyrics/)

Similarly, on the website describing the song, a quotation from Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu, a member of The Elders, notes:

Africans have this thing called “ubuntu”. It is about the essence of being human, it is part of the gift that Africa will give the world. We believe that a person is a person through another person, that my humanity is bound up, inextricably, with yours. When I dehumanise you, I inexorably dehumanise myself. The solitary human being is a
contradiction in terms and therefore you seek to work for the com-
mon good because your humanity comes into its own in belonging.
(http://radiowave.350.org/share-the-song/about-the-song/)

The concept of “ubuntu” is noted as the essence of being human, and is
celebrated as a gift of Africa to the world. Resisting the notion of indi-
vidualism that lies at the heart of neoliberal formulations of global poli-
cies, Ubuntu puts forth the notion of relationship as the defining feature
of humanity. Humanity is constituted in belonging, and this becomes
the framework for storying a narrative of resistance. “People Power” also
serves as a catalyst for the 350.org campaign that attempts to confront the
issue of climate change by leveraging the power of radio:

Since it began 3 years ago, the 350.org network has developed a rep-
utation for bold grassroots action—action that’s powered by the web
and new forms of media. The campaign we’re about to invite you to
embark on falls somewhere within that description, but it also re-
connects us with two much older forms of media: our voices and
the radio.

For two weeks starting on the 21st of November we will unleash a
wave of radio broadcasts around the world (we’re calling it “350 Radio
Wave”) all on the topic of the climate crisis and the growing movement
to solve it. We want the voices of local climate activists—that would be
you—to be the stars of these broadcasts. (http://radiowave.350.org/)

The call highlights the role of radio in spreading the message of the move-
ment, voiced through the participation of local activists across the globe.
In preparation for the 2011 UN Climate Change Summit, the radio cam-
paign sought to build global awareness about the science and impact of
climate change, and simultaneously narrate the power of people in creat-
ing avenues for change through locally narrated solutions.

The radio component of the campaign also provides access to re-
sources, such as public service announcements, interview guides, tips on
setting up interviews, pre-recorded interviews, and local podcasts, to be
used by activists as well as by local radio stations. As of January 2011, re-
ports of radio waves were noted from over 60 countries from across the
globe. The radio campaign catalyzed several localized narratives of social change in the context of climate justice. Additionally, songs such as “Climate Justice #Occupy,” created by local musicians in Durban, South Africa at the site of COP17, further leverage the intersections of the 350 movement with the Occupy movement, sharing the “occupy” metaphor to displace the power imbalance in climate talks held by transnational capital (http://radiowave.350.org/occupy-with-music/). Here is a Radio Wave update on the global uptake of the song:

350’s amazing global grassroots network spread People Power, a new climate change song, to the airwaves in over 60 countries! Together, we harnessed the power of music to educate the public about climate change. Some organisers managed to get their personal stories onto radio stations with huge audiences; others were smaller stations that the local community listened to. From stations in Texas to Cape Town, uplifting messages from the movement’s frontlines reached thousands of people’s hearts and minds.

The story of the song, People Power, continues to unfold. It was in regular rotation on South African radio stations during the UN climate talks, and now DJs are creating amazing remixes. iTunes recently featured it as the “Free iTunes Song of the Week”—the first time a climate song has ever made this coveted spot. Already, we’re at 100,000 downloads and still counting!

This wonderful energy of people power—rippling out in story and song—has been so important in recent months. At this moment in history, politics and our media seem to be dominated by corporate polluters. Hope for climate action can seem dim, and we all worry that our message isn’t getting through.

But, over the past few weeks, 350 Radio Wave helped inspire people around the world to create a new wave of climate action, and I couldn’t be more grateful to be part of the movement that made it happen.

Let’s keep turning it around. (http://radiowave.350.org/)
The hegemonic narrative of climate change as depicted in the mainstream media is sought to be resisted through the grassroots-level political action of local communities across the globe that are using the radio to draw attention to the issue of climate change. 350.org provides links to additional resources that could be used by local groups working with the 350 movement’s message. For instance, the events FAQ resource offers links to local activist groups interested in organizing an event for the 350 movement. The FAQ walks the reader through steps outlining methods for organizing local community members into 350 action, putting together posters and signage for 350, as well as specific steps for involving local community members, taking photos, submitting photos, and engaging with the media. Here is a section that outlines suggestions for a 350 action video:

The truth is that a banner is often the simplest, surest way to get a big 350 into your image. Click here to check out a good banner-making guide. But not every action needs a banner, and even banners can involve more creativity than just a big number. Here is a good place for a creative friend or volunteer to lend a hand.

Think about banners that say “Beirut for 350!” (in Arabic) or “Vamos 350!” (in Buenos Aires). Or think about forming a huge 350 out of the people attending the action, or for bicycle actions consider forming a 350 out of bicycles, or for trash clean-ups maybe form a 350 out of the trash collected from your site.

Be creative and have fun with it—and be sure to plan in advance and designate a friend or photographer to make sure you get the digital photo image you need to submit to 350.org afterwards. (http://www.350.org/en/node/3191)

The idea of the banner, for instance, spells out specific tactics for putting up banners in different languages, or for forming attention-drawing configurations, such as forming “350” with people attending the event, or forming “350” with bicycles or trash cans. Other resources include logos, the 350 badge, pre-made banners, fact sheets, organizing guides on how to hold first meetings, blogger and social networking tools, guidelines for creating collaborative art projects, multimedia guides, and guides on creating
videos (http://www.350.org/resources). In seeking to create transformative spaces for climate justice, 350.org also provides a variety of information resources on topics such as “Climate Science Factsheet,” “Climate Policy Factsheet,” and “Agriculture and Climate Change Factsheet.” Also, through animations and videos placed on 350.org, the science of climate change and global warming is presented, serving as the framework for introducing the goals and objectives of the 350 movement.

**Campaign Against the Keystone XL Tar Sands Pipeline**

One of the recent environmental movements in North America that is directed at environmental justice is the campaign against the Keystone XL Tar Sands pipeline. The pipeline system was proposed in 2005 by TransCanada Corporation to carry synthetic crude oil and diluted bitumen from Athabasca Oil Sands in Canada to multiple locations in the US in Oklahoma, Texas, Illinois, and Montana. The plans for building the pipeline are divided into phases, with phase 1 and phase 2 developing the basic transportation infrastructure of the pipeline, and then with subsequent extension segments.

Early resistance in Canada against the pipeline is situated amidst a long history of indigenous protests against projects in the Tar Sands, bringing to the forefront questions related to the effects of the pipeline on the environment and on indigenous cultural resources (see the Indigenous Environmental Network site at http://www.ienearth.org/). In September 2008, two blockades by First Nation communities in the Saskatchewan Province halted construction for a few days by shutting down the TransCanada Highway (Treaty One First Nations, 2008). In the narrative of indigenous resistance against the project, questions are raised regarding the exploitation of resources that are owned by indigenous communities without compensating them, set alongside questions related to the impact on the environment (Doha, 2008). During the protests organized by First Nations, Red Pheasant First Nation Chief Sheldon Wuttunee noted the following: “We want to put out a message that we’ve had enough, that we’re going to stand together as Indian people to make sure we get our fair share of the resources that come from our traditional lands” (http://
www.canada.com/saskatoonstarphoenix/news/story.html?id=31d87e83-d18a-4d91-b1cf-62600e3ed05e). The articulation of the indigenous claim to the collective ownership of the resources disrupts the oil profiteering motivations of projects in the Tar Sands.

The Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations Vice Chief Morley Watson noted:

We believe that the governments have failed; they have failed the First Nation people by not consulting us. They have a duty to consult and accommodate us. They haven’t and again our communities are frustrated. We want what everybody else has, that’s jobs and opportunity and profitability and, unfortunately, the governments have bypassed us. (http://firstnationsdrum.com/2008/10/saskatchewan-first-nations-protest-pipeline/)

Evident in the narrative of resistance is the overall erasure of indigenous communities from the realms of decision making, and the simultaneous erasure of indigenous voices and interests from the material spaces of oil profiteering. Foregrounded in the articulation is the logic that the people whose collective resources are being exploited ought to be consulted and their needs accommodated. The voices of resistance, organized under the broad umbrella of the Canadian Indigenous Tar Sands Campaign, point out the material marginalization of the indigenous communities in the backdrop of the highly profitable oil industry that gain from the exploitation of the resources.

On January 7, 2009, the Indigenous Environmental Network along with the Rainforest Action Network produced a statement written to President Obama, requesting him to stop all processes related to the approval of the Tar Sands development and expansion (Indigenous Environmental Network, 2009). This statement was issued in conjunction with the meeting held by the One Chiefs of Manitoba, Canada, with President Obama regarding the Enbridge Alberta Canada and Keystone XL project (Treaty One First Nations, 2008). In the written statement, the indigenous leaders cite multiple arguments regarding the violation of indigenous rights and the degradation of environmental and cultural resources in indigenous
communities. Consider the following excerpt (Indigenous Environmental Network, 2009):

Beaver Lake Cree Nation of Treaty 6 (BCFN) launched a massive civil lawsuit against the federal and Alberta governments, claiming unbridled oil and gas development in its traditional territory renders its treaty rights meaningless. BCFN claims the developments have forced band members out of traditional areas, degraded the environment and reduced wildlife populations, making it impossible for them to meaningfully exercise their Treaty 6 rights to hunt, trap and fish.

The specific effects of oil and gas development on indigenous life and lifestyle are discussed, noting the displacement of band members from their traditional areas, degradation of the environment and wildlife populations, and the impact on indigenous ways of living. The life and culture of indigenous communities is discussed in the context of the deleterious effects of the industry on wildlife populations. References to Treaty 6 rights of Indian communities offer the basis for the legal challenge offered to the federal and Alberta governments; it is on this articulation of indigenous rights that legal opposition is offered to the Tar Sands project and expansion. The violation of treaty rights serves as the basis of resistance enunciated through juridical structures. The statement further goes on to note the following:

When considering energy production and resource extraction, the incoming administration must take into account the disproportionate impacts of climate change and energy development on the first inhabitants of this Turtle Island—North America. When considering energy and climate change policy, it is important that the White House and federal agencies consider the history of energy and mineral exploitation and Indigenous Nations, and the potential to create a dramatic change with innovative policies. Too often tribes are presented with a false choice: either develop polluting energy resources or remain in dire poverty. Economic development need not come at the cost of maintaining cultural identity and thriving ecosystems. The Indigenous Environmental Network, the First Nations of northern Alberta and all Indigenous Nations want to work with President Elect
Barack Obama and his administration for catalyzing green reservation economies—not the continuation of an unsustainable fossil fuel economy. (Indigenous Environmental Network, 2009)

The history of exploitation of Indigenous Nations is foregrounded, documenting the ways in which the exploitation of indigenous resources has constituted the backdrop of the energy economy. Energy production and resource mistreatment have taken place through the exploitation of indigenous land. The frames of energy resource development are interrogated by paying attention to the underlying dichotomies between poverty in indigenous communities and the harnessing of polluting energy resources. Green reservation economies are presented as alternatives to the unsustainable fuel economy. Subsequently, a blueprint for a green energy economy is presented:

A just nation-to-nation relationship means breaking the cycle of asking First Nations of Canada or American Indians and Alaska Natives to choose between economic development and preservation of its cultures and lands. Renewable energy and efficiency improvements provide opportunity to do both simultaneously. A green, carbon-reduced energy policy has major national and international human rights, environmental and financial consequences, and we believe that this administration can provide groundbreaking leadership on this policy. The reality is that the most efficient, green economy will need the vast wind and solar resources that lie on Indigenous lands in the U.S. and Canada. This provides the foundation of not only a green low carbon economy but also catalyzes development of tremendous human and economic potential in the poorest community in the United States and Canada–Turtle Island. (Indigenous Environmental Network, 2009)

The advantages of a green, carbon-reduced energy economy are articulated in the voices of resistance. Renewable energy is positioned as a solution that fulfills both energy needs as well as protects indigenous rights. The resistance against the development and expansion of the Tar Sands project offers a space for proposing alternative energy economies that respect hu-
man rights and protect indigenous culture, lifestyle, and simultaneously
develop human and economic potential.

The resistance against the pipeline is established in the backdrop of the
articulations of the communicative processes of decision making through
which indigenous voices are silenced and erased, accompanied by the ma-
ipulative strategies deployed by the dominant structures to mislead indig-enous communities (http://www.ienearth.org/what-are-tar-sands.html):

The government of Canada has legally been forced by First Nations
to consult with Indigenous communities about development projects.
But consultation is just that, telling a community a project is being
proposed that may or may not have impacts to a First Nation and the
recognition of its Treaty rights. As of yet, there is no legal framework
within the Constitution of Canada that recognizes the principles of
Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) for the right of First Na-
tions to say “No” to a proposed development. In 2010, Canada signed
the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UND RIP),
however with qualification, objecting to the FPIC principles, as cen-
tral tenets of the Declaration.

What we hear in these voices of resistance is the systematic erasure of in-
digenous communities from platforms of decision making. References are
made to façades of dialogue that serve as mechanisms for manipulating
and co-opting indigenous participation, or simply as avenues for inform-
ing indigenous communities of top-down decisions that have already
been taken. The resistance to Tar Sands project, then, is based on raising
foundational questions regarding the manipulation in the communica-
tive processes and claims made by the dominant structures (http://www.
ienearth.org/what-are-tar-sands.html):

Government and industry spend vast amounts of money on public
relations campaigns with promises of jobs, environmental cleanup
and carbon offset markets to create the illusion of an ‘ethical, clean
oil sands’ industry.

Decades ago, the Alberta government enticed impoverished First Na-
tions band council’s to lease treaty reserve lands to the tar sands in-
industry as a means for economic development and jobs. This allowed the first experiments with tar sands operations in the 1960’s and 1970’s on lands inhabited mostly by Dene, Cree and Métis people. Companies such as Exxon, Shell, Syncrude Canada, BP/Husky, CNRL and Suncor Energy moved into the area with well funded public relations campaigns targeting First Nation communities, schools, and senior citizens on how tar sand expansion would be good for its Indigenous neighbors. However, after decades, First Nation communities in Northern Alberta continue to suffer chronic unemployment. Many of the existing jobs for First Nations in the tar sands industry tend to be menial labor, not management level positions or monitoring positions. But with a rapidly growing population (80, 000 Aboriginal people today as compared to 1,200 in 1960’s), many communities are forced to choose between a paycheck and their health.

Resistance to the Tar Sands project is enacted through the identification of the communicative strategies and practices embodied in the public relations campaigns run by the industry and the government to generate perceptions of employment generation, environmental cleanup, and carbon offset markets. Resistance is framed in the form of interrogating the false promises of employment generation and economic development that were utilized in order to establish projects in treaty reserve lands. The reality of the continued impoverishment and unemployment of First Nations people is juxtaposed against the promises of development and employment generation that served as the cornerstone of the public relations campaigns starting in the 1960s and the 1970s, which sought to buy public opinion through well-funded campaigns targeting First Nation communities, schools, and senior citizens. In Alberta, several First Nations groups have filed lawsuits to challenge Tar Sands development and have simultaneously launched local organizing campaigns connecting various First Nations. The Beaver Lake Cree First Nation filed a lawsuit against the government of Alberta for infringing on First Nation treaty rights related to the Tar Sands development. Similarly, the Prairie Chipewyan First Nation filed a lawsuit against the government of Alberta for not appropriately consulting the First Nation community for building a Tar Sands project on their traditional territory. Several local activist groups organized resistance to
Tar Sands operations through education, awareness creation, lawsuits filed in local courts, civil disobedience, direct action, and social networking. “Aboriginal title,” a term that refers to aboriginal legal rights to land, is framed as the basis for constructing issues of land rights under the structure of nation-to-nation political and legal relations with Canada. Drawing on these collective experiences of resistance at several local sites and organized through various First Nations, the Indigenous Action Network is a collective solidarity network of indigenous organizations and indigenous leaders that organizes its protests through blockades, street protests, sit-ins, participation in civil disobedience, signing petitions, developing letter writing campaigns, visiting key political stakeholders, using judicial processes through lawsuits, and so forth.

In spite of early resistance against Tar Sands projects and the building of the pipeline, the Canadian Energy Board approved the construction of the Canadian portion of the pipeline, and in 2008, the US Department of State issues a presidential permit allowing the construction, maintenance, and operation of facilities at the US-Canada border. The pipeline has been criticized by the environmental community for delivering “dirty fuel” at high costs, and has come under the scrutiny for the very high impact that it would have on the environment. The pipeline received strong criticisms from 50 Democrats in Congress in June, 2010; in July 2010, the House Energy and Commerce Committee urged the Department of State to block the pipeline proposal because of the potential impact on the environment and health hazards attached to the project. In the same month, the Environmental Protection Agency ordered a revised draft report of the environmental impact study for Keystone XL. The report was released in August 2011 stating that the effects of the pipeline on the environment would be minimal if adequate environmental protection plans were to be followed, although the likelihood of impact on specific cultural resources was high. It is in this backdrop of the politics of seeking to secure approval for the building of the Keystone XL Tar Sands pipeline that the resistance against the pipeline is constituted.

Tar Sands Action, the network of resistance efforts in the US against the pipeline proposal, describes its goals in terms of sustained civil dis-
obedience directed at stopping the expansion of the pipeline. Through direct action, nonviolent resistance, sit-ins, blockades, speeches, processions, and innovative performances, the activist network draws the attention of the public, policy makers, and the media. The on-the-ground strategies of Tar Sands Action are accompanied by organizing on the web (www.tarsandsaction.org), Facebook, YouTube, and other social media sites. Images and video are shared on these social media sites to garner awareness as well as to initiate action and to mobilize support. E-mail communication strategies are utilized to converse with key stakeholders. The direct action protests organized across North America by several loosely constituted Tar Sands Action groups also find entry into mainstream media networks, thus generating avenues for publicity. The effectiveness of communication strategies by the Tar Sands Action network is positioned in the backdrop of the large budget media campaigns that are run by the oil industry. “Putting bodies in the line” became the strategy of civil disobedience for getting the message of resistance across to the political decision-making structures.

The Tar Sands Action website served as the centerpiece of the activist movement, as well as a way to share stories that pointed toward the hypocrisy and incongruence of processes. For instance, during the Department of State hearings, the Tar Sands Action website opened up a space for participants at the hearings to share their experiences at the meetings directly at the website or through a hotline. Several incongruences in the processes undertaken at the hearings were made evident by the attend-

\[\text{Figure 4.3.} \text{ Keystone pipeline protestors demonstrate at dusk (iStockphoto, contributed by sharply_done).}\]
ees. Note, for instance, the following post written by one of the participants, Kathy DeSilva (http://www.tarsandsaction.org/state-department-hearings/#more-1548):

I attended and spoke at the Port Arthur State Dept. meeting last night. I left with the feeling of being scammed. We arrived 45 minutes early to sign up, & found hundreds of oil field workers already in line (having been bused in) wearing navy blue or orange matching t-shirts, bold lettering: BUILD KEYSTONE XL NOW! GOOD JOBS! U.S. SECURITY! Once we were allowed to sign up to speak (at a table staffed by Cardno Entrix, according to their name tags) we entered the room to find the first 8-10 rows, (left side:suits, right side: oil field workers), filled by these individuals and their slogans. This after being told we could not bring any signs into the meeting? The 2 microphones were set up in the middle, just behind the last rows of bright shirts. When one stood up to speak, these were the only people in the field of vision. The first 40 or so speakers were for the pipeline (having been bused in & stood in line to sign up first). They were told their time limit was 3 minutes, but it was not strictly enforced. Once people started speaking in opposition, we were told it was getting so late, the time was now 2 minutes (strictly enforced). On the sign up table, there was a stack of papers entitled, “Fact Sheet, Keystone XL Pipeline”. No where in this publication is tar sands oil referred to, just “crude oil”. The paper ends with these words: ABOVE ALL ELSE, THE DEPARTMENT IS COMMITTED TO MAINTAINING THE INTEGRITY OF A TRANSPARENT, IMPARTIAL, AND RIGOROUS PROCESS. After driving 4 hours to attend and speak at this meeting, I feel like it was a scam and in no way transparent, impartial and rigorous.

What becomes evident in the description of the process is the deployment of communicative strategies to close off the possibilities of resistance. The communicative structures of the hearings are constituted in ways that minimize the opportunities for listening to resistive voices. In this context, then, the activists raise question about the very nature of the process in the hearings, noting that the hearing process is not transparent, impartial, and rigorous. Another comment from a participant who attended the hearings
notes, “These hearings are a scam.” Posts refer to arrests that were made and threats made at the Austin hearings where participants questioned the processes. Here is an excerpt from another report on Texas Vox of the hearings and the inherent conflict of interest in the processes that were set up (http://texasvox.org/2011/09/29/austin-tar-sands-hearing-a-farce/):

According to Karen Hadden, the Executive Director of the Sustainable and Economic Development (SEED) Coalition, “This was not a hearing, this was a farce.” Ms. Hadden arrived and had been waiting for a couple of hours to give comments when they cut the hearing off. Later, when she was attempting to find out what her options were for providing comments to the State Department given she was unable to do so at the hearing, she was told she must leave the premises or she would be arrested.

According to Brad Johnson of ThinkProgress

In a stunning conflict of interest, public hearings on federal approval for a proposed tar sands pipeline are being run by a contractor for the pipeline company itself. The U.S. Department of State’s public hearings [link to http://www.keystonepipeline-xl.state.gov/clientsite/keystonexl.nsf/e327883380befe0b862571f60062011e/4f43762902683eef062575390056f38b?OpenDocument&AutoFramed] along the proposed route of the TransCanada Keystone XL tar sands pipeline this week are under the purview of Cardno Entrix, a “professional environmental consulting company” that specializes in “permitting and compliance.”

Cardno is not only running the State Department hearings, but also manages the department’s Keystone XL website [link to http://www.keystonepipeline-xl.state.gov/clientsite/keystonexl.nsf?Open] and drafted the department’s environmental impact statement [link to http://thinkprogress.org/green/2011/08/26/305374/tar-sands-action-day-seven-this-is-our-environmental-impact-statement/]. Comments from the public about the pipeline go not to the government, but to a cardno.com email address.
Cardno Entrix was contracted by TransCanada Keystone XL LP (“Keystone”) to do the work for the Department of State, to assist DOS in preparing the EIS and to conduct the Section 106 consultation process.

Throughout the history of the DOS review of the Keystone pipeline, the work has been conducted not by civil servants but by representatives of the pipeline company. During the Bush administration, the Department of State appointed TransCanada “and its subcontractors to act as its designated non-federal representatives” [link to http://www.cardnoentrix.com/keystone/xl/feis/FEIS01_Biological-Assessment.pdf] to assess the potential impact of the Keystone pipeline on endangered species.

Cardno Entrix contractors are running the public hearings from Port Arthur, Texas, to Glendive, Montana. It is not clear from media reports whether the State Department “representatives” at the hearing were in fact Entrix employees. ThinkProgress Green is awaiting information from the State Department.

“All of this adds up to the old saying, the fox is guarding the hen house,” says Jane Kleeb, the Nebraska activist leading the fight to protect her state from the risks of the Keystone XL project.

The voices of activists points toward the inequities of the communicative processes and communicative structures that are manipulated to carry out the strategic agendas of the pipeline: that Cardno Entrix is a contractor for Keystone XL and also in charge of the public hearings on the pipeline; that the entire process of the Department of State management of the Keystone case starting from the reports to the management of the process is handled by Keystone and its contractors points toward the manipulation of the process.

As the campaign continued, it sought to expose deeper underlying structures of decision making and the corruption that is built into the processes of political decision making, drawing attention to the role of oil money in shaping the political landscape. For instance, the action network brought to attendance the hiring of the Keystone lobbyist Broderick
Johnson as a new senior advisor to the president’s re-election campaign (Tar Sands Action, 2011a). Similarly, under the title “State Department Political Scandal,” the Tar Sands Action website documents the revolving door between Keystone lobbyists and powerful public officials. Consider, for instance, the following post on the Tar Sands Action (2011b) website:

The scandal began when it was revealed that a top Clinton campaign operative, Paul Elliot, was working illegally as a foreign agent to lobby the Department to approve Keystone XL, and gained new steam when released emails showed the same lobbyist in a too-cozy relationship with State Department staff, who offered special favors and treatment to Elliot as he lobbied for Keystone XL’s approval. Later it was discovered that the State Department had used a major TransCanada subcontractor to conduct its environmental review process. In sum, the scandal shows that the oil industry is calling far too many shots in the State Department, making them incapable of fulfilling their mission of protecting the US national interest when it comes to Keystone XL.

The post specifically draws attention to the role Paul Elliot, a top Clinton operative, played as a lobbyist for Keystone XL. The involvement of Elliot in shaping the political process to secure approval for the Keystone XL project by utilizing his political influence within the Department of State drew attention of activists who questioned the biases that are inherent in this governmental organization’s decision-making processes, including the decision to utilize a TransCanada subcontractor to conduct the environmental review of the Keystone XL project. A link in the story to Friends of the Earth (http://www.foe.org/keystone-xl-pipeline-influence-scandal) provides additional details, and Tar Sands Action urges readers and activists to Tweet to Meet the Press, CNN’s State of the Union, and ABC’s This Week to ask them to query Clinton about the Keystone XL scandal.

Specific content of the Keystone XL campaign is challenged through the articulations raised by the activists. For instance, one of the primary frames that is utilized by Keystone XL to justify the building of the pipeline is the promise of the jobs that will be created by the pipeline construction projects. Public relations strategies of TransCanada largely focus on disseminating and manipulating the language of job creation to generate pub-
lic opinion and public policy support. The key strategy of Tar Sands Action emphasized the disruption of the narrative of job creation by interrogating the underlying empirical evidence and by systematically documenting the actual number of jobs that would be created as opposed to the rhetoric of job creation that is widely circulated by Keystone XL to generate support for the pipeline project (see, for instance, http://www.tarsandsaction.org/cornell-global-labor-institute-study-finds-keystone-xl-pipeline-create-jobs/). This link leads to the Cornell Global Labor Institute study titled “Pipe Dreams? Jobs Gained, Jobs Lost by the Construction of Keystone XL,” documenting evidence that describes the actual possibility of reduction in employment opportunities because of the building of the pipeline. Here is an excerpt from Lara Skinner, associate director of research at the Cornell Global Labor Institute: “The company’s claim that Keystone XL will create 20,000 direct construction and manufacturing jobs in the U.S. is unsubstantiated. There is strong evidence to suggest that a large portion of the primary material input for KXL—steel pipe—will not even be produced in the U.S.” The Facebook page of the campaign provides access to additional information that questions the job creation numbers offered by Keystone XL.

Personal appeals made to the president from supporters became an organizing point for the crusade, drawing attention to the promises that were made by Obama in his presidential campaign, and drawing upon a personal narrative of political involvement to urge the president to develop policies and programs in line with his campaign rhetoric. Protestors organized visits to Obama 2012 campaign offices with signs and banners to protest. Protestors also disrupted Obama’s speeches with protest signs and with questions asking the president about why he had not yet stopped the Keystone XL project. Images and videos of these innovative forms of direct action were circulated through social media and through the Tar Sands Action website. Many of the protestors who had earlier worked on the Obama campaign declared on the Tar Sands Action website that they would not support the president in the future if the Keystone XL project was approved. Here is an example:
In 2008 I worked for President Obama in Cincinnati Ohio as a Canvass Coordinator. Fresh out of college, my idealism and energy ran high. I managed over one hundred paid canvassers who knocked on tens of thousands of doors throughout the fall. After eight years of a Bush presidency marked by environmental devastation, oil-centered energy policy, and oil-driven foreign military action, I was absolutely enthused at the possibility of a progressive president. I remember running door to door until the very last minute the polls were open on election night. No amount of effort was unnecessary when it came to electing Obama. Like so many other staffers, I lived and breathed the 2008 election. The dedication of hundreds of volunteers and inspired workers paid off: Hamilton County (home of Cincinnati) went blue for the first time since 1964 and we successfully unseated a 14-year incumbent Republican congressman. I cried tears of joy on election night. I knew it was a hard road ahead but I finally felt we had an ally in the White House and the nation was on the right track.

Nearly three years later my idealism of 2008 is but a distant memory. I’ve grown disillusioned watching Obama cave in to pressure from big oil and big coal. We’ve all watched cap and trade legislation be sidelined, offshore drilling continue, and clean air standards die at the hands of big business. Mountaintop removal has not been stopped, and Fracking continues unregulated throughout the nation. Obama won’t even fulfill his promise to put Solar panels back on the White House. I often wonder if my time and dedication in 2008 was wasted. Yet rather than despair, we must be driven to action. (http://www.tar-sandsaction.org/obama-i-worked-for-you-your-turn/)

The promises made by the president in his election campaign are foregrounded to then draw attention to the gap between the rhetoric embodied in those promises and the actual actions taken by Obama. Here the narrative of a campaign worker and his disappointment with the actions of the president on energy-related policies is invoked to urge Obama to act. Images from the presidential campaign that talked about building an energy-friendly US economy are circulated as markers of reminder.

Starting in August 2011, Tar Sands Action organized civil disobedience protests at the White House as a mark of communicating to the president
Voices of Resistance

directly the resistance against the pipeline construction, and as an avenue for directly communicating the protests against the pipeline projects. The website and Facebook emerged as avenues for organizing the protests, and for drawing participation into the protests. Images of the protests were posted on YouTube, Facebook, blogs, and the Tar Sands Action website. Video images of protests accompanied by songs and protests, speeches by activists, and speeches by policy makers circulated around the Internet. Consider, for instance, the following video of the resistance movement that documents several forms of direct action, including the protests at the White House with many activists peacefully expressing their dissent against the pipeline project (http://youtu.be/ozmOQqRw0j4). Along with several other activist groups that gathered outside the White House, the Indigenous Environmental Network participated in civil disobedience in Washington, DC, from August 20 to September 3, 2011 (Indigenous Environmental Network, 2011). On the Indigenous Day of Action on Sep-

Figure 4.4. Uploaded by “StopKeystoneXL.” http://youtu.be/ozmOQqRw0j4
tember 2, 2011, indigenous groups from across North America gathered together in front of the White House to voice their protest against the pipeline project. In November 2011, the Tar Sands activists were back at the White House, encircling the building with demands to the president to stop the pipeline.

*Figure 4.5. Uploaded by “FriendsofEarthScot.”* [http://youtu.be/V26AyA8ZKGI](http://youtu.be/V26AyA8ZKGI)

Essential to the Tar Sands Action network is the inter-linkage with other activist sites and movements both within the US and across several other regions of the globe. For instance, tracking the financial trail of Tar Sands-related business deals, Friends of the Earth Scotland take the message of resistance directly to the Royal Bank of Scotland (RBS), one of the key investors in Tar Sands deals. Through performances that are hosted on YouTube and on the Tar Sands Action website, the Friends of the Earth Scotland activist group interrogates the green image and the pro-environment public relations strategy of RBS, pointing to the hypocrisy in the gre-
enwashing strategies of the bank. The video of the song is posted on YouTube (http://youtu.be/V26AyA8ZKGI) and wraps up with the message “If RBS are serious about investing in low carbon technologies, it must come with hand in an immediate end to providing finance to companies: operating in the tar sands, exploring new oil and gas, and developing new coal.” The concerted campaign of various stakeholder groups achieved its moment of success when President Obama sent the proposal back to the table, with request for redoing the entire reporting process because of its procedural flaws.

The International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal (ICJB)
Gas leakage in the Union Carbide plant of Bhopal, India, in 1984 severely affected a large portion of people living in the city, killing many, injuring many others, and adversely affecting the health of the community for generations to come. ICJB is an activist network that was formed to fight for the appropriate compensation for the half million of people in Bhopal who were exposed to the poison gas caused by the leak in the Union Carbide plant in 1984, and to secure appropriate justice for the gas-affected people. The localized struggle of ICJB is situated amid a global landscape of policymaking and policy implementation, negotiating environmental laws at national levels of multiple countries that emerged as the sites of the struggle. One of the earliest movements of social change constituted around environmental justice, ICJB embodies the struggles of a community in the global South seeking to hold a TNC (Union Carbide, which later came to be owned by the Dow Chemical Company) accountable in local, national, and international courts. In this sense, ICJB returns the gaze of the dominant social structures and the logics that are written into such structures. The erasure of the global South from spaces of representation is resisted through the participation of those very sectors of the globe in mainstream juridical and civil society processes that serve as sites of erasure by turning subaltern populations as passive aggregates to be worked on by global and national policies and programs. As a social change movement that originates from the global South and that seeks
to hold accountable the practices of a TNC headquartered in the global North, ICJB demonstrates the role of localized activism from the South in resisting the corporate control of juridical systems in the hands of transnational hegemony. The ICJB is both a material struggle as well as a struggle for recognition and representation in the dominant structures of transnational hegemony, depicting the intertwined relationship between symbolic and material struggles.

Drawing on a local-global network of solidarity, the ICJB is a coalition of people's organizations, nonprofit groups, and individuals who have joined forces to campaign for justice for the survivors of the Union Carbide disaster in Bhopal. Three organizations of survivors from Bhopal play a leading role in the international network, depicting the role of local agency, local participation and decision-making capacity, and collective participation in processes of change in order to seek transformations in inequitable global structures; the resistive voices emerging from these local networks are accompanied by voices of resistance from global sites that carry the messages of resistance into international structures of decision making. Local voices from the South find their way into global sites of power through these local-global solidarity networks. The politics of change also becomes the politics of representation, seeking to carve out spaces for representation. Because the effectiveness of TNCs such as the Dow Chemical Company depends upon their ability to manipulate local, national, and global juridical systems by using their locational ambiguity and mobility to evade accountability, the resistance of ICJB is constituted in the formations of local-global networks of solidarity that take the messages of accountability and justice to courts and spaces of public opinion located locally, nationally, and globally. Resistance in ICJB takes on a mobile presence in order to counter the mobility of transnational capital. The intervention of ICJB is constituted in mainstream public spheres that typically emerge as the sites of violence on subaltern communities by disenfranchising them. In a nutshell, the formation of the ICJB as a network is constituted in resistance to the networks of corporate power with influences in executive, legislative, and judiciary structures within nation states, across nation states, and at global platforms. This local global link
is well narrated in the following depiction of ICJB (http://studentsforbhopal.org/about):

The International Campaign for Justice for Bhopal (ICJB) is a coalition of disaster survivors and environmental, social justice, progressive Indian, and human rights groups that have joined forces to hold the Indian Government and Dow Chemical Corporation accountable for the ongoing chemical disaster in Bhopal, India. It was set up to address the grave injustices suffered by the half million Bhopal Gas Disaster survivors.

In North America, Students for Bhopal and ICJB is a network of students, professionals, activists, and partners working in solidarity with the survivors of the Bhopal disaster in their struggle for justice. We use education, grassroots organizing and non-violent direct action to pressure Dow Chemical and the Indian Government to uphold the Bhopalis’ demand for justice, and their fundamental human right to live free of chemical poison. SfB/ICJB work directly to improve the condition of Bhopal’s survivors. Our role is to empower and train leaders in the worldwide movement to end this crime against humanity.

We all live in Bhopal and we will not rest without justice in Bhopal!

The global network structure of ICJB is directed by the voices of resistance that emerge locally, seeking justice in Bhopal through adequate compensation, by holding Union Carbide (and its parent company Dow) accountable in the national and international courts, and by pressuring for the chemical clean-up of the toxic poisons in Bhopal. The fundamental human right of the people of Bhopal to live free of chemical poison emerges as the key framework for the politics of resistance (for more information on frames of resistance, see Snow & Benford, 1992, 1998; Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986), drawing in the global networks of support to impact international, national, and local policies and rulings that would secure justice for the survivors in Bhopal. The international reach of ICJB serves as a conduit for carrying the messages of the Bhopal survivors to global platforms, seeking out justice in these global platforms, and holding Dow accountable in global platforms. An excellent example of this global
impact of ICJB is evident in the local-national-global organizing that was directed at stopping the sponsorship of the 2012 London Olympics by the Dow Chemical Company, resulting in awareness campaigns, direct action, signing of online petitions, and ongoing dialogues with various political actors (see http://studentsforbhopal.org/get-dow-out-of-the-olympics). The online campaign offers the following introduction to the issue, also setting up the relevance of the issue:

Dow Chemical acquired Union Carbide as a wholly owned subsidiary in 2001. They are therefore responsible for the clean up of the former Union Carbide Factory site in Bhopal, India. The area around the factory is densely populated and continues to be heavily contaminated by chemicals and toxins produced by the factory which Dow, despite their evident responsibility, have thus far refused to clean up.

The situation in Bhopal is a humanitarian and environmental catastrophe that continues to affect tens of thousands of people today.

The organizers of the Olympic Games claim that they are committed to organising a sustainable and environmentally friendly event. It is therefore completely unacceptable for Dow Chemical to be partnered with the London Olympic Games, and the wider International Olympic Organisation.

The environmental façade of the Olympic organizing committee is brought into question and is juxtaposed against the backdrop of the decision of the committee to partner with the Dow Chemical Company. The international event is utilized as a setting to hold the Dow Chemical Company accountable and to draw attention to the role of this company in cleaning up the oil spill. Direct action in London and in the US carry the voices of resistance to the key sites of decision making regarding the Olympic Games sponsorship.

Through their networks of solidarity, the members of ICJB continue to pressure Union Carbide’s current owner, the Dow Chemical Company, and the US and Indian governments to ensure adequate health care, safe environment, and proper rehabilitation for the survivors of the disaster and their children. Essential, therefore, to the politics of activism in the ICJB
movement is the articulation of a framework of justice that is directed at
the three key stakeholders that were involved in the crisis, seeking to hold
these stakeholders accountable. Exemplary punishment of the corporation
and its guilty officials is one of the key demands of ICJB (http://www.bho-
pal.net/oldsite/icjb.html), and a key component of the voices of resistance
is the emphasis placed on grassroots organizing seeking entry points into
the legal structure in order to hold the Dow Chemical Company account-
able (http://studentsforbhopal.org/taxonomy/term/46):

A curative petition for compensation for disaster victims is pend-
ing in the Supreme Court of India. A curative petition recognizes
the grave miscarriage of justice in the previous compensation judg-
ment, which resulted in appallingly inadequate support for a frac-
tion of the affected population. We’re talking 7 U.S. cents a day for a
lifetime of unimaginable suffering. In the current civil case, figures of
death reported is 5,295, while the Indian Council of Medical Research
(ironically, a Government agency!) shows the number to be closer to
25,000. Bhopalis in India, after failing with several measures to urge
the Government of India to change the figures for the death and in-
jured of the disaster, organized a “rail roko” (stop the trains) on the
27th anniversary. With such a drastic measure taken, the Govern-
ment is now willing to come to the table with activists.

Discursive engagement with the legal structures, processes, and discourses
creates a framework for pointing out the injustice carried out in the in-
sufficient compensation provided to the survivors and their families. Ref-
ences to numbers and estimates of death, and the contestations of the
numbers used for judgment are utilized as frameworks for resistance. Le-
gal action within court systems are complemented by direct actions such
as “stop the trains” on the street.

The ICJB website provides a list of international members within the
network of solidarity that include the Association for India’s Develop-
ment (US), Bhopal Information Network (Japan), Corpwatch (US), and
Greenpeace International and Pesticide Action Network (US and UK). The
campaign against the Dow Chemical Company, therefore, is constituted
on the basis of local-global network structures that connect in solidarity
to fight for the justice of the people in Bhopal. Worth noting here is the interconnectedness of the local and global networks, and the leveraging capacity of these networks to exert pressure on key stakeholders through various local, national, and global sites of influence. The local-global solidarity networks of the ICJB become evident in the Occupy Bhopal protests that were enacted across the world on December 3, 2011, on the 27th anniversary of the Bhopal disaster, enacted in Occupy protests in Boston, die-in actions in San Francisco, documentary screenings in Toronto, and Bhopalis in India laying their bodies on railway tracks. The website of the ICJB offers a link to the images of the protests, witnessing the acts of resistance performed across various sites around the globe (http://www.flickr.com/photos/72877823@N07/sets/72157628579196095/). Linkages across issue frames were instrumental in putting forth a structure of solidarity. Consider, for instance, the following depiction of the Bhopal protests at Occupy Boston (http://studentsforbhopal.org/taxonomy/term/46):

Members of the Boston chapter for the International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal (ICJB) spoke about the disaster at Occupy Boston, drawing parallels between the struggle of the Bhopalis against Dow’s corporate power manipulating governments and the struggle of the 99% against unregulated corporate practices. They also screened the award-winning documentary “Bhopali” (2010), which describes the events leading to the disaster as well as its aftermath. Sanjay Verma, an activist and survivor from Bhopal, was present during both the events to discuss questions with people, urging people to continue to pressure the Olympic Committee to drop Dow as a partner.

The local-global network of solidarity in resistance is strengthened in the voices of participants in Occupy Boston who draw out the similarities between issue frames, noting how the resistance in Bhopal is also similar to the resistance voiced in the Occupy movement, seeking to counter the manipulation of legislative, juridical, and executive systems by TNCs.

One of the key aspects in the localized voices of resistance is the collection of information in order to counter the public relations strategies that are utilized by the Dow Chemical Company; the public relations spin offered by the company is countered by the truth offered by the activists.
Truth emerges as the key site of contestation, as activists engage their politics of change on the articulation of truth, which then becomes the very basis for seeking social justice. As demonstrated in chapters two and three of this book, information plays a key role in the public relations functions of TNCs, both in the arguments made by TNCs in legal structures as well as the information presented by TNCs in public discursive spaces with the goal of strategically shaping public opinion. This information function becomes a key component of the ICJB website, with the website offering information resources that provide a detailed description of what happened on the deadly night, thus accounting for the events and offering an entry point into the claims of truth, set in opposition to the public relations practices and message claims made by the Dow Chemical Company. Creating access to information and to truthful accounts of the events become the framework of organizing for social justice and for contesting the public relations frames offered by Union Carbide and the Indian and US governments. Contestation of truth based on evidence and based on live accounts of witnesses of the events offer alternative frameworks for challenging the public relations messages and information claims that are put forth by those responsible. Therefore, the voices of the victims are foregrounded in constituting the truthful accounts of the events. Authenticity of the accounts of what happened on that fateful night becomes the site of claims making.

According to the website, on December 3, 1984, poison gas leaked from a Union Carbide factory, killing thousands. Reports have differed on the number of victims. Whereas Union Carbide states that 3,800 victims were killed, municipal workers who picked up bodies with their own hands, loading them onto trucks for burial in mass graves or to be burned on mass pyres, reckon they shifted at least 15,000 bodies. Here, the claims of Union Carbide are contested by the claims of the municipal workers who actually worked at the sites, loading and burying bodies. Survivors, basing their estimates on the number of shrouds sold in the city, conservatively claim about 8,000 died in the first week. The contestation of the death counts becomes a site of resistance, and is framed in the backdrop of the statement, “such body counts become meaningless when you know that
the dying has never stopped, (http://www.bhopal.org/what-happened/), noting the ongoing deaths that continue to happen because of the chemical poisoning.

What happened on that fateful night and the account of the events is yet another domain of truth claims where the resistive voices of the ICJB counter the claims of Union Carbide. Countering the accounting of the events is a key strategy for organizing, as it is this very accounting that lies at the heart of the judgments and justice that are offered to the victims and the voices of resistance organized in this backdrop. Providing the analysis of what went wrong, the ICJB website writes:

The Union Carbide factory in Bhopal seemed doomed almost from the start. The company built the pesticide factory there in the 1970s, thinking that India represented a huge untapped market for its pest control products. However sales never met the company’s expectations; Indian farmers, struggling to cope with droughts and floods, didn’t have the money to buy Union Carbide’s pesticides. The plant, which never reached its full capacity, proved to be a losing venture and ceased active production in the early 1980s. (http://www.bhopal.org)

The setting up of the context by providing historic information also creates a broader framework for understanding the negligence of the plant by the Union Carbide company, drawing attention to the unethical practices of the company and putting it under the scrutiny of the juridical structures. The website explains that due to the Indian venture turning into a loss-making proposition for the company, vast quantities of dangerous chemicals remained in the plant; three tanks continued to hold over 60 tons of methyl isocyanate (MIC) without appropriate storage measures. Although MIC is a particularly reactive and deadly gas, the Union Carbide plant’s elaborate safety system was allowed to fall into disrepair. The offering of step-by-step evidence regarding the role of Union Carbide in not following preventive measures and in neglecting to properly monitor the plant offer the basis for claims of justice and appropriate punishment of the involved stakeholders in juridical platforms. It is this claim of negligence that becomes the basis for activist organizing that seeks to hold the key leaders of Union Carbide accountable. The claim of negligence also emerges as the
material basis for subaltern organizing that seeks to hold accountable the
dominant structures of decision making and arbitration within the neo-
lберeral configuration. The website argues that the management’s reason-
ing seemed to be that since the plant had ceased all production, no threat
remained. Every safety system that had been installed to prevent a leak of
MIC—at least six in all—ultimately proved inoperative. Challenging the
dominant narrative of Carbide, ICJB provides the diagram of the plant and
gives a blow-by-blow account of how the accident happened. It also docu-
ments testimonies of several victims, who narrate their experiences of the
fateful night and their experiences of pain and suffering in years thereafter.
Subaltern voices emerge into the discursive space as sites of contestation.
They resist the efforts of erasure, manipulation, and co-optation by Union
Carbide through their presence at the discursive sites in the mainstream.
In an account of the events, survivor Aziza Sultan notes:

> At about 12.30 am I woke to the sound of my baby coughing badly.
> In the half light I saw that the room was filled with a white cloud. I
> heard a lot of people shouting. They were shouting “run, run”. Then
> I started coughing with each breath seeming as if I was breathing in
> fire. My eyes were burning. (http://bhopal.net/the-1984-gas-leak/)

ICJB offers the information that since the disaster, survivors have been
plagued with an epidemic of cancers, menstrual disorders, and what one
doctor described as “monstrous births.” Remarkling upon the effects of the
poisoning, the site notes that the gas-affected people of Bhopal continue
to succumb to injuries sustained during the disaster, dying at the rate of
one each day. Treatment protocols are affected by the company’s refusal
to provide information it holds on the toxic effects of MIC. Both Union
Carbide and its new owner the Dow Chemical Company claim the data
is a “trade secret,” frustrating the efforts of doctors to treat gas-affected
victims. Once again, the company and its unethical practices emerge as
spaces of interrogation. The site itself has never been cleaned up, and a
new generation of victims is being poisoned by the chemicals that Union
Carbide left behind (http://www.bhopal.org/what-happened/).

On its website, ICJB has made available Union Carbide’s version of the
tragedy, which has changed several times. The blame of the gas leak was
attributed to an extremist attack, followed by sabotage by a disgruntled employee. These public relations practices of Carbide are interrogated by ICJB and are opened up to refutation, providing evidence to demonstrate the negligence of the corporation that led to the accident. In mobilizing collective resistance, the ICJB website fundamentally ruptures the hegemonic constructions of truth by Union Carbide and the Dow Chemical Company, establishing itself as a repository of alternative information that challenges Union Carbide’s version of the truth, and privileging the voices of the victims and survivors as the authentic sites for the production of truth. The experiences of the victims of the tragedy are constituted in the narratives presented on the website. These narratives move beyond the realm of simply contesting the number of victims to articulating the experiences of the tragedy by the victims. In doing so, the website reconfigures what constitutes knowledge—legitimizing the individual stories of pain and suffering through which the collective plight of the victims of Bhopal come to life.

In resisting the dominant framings of the tragedy, the ICJB website covers a variety of issues related to medical consequences, engineering, and management shortcomings, Union Carbide’s and Dow’s use of public relations to avoid taking responsibility, the role of Indian politics at central and state levels, and the environmental consequences of the contaminated factory. In presenting the dominant arguments and subsequently refuting them, the site communicates the struggles over power and control of the framing of the issue at different levels, highlighting the relevance of contesting the hegemonic versions of “what happened in Bhopal.”

In the backdrop of the documentations of the unethical practices of the dominant actors embodied in the actions of the Union Carbide, the website presents the struggles of the survivors in their fight for justice. Here is an excerpt that depicts the resilience and courage of the victims:

Yet the victims haven’t given up. Their struggle for justice and dignity is one of the most valiant anywhere. They have unbelievable energy and hope . . . the fight has not ended. It won’t, so long as our collective conscience stirs. (http://www.bhopal.org/ways-to-help/international-campaign-for-justice/)
Through stories of protest marches, processions, picketing, effigy-burning, and so forth, the website draws attention to the everyday forms of local resistance among the survivors and invites participation in resisting the oppressive practices of the dominant actors in transnational hegemony. The hopes of the victims are presented as markers of the movement, and it is articulated that resistance will continue as long as the dominant social and political structures continue to marginalize the victims of the tragedy. The spirit of the fight is embodied in the collective will and consciousness of the victims at the local level, and this is articulated on the site through the narratives of the victims who discuss the various avenues in which they participate in processes seeking to change the structures around the tragedy.

The website serves as a location for communicating to global publics about the various ways in which local activists continue to enact their agency in challenging the dominant structures and in seeking to transform these structures, sharing information about the movement as well as calling for participation from various global stakeholder groups. The information about ICJB’s fight demonstrates the principles and practices of its offline struggle; the offline struggle finds voice through narratives that are shared and circulated in various online platforms. For instance, a video posted on the website captures the attempts of the activists to clean up a contaminated site, and subsequently shows them being beaten up and arrested by the police. This video is accompanied by an article titled “Which side is the government on?” The article provides another instantiation of celebrating agency by confronting the complicitous relationship among corporations, governments, and law enforcement officials within neoliberal structures of governance: the violence of the police, unprovoked and over-the-top as it was, can’t be ignored. The world has seen the video footage and it’s about time people knew what the survivors struggling for justice are up against: not just an immoral corporation and its allies in the US establishment; not just a succession of Indian administrations so eager to cultivate rich multinationals that they betrayed their duty to their own poorest people; but a Madhya Pradesh state government, various officials
of which have over the years demonstrated themselves to be spine-
less, incompetent and corrupt. It was the state government that sent
in the goons, but it is Union Carbide (now hiding like a toxic Jonah
within the Dow whale) that is responsible for the problem. (http://
www.bhopal.net/oldsite/peoplevpoison.html)

Stories of resistance are circulated through the various platforms of
the site. The pictures of an indefinite hunger strike and an 800-kilometer
march (padayatra) by the Bhopal victims depict their agency in collec-
tive resistance. Stories of resistance offer hope and encouragement. For
instance, the website presents information about the march and hunger
strike of April 2006, which culminated in a meeting with the prime minis-
ter of India, who granted four demands of the activists. The four demands
assured by the Indian government are action on clean water, clean-up of
toxic waste sites, setting up a coordinating committee on medical and
economic rehabilitation, and are reflective of the activist group’s ability
in securing justice.

The celebration of local agency is presented as an exemplar for global
action against dominant neoliberal structures. Through the sharing of the
narratives of resistance at local level, the site becomes a discursive space
for promoting global resistance against other forms of structural oppres-
sion. The case of Bhopal is linked with other instances of corporate crimes
at a global level, and the local issue is connected with the global politics of
transnational hegemony. The broader resistance of ICJB against neoliber-
alism is reflected in the following paragraph posted on the site:

Bhopal isn’t only about charred lungs, poisoned kidneys and de-
formed foetuses. It’s also about corporate crime, multinational skull-
duggery, injustice, dirty deals, medical malpractice, corruption, cal-
lousness and contempt for the poor. Nothing else explains why the
victims’ average compensation was just $500—for a lifetime of misery
. . . (http://www.bhopal.org/ways-to-help/international-campaign-for-justice/)

Through these stories, the site invites global involvement in action directed
at impacting international, national, and local policies that would influ-
ence the Bhopal case. Opportunities for online participation and mobilization complement forms of direct action, performances, protests, and blockades. It opens up the discursive space for globally dispersed online publics to join protests through several means. For instance, petitions and letters to authorities demanding “justice and dignity” for the victims in Bhopal are made available to online readers. The letters and petitions are drafted with clear articulations of the injustices inflicted on the people of Bhopal and specify the demands that are being sought. With a click on the “signature” key for each of these letters and petitions, anyone with Internet access can become part of this global fabric of struggle by being one of the voices that resists the dominant structure in this fight. For instance, this is what the petition to the Dow Chemical Company demands (http://www.petitiononline.com/bhopal/):

I support the struggle for justice of the people of Bhopal. More than 20,000 innocent people have already died and 120,000 are suffering today from health effects (see www.bhopal.org) related to their gas exposure. It was Union Carbide’s cost-cutting that turned Bhopal into a gas chamber (see www.bhopal.net/oldsite/poisonpapers.html) and it’s the responsibility of Carbide’s new owner, Dow Chemical, to resolve the outstanding legal and moral obligations it has in Bhopal (see www.studentsforbhopal.org/DowIsLiable.htm)

The petition puts forth a narrative that questions the TNC, and in doing so, brings to the fore the structural conflicts authorized by global capitalism, simultaneously reversing the dominant configurations of power. The solidarity with the subaltern communities at the margins fosters the entry point for global action that is directed at structural transformation through various forms of participation. The petition highlights the negligences by the Dow Chemical Company that contributed to the gas tragedy—absence of a siren, disfunctioning of all safety systems, under-investment in an inherently hazardous plant located in a crowded neighborhood, use of unproven designs, storing lethal MIC in reckless quantities, and cutting down on safety staff and training in an effort to cut costs. It elucidates these negligences by the Dow Chemical Company and makes the follow-
ing demands on one of the biggest global corporations: face trial, provide long-term health care and social support, and remove the contamination of the ground water and soil in and around the abandoned Union Carbide factory to ensure safe drinking water.

Organizing for justice in Bhopal becomes embodied in a broader struggle against corporate control of juridical processes and infrastructures. The dominant structure is a hierarchical structure that does not question the Dow Chemical Company, while the victims of its corporate crime continue to fight for moral and social support. As ICJB states on the website:

Bhopal is about what kind of a world we will all live in. If India can stand up to the biggest chemical company in the world and say “you can’t do business here until you repair the damage you have done to our country and people,” that precedent could fundamentally challenge the reign of profits over people globally. It could become a building block for all the movements for social justice and for a non-toxic future that have piled up behind it for twenty-one years. (http://legacy.bhopal.net/march/archives/2006/04/striking_it_or.html/)

In its articulation of India’s position with respect to the Dow Chemical Company, ICJB locates the struggle in the backdrop of the legislative and juridical power exercised by corporate interests. In its letter to the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, which is also available for its online supporters to sign, ICJB urges (http://www.studentsforbhopal.org/Fax-Action/fax_action.php):

we are disappointed that you refused to take action against the criminal corporations responsible for the disaster. Instead of prosecuting them, your Government has openly made moves to facilitate the business of Union Carbide’s new owner, Dow Chemical Corporation. Carbide is at-large, even while it and its owner Dow continue to profit from doing business in India. Why does India seem so concerned with appeasing a corporation—Dow Chemical—which continues to flout and scorn Indian law by sheltering its fugitive subsidiary Union Carbide from appearing for trial in India?

It is a discourse that resists the uneven social order. Urging India not to “appease Dow Chemical,” ICJB invokes a counter-hegemonic discourse
that resists unequal power relations and situates ICJB’s resistance within
the politics of transnational relations. For instance, urging the Indian
authorities to prosecute Union Carbide and blacklist all the products
of the company in India, ICJB is constructing a narrative that envisions the
principles of true democratic governance.

The website also brings forth many alternative forms of communica-
tion that are being used by its different stakeholders for planning and carry-
ing out actions such as vigils, demonstrations, street plays, and art (music,
theatre, movies, art exhibition). But these diverse communicative actions
converge on the web space and discursively construct a vision—that of
supporting a section of marginalized people, who have been abandoned
to their suffering without adequate medical, financial, or social help. In-
volvein in supporting the victims means partaking in ICJB’s resistance
to uncover the dominant capitalist interest and champion human rights
through a variety of strategies, such as registering to participate in hunger
strike, sending a free fax to the prime minister of India, signing an online
petition to the Dow Chemical Company, making a donation to aid the
Bhopalis’ justice struggle, making a donation to help open a free medical
clinic in Bhopal, and joining the student campaign.

The collective resistance gets carried to non-local terrains as the web-
site urges its supporters from all over the world to join them in a global
rolling hunger strike by registering online. People from local and diverse
non-local territories establish their presence in the collective resistance by
posting their blogs and pictures, creating a global solidarity network for
Bhopal activists. The march and hunger strike of April 2006 culminated
in a meeting with the prime minister of India, who granted four demands
but said he has no power over Dow. Bhopal activists called off their indefi-
nite fast on April 17, 2006, the seventh day of the fast, based on the assur-
ances from the government. As the website articulates the whole process
as a victory for the people, it establishes ICJB as a resistance movement
that works toward and has the potential to impact dominant practices.
But it juxtaposes the information on victory with the following question:
“Why did it take an 800 kilometer march and an indefinite hunger strike
to win a victory we should never have had to fight for?” (http://www.bho-
Pal.net/delhi-march.html). What manifests in the question is continu-ation of its resistance to challenge the systemic knowledge construction that privileges the dominant ideologies of corporations at the cost of hu-man interests. ICJB’s question attempts to alter the hegemonic discourse by granting agency to the subaltern as the knowing subject and as a site of knowledge production in the global economic order. Along these lines of localized resistance in the global South, the people’s tribunals in the global South (http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/poverty-matters/2010/nov/12/dhaka-climate-court-criminals) are one example of the shifts in the locus of accountability from the traditionally powerful sites in the global North to the impoverished sectors of the South. Other similar protest movements carrying themes of the environment such as “Save Niyamgiri,” “Narmada Bachao Andolan,” and “Cochabamba” are organized under other subheadings in the book because of the multi-topical nature of these social change efforts.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, the case studies presented in this chapter document the various innovative strategies and tactics through which voices of resistance seek to transform local, global, and international environmental policies. Specifically worth attending to is the deployment of innovative commu-nicative strategies that, on one hand, disrupt the expectations of the sta-tus quo and, on the other hand, reach out to a large audience to build a framework of solidarity. The creativity of communication lies at the heart of these efforts of social change and structural transformation that seek to resist the mediated dominance of corporate elites through their public relations and advertising campaigns by the deployment of innovative grassroots strategies of social change that seek to foster spaces of recogni-tion and representation in dominant public spheres.