Introduction

The final chapter summarizes the key points articulated throughout the book regarding alternative rationalities that challenge neoliberal forms of global governance. Through the re-presentations of voices of resistance from the global margins, I discuss the ways in which a global politics of resistance can contribute to social transformations and transformations in structures of oppression and exploitation. The alternative rationalities that are voiced by the various disenfranchised sectors of the globe who co-construct their voices in dialogue offer a framework for organizing a global politics of resistance, which is at once local and is simultaneously global in nature. This global-local network of resistance disrupts the political and economic hegemony of neoliberalism by interrogating the assumptions that make up the neoliberal logic, and through these interrogations, attempting to render visible alternative forms of organizing social, cultural, political, and economic systems.

Through the images, participatory articulations, community-based mobilizing efforts, global protest
marches, performances, and narratives circulated through social media, the voices that co-construct a global politics of resistance throughout the pages of this book present an ongoing and emerging framework of organizing that outlines a politics of social change. What are the key threads then that run through these voices of social change that emerge at various sites of the globe? What are the moments of harmony between these voices? What are their points of departure? What are the lessons they offer about the expressions of human agency in conversations with cultural scripts that seek to transform the inequitable structures of local, national, and global policies? How do the voices that emerge in the pages of this book conceptualize the politics of social justice and the constitutive communicative processes that define the parameters of political participation in transformative endeavors?

**Voices in Conversation**

Although they represent diverse sectors of the globe with diverse world-views, the voices of resistance across disparate geographic spaces of the globe offer mutually engaging entry points of conversation, articulating the intersections of culture, structure, and agency in the enactment of change. The cultural contexts of local communities offer value-based frameworks and symbols for enacting agency, putting forth alternative rationalities of organizing that challenge the structures of neoliberalism. As I participated in co-constructing my understandings of these global protests in writing this book, I came away impressed by the synergistic relationship between these different voices from different parts of the globe as they build on each other to narrate values and frameworks of resistance to the neoliberal colonization of the globe and global resources. In the following sections, I briefly summarize some of the key threads that run through these local processes of resistance, seeking to offer some meta-theoretical insights about the processes of change that are voiced in the stories of resistance.
Interpenetration of Issues

The global challenge to neoliberalism offered at local sites is articulated in the form of discursive moves that draw out the inter-penetration of issues; for instance, resistance constituted around issues of development (such as the Save Niyamgiri movement) is intertwined with resistance organized around issues related to the environment, which in turn is intertwined with resistance around issues of economic and political justice. The voices of activism from the global South and the global North inter-penetrate each other, joining in solidarity and finding spaces of intersections around these various issues that serve as the entry points of mobilizing against neoliberal forms of governance. Material and symbolic markers of resistance from the global South find entry points in voices of resistance in the global North and vice versa. Simultaneously, these voices from South and North collaborate on developing shared frames of resistance as they draw upon mutual resources, issues, and structures to build networks of solidarity. Given the expansive role of neoliberalism in controlling various aspects of political, economic, social, and cultural life globally, at the heart of the global resistance against neoliberalism is the articulation of the intersections among the different issues and the inter-related relationships among these issues. Political struggles against corporate takeover of the environment, land, political spaces, economic spaces, and frameworks of development are all intertwined in their resistance against the consolidation of power in the hands of transnational hegemony.

In many of these voices of social change, resistance against neoliberal governance emerges as the impetus for the protests, foregrounded in the narratives of the protests. In the voices of resistance from the global South (take, for instance, the example of resistance in Bolivia against water privatization and the privatization of the gas sector), neoliberalism emerges as a concept around which the voices of resistance identify the identity of the organizing processes. In these instance, voices of protestors specifically identify neoliberalism, define it, and articulate its consequences, mapped out in relationship to the issues that are central to the processes of organizing. For example, voices of social change in the global South specifically identify the deleterious effects of neoliberalism on local economies,
ways of life, and cultures, and this becomes the entry point to the protests. In other instances, although neoliberalism is not explicitly identified in the language of the protests, specific dimensions of neoliberalism such as privatization, liberalization, and so forth emerge within the frames of protest as rallying points for the protests. In yet other instances, such as in the case of the Arab Spring, underlying issues of unemployment and rising food prices lay at the heart of the protests; therefore, resistance to neoliberal governance is narrated in expressions of anger at the unemployment and the rising price of food, which is manifested in organizing directed at transforming political structures.

The voices of resistance that emerge within local, national, and global discursive spaces also note the inter-relatedness of the issues that are the subjects of the protests, and organize around these inter-related issues. Resistance emerges in a global network of interconnected nodes, where narratives embodied in local voices connect with other narratives from local voices from elsewhere, forming an interconnected web of voices of resistance. The local emerges at the site of the global through its politics of authenticity; it is this very localized authenticity narrating alternative rationalities of organizing that emerges on global discursive sites, rendering these sites impure (Dutta & Pal, 2010; Godalof, 1999). Connections are expressed in the penetration of voices of solidarity from globally dispersed sites into local sites of protest and vice versa. For instance, the messages of protest from Egypt find their way into messages of protest in Wisconsin. Activists from the Arab Spring offer inspiration for the protestors in Wisconsin, symbolically emerging in the slogans, posters, and chants. Similarly, the messages of the Occupy movement find resonance in the protests in Egypt as the protestors continue to offer their criticism of the global concentration of power in the hands of the wealthy. Some of the activists from Egypt appeared in a general assembly at Occupy Wall Street in Liberty Square. More recently, in early 2012, large numbers of people took to the streets in Nigeria to protest the erasure of oil subsidies; solidarity with the local protests were held at several Occupy sites, constituting an Occupy Nigeria group that marched to the Nigerian embassy and continued raising the issue within the Occupy movement (Swagler, 2012).
In line with the politics of protest that connects local actors across a variety of issues, the networks of resistance spread out horizontally, organizing around various issues that emerge as the outcomes of neoliberal governance (Castells, 1998, 1999, 2001). For instance, both the building of the Keystone XL Tar Sands pipeline and the Occupy Monsanto protests are intertwined with the underlying resistance against corporate power and the concentration of political decision making in the hands of corporate power. As a result, protestors against the Tar Sands pipeline find solidarity from protestors in the Occupy movement. Simultaneously Occupy protests are planned out that offer resistance against the Tar Sands pipeline, thus leveraging solidarity across issue areas to create a broader network of protest. Similarly, the protests against the consolidation of power in the hands of agro-TNCs (transnational corporations) in the form of the Occupy Monsanto movement are constituted within the broader framework of the Occupy narrative that seeks to disrupt the concentration of power and decision-making capacities on global and national policies in the hands of TNCs. This notion of networking of issues is embodied in the Occupy movement, as the movement emerges as a loose network of protests that are organized around the broad theme of corporate power in national and global governance structures, played out through the several different Occupy protests and Occupy sites around different issues, emerging as nodes of action.

**Complementary Uses of Communication Channels and Platforms**

Although social scientific studies as well as public debates of communicative processes of resistance have largely been shaped by questions and debates that relate to the role of social and online media in processes of change, the voices of resistance narrated throughout the chapters presented in this book point toward the complementary uses of communicative processes, resources, infrastructures, and channels (Aelst & Walgrave, 2004; Bailey, Cammerts, & Carpentier, 2008; Carpentier, 2007; Couldry & Curran, 2003; Coyer, Dowmunt, & Fountain, 2007; Dutta-Bergman, 2004c; Garrido & Halavais, 2003). Face-to-face performative strategies and forms of direct action on the streets are complemented by the information dis-
semination and community mobilization functions of social media (Ferrel, 2001). As protests take place on the streets, the voices of the protests narrated at community events, sit-ins, nonviolent demonstrations, and noncooperation performances get taken up across social media and circulated, urging for action. Participants at the sites of direct action record their narratives through audio, video, and written accounts and share them through various online media. In instances of subaltern resistance where the voices of resistance are performed at distant local sites—far removed from the global centers of decision making where policies are configured and carried out—there are alternative narratives offered, which are alternative understandings of policies and programs that find expression through mediated forms of protest and create entry points at other remote sites of operation of global capital (Aelst & Walgrave, 2004; Bailey et al., 2008; Carpentier, 2007; Coulardy & Curran, 2003; Coyer et al., 2007; Garrido & Halavais, 2003; Reed, 2005; Zoller & Dutta, 2008a, 2008b). The voices of resistance of the indigenous activists in the “Save Niyamgiri movement find points of solidarity with activists organizing in London against Vedanta, at the shareholder meeting of Vedanta. The complementarity of communicative channels and infrastructures carry forth the messages of change and resistance to global sites, creating entry points for solidarity and for complementary forms of direct action. Various forms of complementary direct action in this sense are complementarily organized through complementary functions of communicative channels and processes.

*Culture as De-construction/Culture as Co-construction*

The cultural-centeredness of the projects of social change is intrinsically tied to their active participation in the deconstruction of the cultural roots and values embodied in the universal narratives of rationality embodied in Eurocentric formulations of neoliberal governance. Culture emerges as a marker for returning the gaze at the imperial undertones of neoliberalism, offering localized forms of participation, recognition, and representation that then become the very bases for offering alternative rationalities of organizing. Furthermore, through the networks of solidarity, cultural values from hitherto marginalized spaces that are not recognized
as capable of participation in dominant discursive spaces of neoliberalism emerge onto discursive sites. That the ideals of democracy and liberty are configured through specific rationalities of the market embodied in Eurocentric values becomes evident throughout the various voices of social change articulated from the global South and that then find their ways in the discursive spaces of culture in the global North. From resistive voices in EZLN and *La Vía Campesina*, we hear about the hypocrisies in the languages of liberty and democracy that are used by neoliberalism to thwart opportunities for popular participation. In the voice of Evo Morales, we hear stories of manipulative processes in World Trade Organization (WTO) decision-making structures that erase voices from the global South. In the voices of indigenous activists Soni Sori and Linda Kodopi, we hear voices of resistance that talk back to the Indian state amidst the immense violence (encounters, murders, rapes, arrests, tortures, etc.) that has been unleashed by the state on its indigenous people in order to create openings for mining and industrialization projects on tribal land (see the Facebook group at http://www.facebook.com/#!/groups/freelingaandsoni/). In these voices of resistance, participation is reframed in terms of privileging local voices and their localized understandings of collective ownership of resources and harmonious relationships of communities with nature, explicitly standing in resistance to the top-down neoliberal policies of the state that seek to co-opt participation to carry out corporate agendas and to shift entrepreneurial accountability into the level of communities by diverting resources away from state-supported programs (Freire, 1973). As opposed to participation serving as a conduit for development as configured within the dominant structures (Chambers, 1983, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1997; Cleaver, 1999; Dutta & Basnyat, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2010), the narratives of participation articulated in the voices of resistance stand precisely in resistance, seeking to bring about changes in the unjust practices of the dominant structures and redistribute the upward transference of resources.

These frames of local participation amidst cultural logics of human livelihoods find their ways into global sites of protests through the international conferences against neoliberalism, through the World Social
Forums, and through global movements of protest at the Western sites of neoliberalism as embodied in the Occupy protests and protests at the global summits of the powerful transnational actors. As Occupy protestors in the US carry out their resistance against corporate giants such as Monsanto through localized forms of protests embodied in Occupy Monsanto, they embody their resistance in carrying out the themes of protest that are raised from the global South. Similarly, the cultural narratives of regulating corporate governance emerge into global structures to articulate alternative rationalities that call for popular participation in seeking to control the realms of operation of corporations. In threads of the Occupy movement that question the logic of displacements of homeowners from their homes, we hear the resonance of voices from the global South that seek to occupy natural spaces as homes of indigenous communities, refusing to be displaced from their traditional livelihoods because of projects of development seeking to serve corporate greed and state-sponsored elite agendas.

**Reflexivity as Vigilance**

The all-encompassing power of neoliberalism lies in its capacity to be flexible and to co-opt local participation and agency within frames of control through the deployment of terms such as democracy, participation, and community involvement. Neoliberalism captures the global landscape through the precise policies of democracy and participation, where the contours of democracy and participation are constituted within specific agendas of corporate control and shifting resources away from public funds and resources. For instance, in the face of the local forms of resistance in Egypt and Tunisia, neoliberal forms of global capitalism responded to the voices of resistance by seeking to co-opt these voices within the narratives of democracy and civil society, constituted in the ambits of neoliberal desires.

The reflexive capacity of resistance precisely lies in the returning of the gaze at these co-optive moves that are constituted within dominant struc-
tures. These reflexive voices are evident in the voices of activists who point toward the hypocrisies of US expression of support for dissent in the uprisings in Egypt amidst US exercise of control of dissent against corporate control of government and juridical structures in the Occupy movement. Similarly, US articulation of support for the resistive performances across the Arab world is interrogated in the backdrop of the active role of the US in supporting military regimes by supplying these regimes with arms. Protests organized in the US against arms supplies to Egypt disrupt the hegemonic frame of neoliberalism that construct Egypt within the framework of democracy to expand the realms of control on Egypt.

The narratives of democracy circulated by the state (such as in the examples of India and the US) are disrupted by the voices of resistance that document the images and stories of police atrocities, exploitation, and oppression at the sites of resistance to neoliberalism. Resistive voices document corporate-police-state nexus in efforts to thwart the voices of resistance and to erase the everyday evidences that are gathered by activists and shared with other actors through online and offline networks. Even as the hypocritical structures of neoliberal governance attempt to control voices of resistance through the use of force and simultaneously parade around concepts of democracy and participation, the local narratives of resistance reflexively interrogate the rhetoric of the state, and through their vigilance, render visible the structures of oppression that carry out the interests of the neoliberal hegemony couched in the language of dialogue and openness. The meta-narrative of resistance points toward the resilience of stories of transformation that emerge into discursive sites in spite of the state-based apparatuses of control. The meta-discourses of communication as a site of neoliberal oppression crystallize in the local frames of community members; therefore, communicative elements of resistance are directed at addressing policies that minimize opportunities for participation, recognition, representation, and articulation. In the context of India, for example, specific forms of activist organizing targeting the sedition act\(^1\) resist an act that utilizes the language of terrorism to thwart opportunities for resistance.
Deconstructing Epistemic Structures

The voices of resistance narrated throughout the pages of this book challenge the logics of superiority embedded within the structures of neoliberalism; they also challenge the opaqueness of the decision-making processes within the dominant structures that render these structures and their ensuing processes invisible to the very communities that are affected by the decisions taken within these structures. When projects of development, for instance, are carried out on the ideas of altruism, the fundamental meanings of development, progress, and economic growth are interrogated. The voices of activists in the Save Niyamgiri movement bring to question the logic of development that is used to justify the large-scale displacement of tribes under the narrative of development. When projects of displacement are carried out to justify industrialization under the name of economic growth, the underlying assumptions of economic growth and who benefits from such growth are questioned. Assumptions of development under the expectations of trickle-down economics are brought to question by pointing out the large-scale economic inequities that are created by neoliberal reforms alongside the articulations of the rising unemployment, rising food prices, and the increasing impoverishment of the poor. More fundamentally, the epistemic structures are challenged by voices of resistance through the interrogation of the political and economic interests served by these epistemic structures. Academic sites of knowledge production become the sites of interrogation, with the critical gaze being turned toward practices in anthropology, geography, ethno-botany, pharmacy, and so forth, in the context of the imperial functions served by specific forms of funded projects. For instance, the US military-backed mapping project, Mexico Indigena, which was supposedly funded by the US military with the face of promoting indigenous empowerment in the context of the land reforms in Mexico that sought to promote privatization came under intense scrutiny by local indigenous activists and later by the academic community because of the accusation that the mapping project was being carried out as a method of surveillance for gathering intelligence for the US government (Myczalejko & Ryan, 2009). Similarly, economists at elite financial institutions that have
played key functions in pushing the neoliberal regime are interrogated for their complicity in promoting mechanisms for concentrating wealth in the hands of few, often simultaneously benefitting personally through projects of economic liberalization.

The assumptions embodied in policies and juridical structures are questioned by the voices of resistance that co-construct alternative narratives throughout the various examples I have shared with you. For example, when Occupy activists in Atlanta occupy the home of a war veteran who is threatened to be evicted from her home by the bank that owns her mortgage, Occupy activists interrogate the assumptions of the banking/mortgage industry and the decision-making structures in juridical processes in the US that disenfranchise citizens. Similarly, the Occupy narratives that seek to re-occupy court systems challenge the juridical processes within court systems that favor those with access to power. It is in this backdrop that bottom-up processes of participation in legal structures seek to enact the rights of local communities at the margins.

The top-down decision making embodied in legal and political processes is interrogated and simultaneously resisted through grassroots participation in these processes. Occupy activists, for instance, draw attention to the influential role played by the lobbying industry in shaping policies and the implementation of these policies in the US. The Occupy K-Street component of the movement draws attention to the powerful role of the lobbying industry in shaping public policy (http://www.facebook.com/OccupyDC; Kingkade, 2011). In one specific example, the story of an influential lobbying firm is shared through social media, documenting a memo of the firm directed at big banks on Wall Street where the firm outlines its strategies for discrediting the Occupy movement (Larsen & Olshansky, 2011). Documents such as these circulated through the alternative epistemic structures of the processes of social change also render visible the political and legal processes that are deployed by powerful economic and political actors in discrediting social change efforts by utilizing communicative processes that are explicitly directed at discrediting resistance. Similarly, images of police atrocities being carried out in the US to control protests across the US are juxtaposed against the public di-
plomacy narratives crafted by Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama in the context of the Arab Spring, thus rendering visible the hypocrisies in neoliberal knowledge claims.

Voices of resistance in the Keystone XL Tar Sands campaign document the revolving door between Keystone XL lobbyists and the US Department of State, and in doing so, point out the ways in which the structures of political decision making have been taken over by powerful economic interests. Similarly, activists in the Save Niyamgiri movement in Orissa, India, draw attention to the greenwashing strategies and tactics of Vedanta by disrupting the sites of public relations knowledge production by organizations such as the World Environment Fund that serves as public relations tools of Vedanta by presenting it with an environmental award. Voices of resistance against Operation Green Hunt document the atrocities carried out by the Indian state on indigenous communities, and in doing so, disrupt the knowledge claims made by the Indian state about its democracy (see, for instance, http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?265964 or the Facebook campaign One Million Strong against Operation Green Hunt at http://www.facebook.com/#!/groups/1msaogh/).

The deconstruction of the dominant epistemic structures and their dominant aesthetics, the very assumptions that play into these structures, and the value claims that constitute the logics of these structures lies at the heart of the politics of social change. Voices of resistance, therefore, are put forth on this framework of deconstruction, calling for alternative articulations of knowledge organized on the principles of sustenance, social justice, equity, and nurturing of the planet. In voices of resistance in the works of Shiva and the Navdanya movement, we come across the articulations of concepts such as “earth democracy,” which offer entry points for conceptualizing the relationships of human beings with food, agriculture, and with nature (Bello, 2001). Alternative forms of epistemic claims create openings for change by organizing forms of resistance at the margins that seek to establish counter-hegemonies that are built on alternative values and frameworks for judging and establishing truth. The politics of redistribution of resources is situated alongside the processes of transformation seeking to create spaces for recognition and representation (Fraser & Honneth, 2003).
Voices of Resistance

Conclusion

In conclusion, throughout the various stories that have emerged in the voices of resistance across the various sites of the globe, we attend to the quests for human dignity and for the opportunity to have a say in local, national, and global policy platforms. This fundamental search for human dignity to have a voice is shared in the letter written to civil society organizations of India by Soni Sori and shared on the Facebook and WordPress sites organizing for her freedom (http://freesonisoriandlingaram.wordpress.com/):

This if for all social workers intellectuals, NGOs, human rights organizations, women’s commission and citizens of India, an abused and helpless tribal woman, is asking you to answer her why she is being brutally tortured and she wants to know.

That by giving me current, by stripping me naked, or by brutally assaulting me inserting stones in my rectum- will the problem of Naxalism end? Why so many atrocities on women? I want to know from all countrymen

1. When I was being stripped, that time I felt someone should come and save me and it did not happen. In Mahabharata, Draupadi’s honour was saved when she called upon Krishna Whom should I have called, I was given to them (police) by the court. But now, I will not say that save my honour as I have nothing left. Yes, I want to know from all of you that why was I Tortured?

2. Police officer, S. P Ankit Garg after stripping me says that “you are a whore, a bitch, who pleases naxal leaders by selling your body and they come to your house every day and night. We know everything, “he said adding that “. You claim to be a good teacher, but you sell yourself even in Delhi. What’s your status anyways, you think the big stalwarts will support such an ordinary woman like you”. Why will a police officer say this? Today history is witness that whenever there is war in country or any other conflict, women have contributed a lot to the nation. Jhansi Lakshmi Bai fought with the Britishers, did she sell herself? Indira Gandhi as the prime minister of India, she
governed the country, did she sell herself? Today all the women who
are working in their respective areas are they selling themselves? All
of us are bound with each other in unity and support, then why no
one is coming to help me? I would like to have an answer from you?

In the voice of Sori, the erased subaltern talks back. She returns the gaze of
the dominant structures that have perpetuated the violence and atrocities
on her body. It is through her gaze that she re-writes a narrative of resis-
tance, re-scripting her ownership of discursive sites of democratic gover-
nance, staking her claim on the sites of representation. In Sori’s voice, we
hear the implicit call for an alternative narrative that disrupts the hypocri-
sies and violence written into the script of the neoliberal state. Sori’s voice
is joined by activist groups across India who share the video document-
ing her torture on YouTube (http://youtu.be/a5lO6cEcUeI), and organize
through letters, petitions, and messages on social media, protesting the
awarding of a recognition by the state to the police officer who tortured

Figure 7.1. Uploaded by “Kamayaninumerouno.” http://youtu.be/a5lO6cEcUeI
Sori and had developed a track record for torturing tribal community members in the region.

*Figure 7.2. Poster calling for the masses to “Stand up for Soni Sori” (http://www.facebook.com/#!/photo.php?fbid=10150526829646608&set=a.429686291607.217059.692416607&type=1&theater).*

I began this book by setting up the platform for the thesis of the culture-centered approach, empirically documenting the dramatic shrinkage of communicative spaces of participation and dialogue ironically through the very projects of participation and dialogue amidst neoliberal reforms that are being carried out globally. Even as the opportunities for public participation and voice are being dramatically limited, the voices of resistance from across the globe share with us their stories of everyday struggles
through which they seek to open up these sites and spaces to opportunities for participation and for the expression of alternatives to the narrowly constructed neoliberal framework of governance driven by greed, desire for wealth accumulation, and privileging of private property. It is my hope that as you have listened to these various voices of resistance across the globe, you have come across the tremendous potential in the diversity of human thought and human constructions of narratives to offer us with hope, through alternative narratives of harmony, sustenance, solidarity, collective ownership, and relationships of mutual support.

Voices
Mohan J. Dutta
West Lafayette, January 26, 2012 (Indian Republic Day)

In your voices,
I hear the stories
Of conviction,
courage, and hope.

In your voices,
I hear the calls
For friendship
And protest.

In your voices.
I hear the anger
At the injustices,
abuses, and oppressions.

In your voices,
I hear the dreams,
songs and poems
That imagine a better world.

Notes
1. The sedition act has been largely used across India more recently in order to brand activists resisting neoliberal policies as Maoist and to place them in jail. For many activists, the sedition act uses state-based control mechanisms to erase voices of dissent.