

MICRO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA: OF TWIN IMAGINATIONS AND LAYERED DISCURSIVITIES

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By

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DEDICATION

To my Parents and twins, Tanmay and Tanisha.
Thank you for believing in my dream and guiding me through it,
these past five years.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	<i>x-xii</i>
List of Figures	<i>xiv-xxii</i>
List of Abbreviations	<i>xxiii-xxiv</i>
Chapter I: Micro Social Movements (MSMs) in India and South Africa: the mobilisation of a social practice Imagination	1-72
Part I Introduction to the Research- A concept note and Chapterisation	1-10
1.1 Concept Note	
1.2 Chapterisation	
Part II Inductive Observations and Terminologies used: Why 'Micro Social Movements'?	10-19
2.1 Features of Micro Social Movements in contrast to NSMs	
Part III New Social Movements (NSMs) and 'Newer Social Movements'	19-29
3.1 New Social Movements (NSMs)- A Review of Literature	
3.2 NSMs and the Newer Social Movements- A Comparison	
PART IV Conceptualizations on NSMs in India and South Africa and the enmeshed Emic of Micro Social Movements	30-42
4.1 Debates in India	
4.2 Debates in South Africa	
4.3 Peoples' Participation, MSMs and Melting Discursivities in India and South Africa	
Part V MSMs as mobilizers of a shared Social Practice Imagination	43-53
5.1 Social Movements and the Anthropology of Practice	
5.2 Social Movements as Social Practice	
5.3 Social Movement Imagination as Social Practice Imagination	
Part VI MSMs in India and South Africa: of Imaginations amidst felt crisis	53-65
6.1 A brief Comparative Introduction	

6.2	Poaching and Micro Social Movements (MSMs) of the Bishnois	
6.3	Substance Abuse and Micro Social Movements (MSMs) of the Indian South Africans	
6.4	Of Crisis, MSMs and Public Spheres	
Part VII	Summing up	65-72
7.1	MSMs and evolving Social Movement Imaginations	
7.2	MSM Imagination as the Step Zero	
7.3	MSM Imagination and Evolving social transformations	
7.4	MSM Imagination and Alternate publics, public spheres	
Chapter II	Methodology and Approach: Protest Actions as a discursive text of Social Change	73-130
Part I	Concept Note: MSMs as layered Discursive Practices rooted in ongoing Processes of Change	73-75
Part II	Approaches and Methods	75-86
2.1	Actors, the involved Actor and Agency	
2.2	Emic Evaluation Approach (EEA)	
2.3	Ethnographic Tools: My experiences and reflections from the field	
Part III	Participation and dovetailing of the research methods and questions	86-89
3.1	Following the involved actor	
3.2	First Fieldwork and the addition of a related question for research	
Part IV	The Anthropology of a MSM: Through the looking glass of discursive spaces, moments and processes of collective action	89-96
4.1	Discourse	
4.2	Discursive spheres - of practices and meanings	
4.3	The Discourse and Anti-Discourse	
Part V	MSM spaces and times as layered Discursive Spheres: the performance of communicative functions	96-102
5.1	Layered Discursivity	

5.2	Involvement as linear and circular- who is the 'involved' actor?	
5.3	MSMs as composed of Communicative Elements	
Part VI The Internal and the External Discursive Spheres of MSMs- A shared Imagination		102-110
6.1	Coding data in two categories- the Internal and the External Discursive Sphere	
6.2	Actors as Inter-connections between the Internal Discursive Sphere (IDS) and the External Discursive Sphere (EDS)	
Part VII Social Movement Imaginations- of Competitive and Philanthropic world views		110-119
7.1	The underbelly of collective social action	
	a) Pictures and Explanations: Discursive Spaces and Times in the Bishnoi Tiger Force (BTF) trajectories	
	b) Pictures and Explanations: Discursive Spaces and Times in the Anti- Drug Forum (ADF) trajectories	
Part VIII: Some Challenges of Using the Emic Evaluation Approach (EEA) and critiques of anthropological, ethnographic modes of research		119-125
8.1	Suspensions and watershed moments	
8.2	Dilemmas of Representation and A limited Glimpse	
Part IX Concluding Arguments: Social Movement Imagination as a Janus-faced Discursiveness, symbolic of ongoing, unpredictable change		126-130
Chapter III Anti-Poaching Movement of the BTF in western Rajasthan: the Revelation of a complex Discursive Formation		131-239
Part I Concept Note		131-133
Part II An Introduction: Bishnois, their transitioning views on Ecology and the emergence of Collective Social Action against Poaching		133-170
2.1	Bishnois and changing social landscapes	
2.2	The Anti-Poaching movement of the BTF: A Gap in Literature	
2.3	Bishnois- an eco-religious sect and the code of 29	

2.4	Bishnois as a caste-like social formation	
2.5	BTF and its Competitive discursivity: From 'eco- consciousness' to an 'eco-activism'	
2.6	BTF Repertoires: Connective, Communicative and Competitive Discursiveness	
2.7	Imagination from below: BTF activists explain their sense of crisis	
Part III Movement Actors and the creation of an Alternative Public Sphere: the Intersection of a Philanthropic and a Competitive Imagination		170-187
3.1	BTF makes poaching a Peoples' issue and an arena of collective thinking	
3.2	BTF practices 'strategic' discursivity with party politics and the state	
3.3	BTF renders known structures and institutions, a movement identity	
Part IV: Evolving trends and value systems under the new Bishnoi Activism		188-195
4.1	BTF as Police Informants: Changes in the External Discursive Sphere (EDS)	
4.2	Meeting up families of Martyrs: Philanthropy in the Internal Discursive Sphere (IDS)	
Part V: MSM and Mobilisation of Alternative publics: A Politics of visibility in Mainstream public spheres?		196-204
5.1	MSM imaginations lifts symbolic reference frames	
5.2	BTF imaginations put a Competitive discursive ecology in motion	
5.3	BTF constructs relations of Collaborative ecology	
Part VI: Bishnoi Activism amid its context ridden Problematic		205-215
6.1	The Popular Imagination on the Bishnois	
6.2	Bishnoi Rebuttal: 'lathi' as social movement practice	
6.3	BTF Protest Actions- Administrative critiques amidst appraisal	
6.4	Social dynamics: Protest action and Caste as opposing discursive entities	

Part VII	The Anti- Discourse: Views from the 'Other' Stakeholders- Bhils and Ban Bawris	215-236
7.1	The Ban Bawris of Ra Rod Village: of Pulse- Healers and Alternative worldviews	
7.2	Meeting the Bhils of "Shoukho Gaanv": "We cannot use the forest, we cannot use the state"	
Part VIII	Therefore...	236-239
Chapter IV:	Anti-Substance Abuse movement of the ADF in Durban and the revelation of a complex discursive formation	240-347
Part I	Concept Note	240-245
Part II	Indian South Africans: 'Indianness', instances of collective social actions and the emergence of an 'anti'-substance' abuse movement	245-273
2.1	A brief comparative note	
2.2	Indian South Africans- Origins and a Diasporic consciousness	
2.3	The Historical Indian Diaspora and the arrival of an Anti-Substance Abuse activism in Durban	
2.4	Memories of Social Suffering, an example of a community- based Self-Help: Some notes on 'Indian-ness' and Identity	
2.5	The Anti-Substance Abuse movement of the ADF- A Gap in Literature	
Part III	ADF performs a Competitive Discursiveness: Conversion of a peoples' issue into a motive for Collective Social Action	274-294
3.1	Chatsworth, the epicentre of a Social Movement against substance abuse	
3.2	From a community consciousness on drugs to collective action- Grounds for new activism amidst familiar anti-substance abuse discourses	
3.3	Imagination from below- ADF supporters and onlooker actors explain their sense of crisis as the tipping point	

3.4	How ADF borrows from as well as builds on a competitive discursiveness over protection of youth	
Part IV: ADF and its collaborative discursiveness: connecting the hard-hitting sociopathy of addiction with a collective search for solutions		294-302
4.1	The Disquiet and the debates over illicit substances	
4.2	ADF spearheads a cooperative search of solutions among Durban Indians: of Philanthropic Imaginations	
Part V Movement Actors and Supporters as alternative publics: the Intersection of a Philanthropic and a Competitive Imagination		302-310
5.1	Confidentiality and one to one approach	
5.2	ADF practices 'strategic' discursivity with the state	
5.3	ADF renders known structures and institutions a movement identity	
Part VI: Evolving trends and value systems under the new ADF Activism		310-313
6.1	Changes in the External Discursive Sphere (EDS): of competitive relations and strategic collaborations	
6.2	ADF bonds over its successes and failures with the local community, thus strengthening its Internal Discursive Sphere (IDS)	
Part VII: ADF enlivens an Alternative Public Sphere		313-324
7.1	ADF interventions in Durban put a discursive anti-drug politics in motion	
7.2	ADF practices Competitive Discursivity and occupies a comparative edge	
7.3	The Anathema and MSMs as philanthropic risk bearers of social action	
7.4	Art of living and the Internal Discursive sphere of the ADF: Articulating a strategic discursivity through its repertoires	
Part VIII Evolving Activism of ADF and its context ridden problematic: Working between critiques and appraisals		324-335
8.1	ADF Interpositions: <i>"we are out of league of red-tapeism"</i>	
8.2	The ADF turns a new leaf: Newer responsibilities in tow	
8.3	Views from the Durban Police	

Part IX: The Anti- Discourse: Views from the 'Other' Stakeholders- RA-UF and PAGAD	335-340
9.1 Alternative worldviews from RA-UF in Durban	
9.2 Alternative worldviews- PAGAD, the Durban Chapter	
Part X: Therefore...	340-347
9.1 Some Important observations	
9.2 A comparative summing up of the two case studies	
Chapter V Conclusion: Of Micro Social Movements in India and South Africa, their Discursive Imaginations and the making of Alternative Public Spheres	348-357
Part I Conclusive Notes	348-351
Part II Final Recommendations: Some significant differences and Key areas for further research	351-357
2.1 Further themes to be explored vis-à-vis the anti-Poaching Movement of the Bishnois in Rajasthan	
2.2 Suggestions for more data base on the anti-Substance abuse movement of the Indian South Africans in Durban	
References: Bibliography and Primary Sources	358-398
Annex - I Wildlife Act 1972, India	399-406
Annex - II Substance Abuse and State laws, South Africa	407-414
Declaration	415
Author's CV	416-422

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LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter II

- Figure 2.1 An 'Internal Discursive Sphere moment': A gathering at the Holy Temple in Mukam. Photo: July, 18, 2012. 112
- Figure 2.2 The Philanthropic Imagination: The BTF Volunteers organised a blood donation camp on February 23, 2015. Photo from the BTF volunteers on request by email. 113
- Figure 2.3 Competitive Imagination: BTF demands a formal enquiry over wildlife deaths and practices: A visible external discursivity. Photo: BTF Volunteer's (Ramniwas Budhnagar) Update, Facebook Timeline. March 1, 2015. 114
- Figure 2.4 MSMs as stakeholders in the Alternative Public spheres: Amid BTF demands, the state Forest Department finally conducted a post mortem. Photo: BTF volunteers sent through FB message inbox. March 3, 2015. 115
- Figure 2.5 A Philanthropic Moment and the making of internal discursivity: An ADF charity workshop for children, youth and families facing addiction, or, on the recovery from addiction. Photo: ADF records, January 2013. 116
- Figure 2.6 Competitive Imagination: ADF- Volunteers on the street - Gaining visibility through an external discursivity Photo: ADF files, January 2013, Chatsworth. 116
- Figure 2.7 ADF Leader (in the front row) waiting to address a workshop on substance Abuse: MSMs as stakeholders in the Alternative Public Spheres. Photo: ADF records, February 2014. 117
- Figure 2.8 Enriching the Internal Discursive Sphere– Pillay meeting youth at a local a Temple. Photo: Sam Pillay, Status Update. Facebook Timeline, March 1 2015. 118

Chapter III

- Figure 3.1 A poster depicting some of the 29 rules of Bishnoism-as put up on the wall of the Bishnoi Temple at Rotu Village, Rajasthan. Photo: December 21, 2013. 143

Figure 3.2	Daily evening prayers at the Rotu Temple, District Naguar. The rule chart showing 29 rules can be seen on the wall behind the <i>Vedi</i> or the fire altar. Photo: December 12, 2013.	144
Figure 3.3	A Khejri tree cluster, behind the Khejarli- Massacre site. Photo: July 13, 2012.	145
Figure 3.4	Drums at the temple in Khejarli. Used for the ritualistic morning and evening prayers during special days. Photo: July 10, 2012.	146
Figure 3.5	Painting I at the Khejerli Temple: The first, 'martyr' from the bottom right is a woman called Imarta- (name written in Hindi). Photo: July 17, 2012.	147
Figure 3.6	Painting II at the Khejarli Temple: The second martyr from the bottom right is a woman called Imarti- (name written in Hindi). Photo: July 17, 2012.	148
Figure 3.7	In a Bishnoi community supported Rescue Centre at Mukkam, Rajasthan. Imarti's famous last words painted on the right-hand wall. Photo: December 23, 2013.	149
Figure 3.8	BTF membership form, with the image of Guru Jambheswar in the top left hand corner, image of flora and fauna on the top left hand of the form. Photo: From Bishnoi Files. December 2013.	157
Figure 3.9	BTF Activist, Ram Niwas smiles as he shows me the Khejeri tree planted by the Gajendra Singh (Maharaja off Jodhpur), at the AFRI premises. Photo: December 10, 2013.	158
Figure 3.10	Author: An experience of the Bishnoi idea of Trust. Photo taken by Poka Ram Bishnoi. July, 10, 2012. Copy Right: Author.	166
Figure 3.11	In Bishnoi areas, the wildlife becomes habituated to safety and feelings of trust in human beings, explain the Bishnois. Photo taken by Madandan. July 10, 2012. Copy Right: Author.	167

- Figure 3.12 Seen here is the BTF leader RP Bhavad sitting next to a Bishnoi priest, both engrossed in voluntary work at a Governmental Wild Life Programme in Jodhpur. Photo: Sourced from SS Rathore of the Wildlife Department, Jodhpur. December 21, 2013. 169
- Figure 3.13 The Bishnoi Priest at Jhajhiwal Temple in Jodhpur with one of the rescued animals. Activism provides new meanings to an old space. Photo: July 13, 2012. 178
- Figure 3.14 Rescued Animals are allowed to move freely in Temple premises. Photo: July 13, 2012. 179
- Figure 3.15 Evening care at the Rescue Centre, Jhajhiwal Temple: Priest intern holds down a Khejri shrub to let the animals graze. Photo: December 19, 2013. 179
- Figure 3.16 A Black Buck recovering in a makeshift Community Rescue Centre in Rotu village near Nagaur. Photo: December 23, 2013. 181
- Figure 3.17 Indian 'gazelle' in another section of the same rescue centre as in the picture above. The Bishnoi activists maintain information links with communities in remote areas and make sure to visit when possible. They encourage and support their own fellowmen to look after injured wildlife. Rotu Rescue Centre. Photo: December 23, 2013. 181
- Figure 3.18 Cover of the FIR Register with the details of the Ganga Ram case at Police Post Dongiyawas, District Jodhpur. Photo: December 19, 2013. 185
- Figure 3.19 The VCNB at Dongiyawas Police station near Jodhpur, in which the details of Ganga Ram Constable case of 2006 were registered, even while a protest lead by the BTF unfolded right outside the police premises, Photo: December 19, 2013. 186

Figure 3.20	Police Letter of Testimony certifying Ganga Ram's death on duty owing to gunshots fired by Hunters, Photo: December 19, 2013.	186
Figure 3.21	Three BTF activists on their visit to late Ganga Ram Constable's village. A hurried snack at a highway eatery, Photo: December 15, 2013.	187
Figure 3.22	A BTF activist adjust the garland on the statue of Martyr Ganga Ram at late Ganga Ram's family farm. Photo: December 15, 2013.	190
Figure 3.23	Late Ganga Ram's brother holding the certificate of honour issued by the All India Bishnoi Community, with the help of BTF support. Photo: December 15, 2013.	190
Figure 3.24	A letter written on the BTF letterhead by the chief activist, Rampal Bhavad. Addressed to a well-placed Bishnoi politician in another state, it is an appeal to help declaring the dead Gangaram as a, 'Martyr' and for securing financial help for Gangaram's family. Photo: December 15, 2013.	191
Figure 3.25	Ganga Ram's widow with her grandchild. Photo: December 15, 2013.	191
Figure 3.26	In memory of martyr Chaillu Singh Rajput- Pride and pain as social movement resources. Photo: December 21, 2013.	192
Figure 3.27	Rajput Chaillu Singh's, widow in their family home, Nokha: with her late husband's Padmashree-(a National bravery award) in hand. Photo: December 21, 2013.	193
Figure 3.28	BTF volunteers maintain solemn relations with surviving families of the martyrs. Seen in picture above: Chaillu Singh's Children hold his portrait. Photo: December 21, 2014.	194

Figure 3.29	Treasured Motifs for the MSM Publics: Certificate of the National Bravery Award, 2002, issued posthumously to Chaillu Singh Rajput. Photo: December 21, 2015.	194
Figure 3.30	Spontaneous Vigilance to guard common resources. Seen inside the Churu sanctuary and speaking with its guard are BTF activists in white shirts. Photo: December 24, 2013.	200
Figure 3.31	Gazelle, Black Buck and Antelope, Churu: Frames of a discursive vigilance. Photo: December 19, 2013.	202
Figure 3.32	The Ban Bawri Couple. Photo: December 17, 2014.	218
Figure 3.33	The Ban Bawri Kitchen. Photo: December 17, 2014.	219
Figure 3.34	An old camel cart functions as a closet. Photo: December 17, 2014.	220
Figure 3.35	Custom made Catapult: Training as play starts early on. Photo: December 17, 2015.	221
Figure 3.36	The Bawri smiles- Trust and Expertise in time and space. Photo: December 17, 2013.	223
Figure 3.37	New Ban Bawri possessions: A concrete house, visible in the background. Photo: December 17, 2013.	224
Figure 3.38	Lingering lifestyles amidst changing community spaces. Photo: December 17, 2014.	225
Figure 3.39	Pictures showing bones strewn on the last sandy kilometre to the Bhil Abode. Photos: December 13, 2013.	226-229
Figure 3.40	Gokulram perched on a stone step within his Bhil compound, in a timeless Indian position. Photo: December 13, 2013.	229
Figure 3.41	Mother-in-law, Daughter-in-law flashing the cathartic smiles. Photo: December 13, 2013.	232
Figure 3.42	The Bhil Youth and a Shepherd boy -with his stick (lathi) and a desire to be 'clicked'. Photo: December 13, 2013.	235

Chapter IV

- Figure 4.1 Among the 'Indian' Masalas (spices) sold in the local stores, the Durban Masala adds a local touch for the Durban Indians. Photo: January 16, 2013. 258
- Figure 4.2 A newer branch and a more recent addition of the ABH- A testimony of its expanding social relevance. Photo: January 14, 2013. 262
- Figure 4.3 The new addition in the ABH scheme of things. Its Nurse training courses are accorded state recognition in the new South Africa. Photo: February 7, 2014. 263
- Figure 4.4 An 'Indian' Clothes shop in a Shopping Mall in Chatsworth. 265
- Figure 4.5 An 'Indian' Mosque near Westville University. Photo: January 17, 2013. 266
- Figure 4.6 An 'Indian' wedding ceremony in Durban: from the photo albums of Jeten and Karen: 'Indianess' as South Africans. Photo: January 18, 2013. 266
- Figure 4.7 First Graders in a Chatsworth School: drugs may not have the same ethnic barriers and access potentials as before. All communities in the fast diversifying profile of Chatsworth, for instance, may face the same risks as the Indians living there. Photo: January 28, 2013. 268
- Figure 4.8 A newspaper cutting (Sunday Tribune: March 7, 2010. Page 14) on the display board at the entrance of the old ADF office. February 4. 2013. 271
- Figure 4.9 Chatsworth, a south Durban suburb and the birthplace of ADF. Seen here are the clustered houses, an improvement over the past, yet a grim reminder of the terrains set by the Group Areas Act, 1950. Photo: February 1, 2013. 275

Figure 4.10	Chatsworth Hanuman statue: the image of a popular, mythical Hindu deity forms the character of this well-known street corner in Chatsworth. Photo: February 2013.	276
Figure 4.11	F Tammy of ADF drug testing in Chatsworth, 2012: a role that earns ADF both bouquets and brickbats, as I explain in a later section. Photo: Accessed from ADF records, February 2014.	282
Figure 4.12	Seen in picture above are David, an ADF success story and Pillay in the center at one of ADF organized drug awareness workshops. Photo: February 6, 2014.	285
Figure 4.13	Preparation of the Hindu Indian festival of 'Kavadi' in a temple at Shallcross, Durban. Photo: January 2013.	290
Figure 4.14	Starting point of the Kavadi Procession, Chatsworth, January 2013.	291
Figure 4.15	Festivals can become a space where collective concerns are spoken about and heard when people meet in large numbers and for hours on end. Photo: Chatsworth, January, 2013.	291
Figure 4.16	The ADF and its volunteers remain prepared to carry on anti-drug campaigns and struggles in any public venue or space. Photo: From ADF records, February 2014.	292
Figure 4.17	One group of the task team with nightclub owner Duran Govender (far left). Pillay from ADF on far right. Photo: Shared by the ADF, January 2014.	293
Figure 4.18	The ADF zeroes in on schools, keen to make them 'Drug-Free. Article in, 'The Rising Sun', Chatsworth. January 2012. Photo: ADF files, January 2013.	294
Figure 4.19	A street corner in Durban where young addicts can gather from early evening onward. Apparently, 'high' as my informants pointed out, the three boys in the picture above, approached me for 'giving' them a few Rands, while I walked past.	295

Figure 4.20	Under a prominent flyover in Durban, elder 'users' gather for regular consignment of food and drugs. Such spots are scene as perpetually pending social and administrative problems by residents. Photo: February 12, 2014.	296
Figure 4.21	ADF coordinated youth awareness workshop with participants from staff of schools, members from Smart Clubs, officers from Local police and Court: A Collaborative Discursiveness: Photo. February 6. 2014.	297
Figure 4.22	Diagram based on data adapted by author from Table 1, page 2: SACENDU Brief of 2011.	303
Figure 4.23	Sam Pillay participating in an anti-drug protest march organized for the state of KZN. Here we see him standing (extreme left) with the Municipal officials in Durban. Photo: January 2013.	306
Figure 4.24	Schools acquire an anti-drug discursiveness: Willow Park Primary School. ADF's, "Say No to Drugs" drive. Photo: from ADF's files. February 2014.	308
Figure 4.25	The circular process of social action- A space where cooperation and conflict are simultaneously enacted between the State, the Society and the MSM. Figure Source: Author.	311
Figure 4.26	An article published in, The Post: January 16-20, 2013. In the pictures are seen many stake holders in the community including political leaders as MEC Ravi Pillay (Durban); social worker and CEO of the ABH (Chatsworth) Rajish Lutchman.	314
Figure 4.27	A placard demonstration outside a Municipal office in Durban: ADF participates in occasions of collective protest actions by sending in its volunteers to show solidarity with other actors in the region. Photo: January 2013.	315
Figure 4.28	ADF enlivens public spaces with an anti-drug politics. Seen here is Pillay (second from right, wearing a white T-shirt) with Smart Club volunteers, outside a popular fast- food joint in Chatsworth. Photo: ADF files, January 2014.	316

- Figure 4.29 The ADF relies upon various kinds of support from its beneficiaries and empathizers. Pillay is seen here holding a donation pot, for ADF's 'Coin-A-Thon' campaign. Photo: ADF files, February 2014. 318
- Figure 4.30 Pensive and willing to give back: David now volunteers as a motivational speaker by sharing his life history at various awareness campaigns organized by the ADF. Photo: February 2, 2014. 320
- Figure 4.31 ADF is now keen to expand its repertoires of Early Interventions beyond Chatsworth and Durban: Author, extreme left, at Smart Club Workshop. Chatsworth. February 6, 2014. 330

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ABH	Aryan Benevolent Home
ABJRS	<i>Akhil Bharatiya Jeev Raksha Samiti</i> (All India Wildlife Protection Society)
ACF	Assistant Conservator of Forests
ADF	Anti-Drug Forum
AFRI	Arid Forest Research Institute
AYS	Arya Yuvak Sabha
BTF	Bishnoi Tiger Force
CAZRI	Central Arid Forest Research Institute
CCF	Chief Conservator of Forests
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CYC	Chatsworth Youth Centre
DCC	Day Care Centre
DCP	Deputy Commissioner of Police
e.g.	for example
EDS	External Discursive Sphere
etc.	Et cetera
FIR	First Information Report
i.e.	idest (in others words)
IDS	Internal Discursive Sphere
ISAs	Indian South Africans
MEC	Municipal Executive Councilor
MSM	Micro Social Movement
MSMs	Micro Social Movements
NGO	Non- Governmental Organisation
NP	National Party, South Africa
NSMs	New Social Movements

PAGAD	People Against Gangsters and Drugs
PIO	People of Indian Origin
RA-UF	Refocus and Upliftment
SA	South Africa
SACENDU	South African Community Epidemiology Network on Drug Use
SAPS	South African Police Services
SOS	Distress Signal (commonly, <i>Save our Souls</i>)
VCNB	Village Crime Notebook
viz.	videlicet (that is to say)
w.r.t	with respect to

Chapter-I

MICRO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS (MSMs) IN INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA: THE MOBILISATION OF A SOCIAL PRACTICE IMAGINATION

PART I: INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH- A CONCEPT NOTE AND CHAPTERISATION

1.1 Concept Note: I undertook this research with the motive of studying two lesser known but organic, small-scale protest movements in specific parts of India and South Africa. In India, I observed an anti-poaching movement articulated by an organization called the 'Bishnoi Tiger Force' in western Rajasthan since the late 1990s. In South Africa, I covered an anti-substance abuse movement lead by the 'Anti-Drug Forum' since the early years of the twenty first century.

The central questions, which inspired me to embark upon my research, are as follows: "How do micro, contextual issues (such as, poaching and substance abuse) inspire collective action forms? I hypothesize that not all issues have the potential to acquire motivated coverage or attention in mainstream public spheres. Therefore, which publics do 'organic' (i.e. risen and enmeshed in local contexts) social movements cater to and how? Can these movements politicize multiple social spaces around them to project their cause/s effectively? If yes, then how? Last but not the least, what role does imagination play in the origin and evolution of such grassroots collective action and how? Before I explain these in detail, I take a brief diversion into the origin of my own interest in social movements.

I completed my M.Phil. in Political Science, from the University of Delhi with a comparative focus on ecology based, 'New Social Movements' or NSMs in India and Brazil, back in the mid-1990s. My work focused on the decline of the development paradigm and the rejection of discriminatory, 'development'- oriented statist policies opposed by tribal and indigenous peoples of India and Brazil respectively. Later, from 1998 onward, I became involved in family processes and raising my children, but I always remained keen, at a personal level, to newer questions that contemporary forms of social mobilizations bring on. At times, I got the opportunity to discuss my concerns with peers and researchers in universities across Mexico and Argentina where I spent almost seven years of my early motherhood.

It was during these sessions that I began to frame the above stated questions. Though still very raw, these questions were very much a part of my own scholarly

inspirations as back then, I felt that I had no convincing answers to my own queries. Additionally, I began to think that the best way to search for probable answers would be to go to the field myself. I wanted to learn from Social Anthropologists, how to 'get dirty'. Finally, motivated to maintain a comparative and trans-disciplinary approach to dwell on social movement imagination, I worked to seek admission in the University of Basel. There, Professor Till Förster, the head of Social Anthropology, who is also my first Supervisor, guided me to refine my proposal and saw me through my arguments and conceptions at each stage. I benefited equally from the expertise of my second Supervisor, Professor Madhulika Banerjee from the department of Political Science at the University of Delhi.

Based on an ethnographic, actor-oriented, comparative and trans-disciplinary this research pertains to social movements in India and South Africa. I borrow from a variety of literature across disciplines. I do so, in my endeavour to describe and interpret as closely as possible, the social movements' life world that I observed, rather glimpsed upon, in Rajasthan and Durban.

At the outset, I wish to state, that I remain indebted to all scholarly work and literature, theories, conceptions, terms and explanations which I have used, either to point out similarities with my own observations or distinguish them from previously existing comprehensions of the field. My intention is to detail my findings in an open manner. I propose no closed categories. Rather, I bring into discourse, probable terminologies and tentative interpretations. I would welcome further thematic interventions and suggestions on my work by interested experts and activists.

To return to the outlines of my current research, I would like to introduce the term, 'Micro Social Movements'. For the purpose of hermeneutical simplicity, and based upon my own findings from the field, I use the term 'Micro Social Movements' to define two cases of collective action from India and South Africa. Concretely stated, certain characteristics associated with their space and their scale; repertoires and numbers; contextual community based origins make them appear as being- 'micro', 'social' and 'movement'. Nonetheless, I wish to share a clarification with the reader at this stage: However micro they may be in their political implications and intents, their impacts create broad discursive spheres/spaces and changes as they move on.

Micro Social Movement contexts have the potential to act as, 'texts' for exploring ethnographically valuable contents and meanings of unpredictable, ongoing social transformations. Their ideas and practices not only cater to protest issues they face, but also relate to the contributions they inject into discursive domains that form

around them. Protest action as much as provision of dynamic solutions to felt problems invigorate this life world through a process of mutual feedback and positioning. Although micro in their operations, in their efforts to 'hang-on' in there and sustain themselves, they resemble collective social action modes that are termed as 'social movements'.

The micro-political 'texts' (explained in Chapter II) are parts of the social movement action and build up against poaching and hunting. Social movement texts are their visible manifestation juxtaposing hunting to rescue operations in the Indian example and, substance abuse to rehabilitation in the South Africa. Such a juxtaposition gives rise to layered discursive terrains and chains of meanings by virtue of collective social interventions on the issue. Aside from the 'criminality' or 'legality' that these issues signify, social movement projections impart to them certain kinds of discursivity, whereby philanthropic and competitive practices; strategic and collaborative posturing; spontaneous and formal agendas; linear and cyclical manifestations all become a part of micro social movement repertoires. In the following pages, it will become clear how they resemble collective social action modes replete with repertoires as 'social movements', in general seem to be.

Instead of defining all forms of social protest as social movements, Tilly uses a narrower definition. Conceptually, he argues that social movements share some elements with other forms of political contention such as coups, electoral campaigns, strikes, revolutions, and interest-group politics, but have their own distinct characteristics. Tilly (2004:53) argues that, "social movements combine a sustained, organized public effort making collective claims on target audiences: let us call it a campaign; Employment of combinations from among the following forms of political actions: creation of special purpose associations and coalitions, public meetings, solemn processions, vigils, rallies, demonstrations, petition drives, statements to and in public media, and pamphleteering; call the variable ensemble of performances the *social-movement repertoire*. And Participants' concerted public representations of worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment (WUNC), on the part of themselves and/or their constituencies: call them WUNC displays".

More specifically stated, the nature of their argumentative politics along with the issues that these Micro Social Movements (henceforth, MSMs) pick up, wr.r.t India and South Africa, would put them close to the phenomenon of New Social Movements (or NSMs). However, my argument is that Micro Social Movements (MSMs) are not entirely subsumable under the term, 'New Social Movements',

unless off course, we expand the term to include 'Newer Social Movements' of which MSMs analysed here, are one kind.

Besides terminological proposition of considering MSMs as newer social movements, one main analytical focus of my research/ findings was to understand how issue-based grassroots movements¹ evolve from and create discursive imaginations around, primarily, a locally embedded problematic. Secondly, how do the processes ensconced in grassroots social mobilizations become reflective of transformative social movement imaginations? Usually, 'grassroots' as a term has become symbolic action that stems from peoples' thresholds, though it could be interpreted differently as well. In my work, I shall use the term grassroots or grassroots movements in reference specifically to a particular genre of social movements. These became visible and acquired political salience in the mid 1970's in India (Kothari: 1984; Sethi: 1984; Sheth, 1984a and 1984b) and in South Africa since the 1980s.

Ever since the 1970s, the grassroots movements and initiatives that have been active in India raise variety of issues. These, in their own perception, are—directly or indirectly—related to what they see as their long-term goal of contesting or censoring development politics, bringing on social welfare, democratizing participation, nation building and transforming the society (see, Sheth and de Sousa: 2006). There are numerous cases of the movement-groups articulating different elements of participatory social involvement in diverse modes and forms. Similarly, since the closing two decades of 20th Century, and as of today, there is no shortage of grassroots political action, which began to emerge in South Africa (Mayer: 2013).

With a new post-apartheid generation coming of age, protestors mobilize against all types of social inequality and injustice. One general legacy of the anti-apartheid era is a tendency to not shy away from demonstrations or organizations of protest. How much this fact translates into effective, widespread civil resistance, or whether such resistance becomes mobilized against encroaching militarism and other political and social problems, is another matter altogether. In other words, whichever form it takes, the evolution of these movements is an indicator of collective social action taken

¹ Current usage of the phrase 'grassroot' remains more or less the same for which it was coined in the US in the beginning of the 20th century. As early as in 1903 a Kansas political organizer was quoted as saying: "Roosevelt... clubs will be organized in every locality. We will begin at the grass roots." (Boom for Gen. Torrance," Salt Lake herald, September 25, 1903,6). Equally, known is Senator [of Indiana] Albert Beveridge's saying in 1912: "This party [Progressive Party] has come from the grass roots. It has grown from the soil of people's hard necessities." (Eigen's Political & Historical Quotations "Beveridge, Albert J.". 2006-05-20, For further details on grassroots movements and their relationship to the local, see, Foweraker: 2001).

up to counter various forms of social, economic and political prejudices, (For details see, Ballard, 2005:77-100).

In the context of my own case studies, I use the term (grassroots) descriptively for defining two, community based peoples' movements (one in Rajasthan and the other in Durban). These grassroots initiatives, which I term as, micro social movements, enrich the alternative public spheres of their countries at a micro level. Nonetheless, from time to time, they practice contentious or deliberative politics to dialogue with the macro public spheres of their respective states- though this particular feature however is not the be all and end all of the movements that I have observed.

Judging from their voluminous routines, everyday tasks, inter-personal collaborations, and negotiations, their grassroots work keeps them firmly pulled into the peoples' life-world or issues on ground. These 'movement – organizations' differentiate themselves sharply from purely welfare and philanthropic or purely political organizations or NGOs. They retain a mixed characteristic and multiple features- such as being grassroots initiatives, practicing participatory and peoples' politics, catering to social issues and prepared for voluntary activities without operating as entrenched (in the system) or imposing (top-down) NGOs.

Nevertheless, they resort to organized protest actions to gain a political visibility as much as they deliver micro relief measures or practices in tune with their remedial collective imaginations. In both the cases, the protest movement imagination becomes a template against which it is possible to examine the resistance politics behind the issues of poaching and substance abuse.

My central methodology being ethnographic, the study forwards some inductive ideas and concepts developed during fieldwork, in order to build on the main arguments. The fieldwork was conducted mainly among the Bishnoi community in western Rajasthan in India and the Indian South Africans based in KwaZulu Natal in South Africa. I spent a total of ten weeks each in both the locations and travelled twice to India and South Africa. Hence, I collected data in four rounds of research, each lasting five weeks. Most noteworthy for this research, is a fundamental observation that can come handy at this point: The participant actors from India and South Africa refer to their collective endeavor as 'movements' in their self-descriptions. This self-recognition also resonates in the view of many other actors who chose to support, observe or scrutinize them from outside.

Hence, locally, these groups are often already seen as engaging in movement like activities such as mobilization, campaigns, protest and welfare politics- even if their action forms remain less theorized or written about. The Bishnoi Tiger Force (BTF) or the Anti-Drug Forum (ADF) have not been extensively written about in academic debates as, 'social movements'. I endeavor to write through my research how these two serve the purpose of creating a movement politics on two important issues, (drugs and poaching) that affect the everyday lives and political imaginations of many communities locally.

By interpreting the movement action from its embedded emic perspectives, I hope to forward an understanding of, not the kind of state and political actors and laws or policies they oppose², but the discursive spheres that their anti-poaching or anti-substance abuse articulation builds around these entities. In this endeavor, I describe various communicative actions that these 'newer', social movements articulate unto the larger social organism. In other words, I describe how in countries as India and South Africa, alternative modes of collective action negotiate and construct public domains, both as contextual parts of a broader social whole as much as an organic whole in themselves.

Finally, to get a fuller picture of the ongoing collective action, I dwell on their practiced imaginations-before, after and beyond the public articulations of protest, *per se*. I suggest that just as in their assertive voice spheres (i.e., external discursive spheres), likewise in their subtler practice spheres (i.e, internal discursive spheres), collective protest actions can become an effective template, a method and a text in itself for understanding the intense (everyday) politics behind transformative social action.

1.2 Chapterisation:

Chapter I: In this introductory chapter, I argue, that viewing social movement imaginations as part of social movement practices helps extricate ethnographically useful socio-political knowledge. It also allows us to understand transformative processes and relations on ground that usher in movement politics around a newer

² Social movements or more specifically New Social Movements (NSMs) are opposed to state; opposed to the developmental paradigm; or opposed to both- the state as a practitioner of the developmental paradigms. NSMs are against traditional, formal politics. In the later sections of this Chapter, I describe how Micro Social Movements (MSMs) differ from NSMs (New Social Movements) in that they may neither be concerned directly in opposing the state or its development paradigms. They may rally around making the state more responsive to an entirely different set of issues, though retaining some interesting and essential similarities with the concept/practices of NSMs.

set of issues³. I propose the term, 'Micro Social Movements' or MSMs to capture the essence of small-scale movements around issues such as poaching and substance abuse. Giving a few similarities to as well as differences from New Social Movements (NSMs) that MSMs possess, I propose that for non-western contexts such as India and South Africa, we extend the term NSMs to speak of Newer Social Movements of the Global South. 'Newer Social Movements' is proposed as a covering term and I compare it to the theory of NSMs. Further, Micro Social Movements described in this work serve as one example of Newer Social Movements, which could also be of a macro kind elsewhere or in other contexts.

My argument (elaborated in later sections of this chapter) is that not all kinds of newer social action in Indian and South African contexts fits directly into the descriptions proposed by literature on NSMs in typical western or New Left contexts. One of my main research questions was to understand how social movement imagination interacts and intervenes in issues upheld or opposed by collective actors. In this chapter, I argue that social movements are reflective of being a collective social practice. Therefore, social movement imaginations are equivalent to imaginations rooted in and part of social practice itself.

Chapter II: So, the question arises, which kind of imagination did I come across by observing social movement politics and could one propose an inductive taxonomy around it? I elaborate on this aspect in Chapter II. Post- participation in and observation of the everyday practices of the MSMs, I was in a position to formulate the notion of two kinds of social movements (as, social practice) imaginations: the *philanthropic* and the *competitive*. These imaginations, practiced by micro social movements, form a part of the evolving changes on ground. I describe these two categories in this chapter on methodology as they form fundamental qualitative findings from my ethnographic data. For observing and analyzing the inter-play of people's inter-subjectivities, on the issues they mobilize for, I found the method of following the involved actor(s) in the field very useful. Interactions with actors at the everyday places and sites where social movement politics unfolds helped me enrich my qualitative data further.

The methodological approach to collect, organize and interpret data was done by using the EEA (Emic Evaluation Approach which I take up in details in Chapter II). Briefly stated, the emic evaluation approach allows us to include a multiplicity of actors and compare their viewpoints and practices against one another or with one

³ Explained in the succeeding parts of this chapter.

another through observation, conversation, interviews and immersion. It is an appropriate ethnographic technique for analysing social movements embedded in conflictual situations. I use the term, 'conflictual situations'- in its extended sense of meanings beyond a physical conflict (alone), i.e., my case studies do not present a violent conflict, per se. From the point of view of interactive social and relational perspectives (See, Gillespie and Cornish 2010: pp. 19), inter-subjectivity refers to agreement in the sense of having a shared definition of an object (e.g., Mori and Hayashi: 2006). Going beyond simple sharing, inter-subjectivity also means mutual awareness of agreement or disagreement as well as realisation of an understanding or misunderstanding (e.g., Laing, Phillipson and Lee: 1966).

The MSMs (Micro Social Movements) which I have studied entail such a conflict of ideas and practices wherein contested issues acquire different significance for differently positioned actors. The involved actors are aware of the tensions between understandings of one as juxtaposed to the notions of the others. Not content with developing an understanding of issues on board, the actors are prepared to carry the conflict of ideas and practices to logical solutions. It is this, which impart their actions a movement like status. In such a contentiously inter-subjective social movements context, the use of EEA as a data collection and analysis tool facilitated me in integrating the discursive positions of actors from the vantage point of their expressed acts as much as their narratives.

The approach also helped me to factor in the diverse social movement imageries, referential frames and other reflective processes unfolding through its multiple actors, practices, spaces and times. I take up a few of these elements, along with my methods, in a detailed way in Chapter II. By following the involved actors and conducting an analysis of the data in accordance with the EEA, I found that the movement world unfolds in spheres of multiple discursivities. As per my findings, social movement imaginations enrich and enliven at least two kinds of operational spheres, which I call the *internal* and the *external discursive spheres*⁴.

Chapter III and Chapter IV: These two chapters elucidate my case studies. While Chapter III introduces the discursivities related to the anti-poaching movement in India, Chapter IV discusses the same vis-à-vis the anti-substance abuse movement in South Africa. Additionally, Chapter IV retains a comparative focus. I analyse my data using a set of comparative notes and statements, where suitable.

⁴ The italicized terms have been elaborated along with vignettes in the Chapter II.

The proposition that social movement world thrives by building upon a two-fold discursivity through its social practice imaginations forms a fundamental part of my analysis on collective social transformations. I illustrate these layered discursive relations and practices that social movements form through my case studies in Chapter III and IV. I substantiate the various discursive spheres that a movement traverses (such as the internal and external discursive spheres) and the banal or special spaces/ times they entail (which I have mentioned in Chapter II) in details in both these chapters.

I present an ethnographically dense account of social movement engagements that entail a conflict of ideas, opinions, worldviews, referential frames as well as shared meanings, together, in an inter-subjective context. In this background, agreements and discords may both become significant of stalemates over some issues and successes over others. MSM contexts are replete with contentious debates over situations of crime and criminal behavior.

Both these chapters undertake a description of each case study, by situating it, firstly, in its own social movement emic and then embedding the findings in the broader contexts around them. Thus, my endeavor is to present the contextual discursivity formed by social movements against the light of a *social practice imagination*⁵ of multiple actors in the fray. In other words, by means of an ethnographic objectiveness, I attempt to juxtapose the ideas and practices of the social movement actors with those of non-social movement actors. The goal is to situate the movement in the broader spatial-temporal layers around it. A fuller relevance of collective social action becomes discernible when contrasted with the various layers of social practice imaginations that it triggers, mobilizes and influences.

Chapter V: I wind up this research by reiterating a comparative interpretation of my findings. In both the cases, we see how the protest politics uses its various kinds of imagination to construct discourses on participation and lifts collective action frames as citizens as much as communities. Interestingly, the hopes and ideas, visions and memories of participant actors arise from the very context that they aspire to change for the better.

Alternative publics are ready to engage with alternative socio-political issues in

⁵ A term that I expand upon and borrow from the way, Förster (Forthcoming) conceptualizes it, in a forthcoming publication.

alternative spaces opened up by the MSM politics because they herald a grassroots relief and solace. Composed of a fair opportunity for them to be heard, share socio-political critiques as well as challenge mainstream lapses, these spaces acquire a relatable ethnographic value for participants. By mobilising and practicing their discursive imaginations using alternative media (other than written) and resources among such publics and spaces, MSMs contribute to the making of 'Alternative Public Spheres'. In both India and South Africa, the protest politics claims a successful presence in the alternative public spheres therein. Interestingly, the hopes and ideas, visions and memories of participant actors arise from the very context that they aspire to change or challenge.

Dwelling on significant similarities and distinctiveness of the two movements as acts of symbolic interventions and ongoing, micro social transformations, I suggest further areas for research. Inquiry that is more academic is needed to understand the full expanse of the tasks undertaken by these collective self-help endeavours and their protest politics in India and South Africa. This study is a small contribution towards that end.

PART II: INDUCTIVE OBSERVATIONS AND TERMINOLOGIES: WHY 'MICRO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS'?

First, I bring into focus how the BTF and ADF have managed to propel an engaged discursive formation around poaching and substance abuse. They have done so by converting new or old symbolic collective sites, memories, identities and experiences into spaces that pursue the social movement issues and causes with a contemporary relevance. In other words, once the collective actors began to empower/challenge the various sides (pro/ anti) to the cause, transformations in the social spheres (that may have been inching along gradually or otherwise, in self-evident or non-self-evident ways) actually become clearly evident and visible. Of significant consideration is, therefore, the idea that putting a specific date, event or a linear interpretation (alone) to such a baggage of change may be very difficult as, primarily, there is no single change, there could be many.

Second, success of movements is judged in accordance with the depth of their 'public' presence and performances. However, as I see it, the discursive practices linked to social movement causes and effects, (such as, protest action unfolding on streets or in front of representative sites/buildings) may not always be very 'public',

especially in case of micro social movements pursuing sensitive issues. Rather, the moment of 'public' articulations and display of the micro social movement is reflective of being one among many previously manifest, ongoing or impending moments and changes. To have a group of people participating in planned demonstrations or spontaneous ones or the repetitiveness of such an action signifies that there may be changes/social transformations already ongoing and inherent in the practice of such collective social imaginations, (more on this in a later part of this chapter).

For a group to agree, plan and conceive political contestation, allocate responsibilities towards common goals, a collaboration of ideas and actions, usually, takes place hand in hand. Hence, changes traversed by social movements, as such, can be symbolic of various levels of evolutions and not just those visibly, 'manifest'. This holds true especially when movements are micro-social in character, made up of many inter-related social issues and carry on at the level of communities as their chief promoters and benefactors. Changes by the medium of a social movement's collectively practiced imagination, therefore, open a Pandora's Box, wherein the everyday practice of a changing imagination is a key to contemplating, executing, harnessing or experiencing collective transformations on ground.

Third, I suggest that the baggage of everyday change(s), that a micro social movement is a carrier of, becomes manifest in many kinds of linear or circular spaces and times (more in Chapter II), which may remain 'hidden' from the public sphere. But these, 'unseen' actions make a movement acquire a collective status and keep functioning as a collective action portal, even though, 'no-one' is observing them formally. Additionally, these moments hold ethnographically valuable information. I propose that discursive spheres around small-scale collective social actions thrive on 'connective' and 'communicative' moments (see chapter II). These communicative moments and spaces invoke peoples' hopes and translate into confidence among the community for a continual sharing of action and ideas.

Fourth, this brings me to my next observation, namely, that a movement routinely builds up and thrives in multi-layered social action spaces and times, revealing various kinds of imaginative action. Its imaginative actions unfold in layers of practices, which have a visible presence, as well as the ones that remain more discreet. Whether executing routine or special events, a social movement may constitute several terrains. Two such terrains that I discerned through fieldwork can

be denoted as the external and the external discursive spheres (elaborated in Chapter II and subsequent examples are included in Chapter III and IV). In these two realms, the social movement imagination unfolds and actors get influenced by their own compulsions as much as those of supporting or opposing actors. Hence, a micro social movement is not only a deliverer of a change or changes per se but also firmly entrenches such changes in peoples' transformative actions and habitual experiences towards each other.

Where a MSM or its display (such as protests on streets) occurs and continues, it already signifies that something on the ground has changed and that communities and /or structures or institutions may not be able to relate to each other in modes that they did previously to such collective social action manifestation/s. This transformative discursiveness, interspersed across multiple layers of MSMs, becomes noticeable through its practice of at least, two kinds of imagination- the philanthropic and the competitive. I propose therefore that a social movement is a complex terrain replete with layers of communicative, connective and associative imaginations in its various spaces and times (Chapter II).

Finally, w.r.t. the term of reference i.e. Micro Social Movement (MSMs), I would like to specify that insights and vocabularies provided by descriptions of NSMs literature, that has origins in the western experiences and its parallel/subsequent usages and echoes in other regional contexts (given below under, 'review of literature'), is partially useful. For describing my case studies, however, I find that the term 'new social movements', itself does not fully apply to describe the collective micro social and voluntary action that I have observed in Rajasthan and Durban.

I propose therefore, that we extend the implication of the term to include some newer kinds of social movements or simply put, 'newer social movements', that can be termed as 'micro-social movements'. My main arguments are listed below:

2.1: Features of Micro Social Movements in Contrast to NSMs

Scale of change and communicative networks: Although the NSMs are not concerned with broad, sweeping, macro changes at the systemic level, the issues that they pick up may be to reflect national, trans-national and even global appeal or ramifications. They may still dream of broad aims, such as, of a better world in macro contexts. However, unlike many such NSMs, the micro ones may not have

vast outreach policies or the need to interconnect with each other actively over transnational/global forums such as the WSF i.e. the World Social Forum (Earl and Schussman: 2003; King: 1997). In this sense, movements some of the NSMs may begin to mean more in as well as for a transnational context such as that connected by social media, rising in significance much beyond the boundary of actual places of location. Castells (1989), for instance, notes the importance of the Internet, which he sees as a society that transcends place, as an organizational tool. "While organizations are located in places, and their components are place-dependent, *the organizational logic is placeless*, being fundamentally dependent on the space of flows that characterizes information networks. The more organizations depend, ultimately, upon flows and networks, the less they are influenced by the social context associated with the places of their location" (169-170).

Although Castells refers to the global economy in the above mentioned work, it is quite possible to relate these features (networks and flows) to social movements that are waged on smaller scales and in general to many kinds of contemporary NSMs and social movement 'organisations', as Christine Petit (2004) has very adequately suggested. Likewise, the Zapatista Movement in Mexico (see, Rubin: 2002 and Alain: 2009) is a relevant example here. It included a creation of discursive dialogues on big issues such as new forms of democracy and an inventiveness regarding civil society—exemplified by the grassroots approach of the Zapatistas National Consulta, in which they asked people around the nation to comment and vote. At the same time, the use of social media as a communication tool by this NSM, was meant to also spread its reach and networks among a broader international audience. In contrast to such movements, Micro social movements associate with grassroots oriented tasks. They may remain inclined towards newer methodologies of expansion and outreach just as NSMs do. Unlike the NSMs, with respect to the publics that they cater to, Micro Social Movements connect to a smaller set of audiences over smaller scales of issues.

Insertion strategies and relationship with the 'political': Next, the strategic reach of NSMs is usually planned around a dialogic insertion into the mainstream public sphere more directly than the 'Micro Social Movements', (henceforth MSMs). New social movement actors who may also reject the political, despite the fact that they aspire more reach into it. NSMs undertake a consistent work to insert their issues in the realms of macro public opinion- even if the action itself is undertaken by non-

mainstream entities or the movements profess to embrace the social at the cost of the political. There are two central claims of the NSM theory. First, that the rise of the post-industrial economy is responsible for a new wave of social movement and second, that those movements are significantly different from previous social movements of the industrial economy. The primary difference is in their goals, as the new movements focus not on issues of materialistic qualities such as economic wellbeing, but on issues related to human rights (such as gay rights or pacifism). However the division into old or new (as I take up in a later section), does not signify that none of old type exist in the 'epoch' of the new type of social movements or vice-versa.

The trajectory of NSMs associated with Peace/ Anti-war, Gay, Feminist, Environmental /Green politics is a relevant example here. In many of contexts (esp. the first world), while it true that these movements represent marginalized social sections other than the proletariat or newer ideas (anti-war, environment) in the making, they become articulated in ways very different from the way NSMs in other parts of the world do. While the NSM actors of the richer countries can comfortably associate with post-material values and politics, those of the poorer countries can ill afford to do so, not just due to one but many inter-related reasons.

Therefore, MSMs (in countries as India and South Africa) such as those illustrated in the case studies here however do not reject the political to embrace the exclusive social. Even if they know that their insertion value in mainstream politics is lesser than other bigger movements as typical NSMs of the West, their aspirations from state and politics do not disappear. They remain yet to be fulfilled and hence, can seldom be given up. Whether it is the question of environment, women, indigenous or student protests, in some way or the other, under the auspices of a MSM action in countries such as India or South Africa, it is linked to resource sharing or policy implementation with reference to the state as one of the target actors.

Hence, I argue that political considerations are a predominant part of movement politics in poorer countries or in situations where disparities of income or credibility of status is still linked to (national or international), social- political oppressions or influences. Moreover, it is accepted that there could be movements that show features of both in different parts of the world or could be a mixture of material and post-material interests but still be waged as NSMs, (Pichardo: 1997 and Buecheler,

1995:441-64). MSMs such as the anti-poaching movement in India and the anti-Substance abuse movement in South Africa are significant of those newer social movements that pertain to non-western contexts and unlike the typical NSMs do not embrace the 'social' at the cost of the political.

Alternative Publics and Alternative Public Spheres: Finally, on the basis of my findings I suggest that micro social movements which are waged around newer kinds of issues, such as drugs and poaching, often erupt from alternative publics or go ahead to form alternative public spheres. Since this may also be true for other, bigger NSMs, hence, it can be said that this is one of the commonalities between them. The the essential difference is that majority of the actors involved in MSM protest action belong to the alternate publics themselves. Next, they show a lesser inclination (i.e., in accordance with my findings) to rub shoulders with big fish such as formal, top-down civil society organizations in the fray; or even, acquire such a status- something which may not entirely be applicable to the post- material NSMs publics in many richer countries. Instead, the MSMs go on to build alternative micro public spheres to stake a competitive claim on the macro 'political'.

Other fundamental differences that can be delineated between NSMs and MSMs are interesting to note: (i) MSM actors in both my case studies do not declare themselves to be 'New Left'. They remain 'contextually ideological' and organic. (ii) They do not embrace the idea of an autonomous social to become anti-state. Rather they compete for making the state itself more competitive and improving its performance (iii) Not only do MSMs reflect organic concerns of mixed social classes in search of improving their systems, their contexts cannot be referred as sufficiently post-material as in the case of typical NSMs of the west. Accordingly, MSM actors in India and South Africa, despite belonging to mixed economic strata, comprise of a majority of actors who are still engaged in resource distribution struggles with the state.

Since the MSMs are undertaken around newer issues which remain locally significant, emanating, as they do from marginalized public spheres, they do pertain to the broader category of NSMs. Keeping in the nuanced distinctness that MSMs have, I suggest these be considered as 'newer social movements'. The ones, I describe here are specific kinds of Newer Social Movements, viz., two instances of collective social action which manifest as MSMs in India and South Africa. Newer Social Movements can also be macro, such as the Right to Information Movement in

India and Right to know Campaign in South Africa. It is beyond the purview of this study to take these up for analysis. I focus on MSMs, which envisage themselves as stakeholders with respect to certain grassroots issues that receive inadequate attention from the state. Their discursivities resonate with occasional campaign-like, PR- oriented strategic politics, which, observers would say, resembles that of political parties, big NGOs or self-proclaimed, professionally networking civil society groups. However, there is a discernible vital difference between these three kinds of organizations and MSMs (so to say, as per my qualitative data and observations between 2012 and end of 2015):

MSMs, although perpetually evolving and branching out in search of new partnerships, remain loath to the genre of traditional power politics. Movement participants, cherishing their anonymity and independence in the way of grassroots welfare work, are almost fearful of, 'becoming/or transitioning into (either overtly or covertly) political parties or big NGOs kind of politics' (a thought echoed by actors in India and South Africa, randomly defining there, 'movement politics' for me). In the self-view of these micro social movements, there politics must remain different from and independent of bigger organizations or forums. Inevitably, as the activists opine, their movements want to remain distant to the assumptions or allegations that they imitate or emulate political parties or want to appease and impress them.

Tarrow and Offe (Offe, 1990; Doowon, 2006) suggest, a normal progression from movement to party politics, then it is to be expected that the vast majority of social movements, particularly the most influential and best organized ones, evolve into political parties. This should be especially the case in democratic systems where there are few legal restrictions and thus sufficient political openings which allow them to transition from SM to party. This reminds us of the ironical relationship between political parties and social movements. When they protest against or for causes that are dear to them, many social movements proclaim a certain distinctness and distance from the run-of- the-mill politics or political parties.

It is also correct that many parties have their roots in macro or micro social movements. For example, the recent materialisation of the Delhi based Aam Admi Party in India, has roots in a micro anti-corruption movement that expanded and quickly turned into a political party in 2013, on the promise of a people-oriented alternative politics. However, as experience in many countries proves and in

accordance with the bureaucratization thesis, not all parties can hold on their previous, revered social movement status, post organizational transition. The case of Aam Admi Party seems to be no exception, as of now. South African ANC that evolved from a macro social movement is another case in point. Both have had their highs and lows w.r.t performance and critiques.

However, the anti-poaching and the anti-substance abuse movements do not seem to be in the mood to become political parties at all. I forward this observation because the activists and chief articulators of these movements already had a somewhat 'weakening' relationship with active politics at the 'nodal points' (for more on the term see Laclau and Mofe: 1990) of their evolution as 'collective actors' of social movements. In Rajasthan, the Bishnoi Tiger Force (BTF) spokesperson explained to me how he had actually been a student youth leader affiliated to a prominent political party in the region in the 1990s. Similarly, the Anti-Drug Forum (ADF) activists/supporters informed me that many of their organizer participants including their most prominent face, were trained as community youth leaders or were erstwhile comrades in the ANC student cadres.

Therefore, we see that in both the cases, it was a steady disappointment in party politics, over the specific issues of poaching and substance abuse, respectively that crystalized their identity into a different direction. Becoming full-fledged social movements for them seemed a better option than suffering with unfulfilled expectation at the hand of state, or even anti-state politics. They preferred to become viable non-state actors delivering public good of their own account. MSM participants go at great lengths to point out this process of gaze on self and the others. Frequently I heard, both in Rajasthan and Durban, the following message in two different languages (Hindi and English, respectively), with more or less the same expression: "We are different from politicians. If we become like them or get trapped in bureaucratic processes, our movement would lose its cutting edge- i.e. the autonomy to reach to people directly or even bargain with the system".

Going by the sheer number of times and occasions that I have been told this by the actors, separately of each other during both my field visits in India and South Africa, it needs to be definitely factored in. Analyzing the movement world, its openness to transformative politics and penchant for innovation, away from rigid state/ counter-state positions, helps understand how grassroots social practices are made up of

collective worldviews that engage in an organically reflective sociality. Remaining independent of governmental processes is the prime idea. But being recognized as a valuable partner that can become an informed and experienced lending hand of the state (to revise or implement essential work on ground: See Chapter III and IV), if the need be is a parallel imagery of the movement activists. Therefore, I have retained this emic perspective as a valuable background for evaluating the two micro social movements in India and South Africa.

As a note of caution, it needs to be stated here that the relation between state and non-state actors over the course of social movement politics, definitely does not mean, as my case studies will show later on, that this self-gaze is frozen in time or content. Some things can always change contingently, perhaps, owing to disappointment with the system or a movement's own lack of desired visibility.

For example, an activist may decide to contest elections- as an independent candidate: this happened in Rajasthan in December 2013 on the eve of my second field trip, when RP Bhavad, leader of the BTF stood up as an Independent candidate in the local assembly elections. He explained to me that the political parties seldom come back to solve peoples' issues post elections- whether they win or they lose. He wanted to break this cycle of hope and despair over social movement issues, but he lost. Some of his companions, who were not too happy at his decision in the first place, then forwarded their interpretation to me, 'perhaps, people appreciate our non-power seeking agendas better, for they rejected our candidate as a prospective political leader'.

Similarly, the ADF moving into new, 'official' premises in Durban, when I was conducting a second round of fieldwork in January 2014, is another fitting example. Owing to aspirations for a better 'insertion' of their social agenda into power politics and to be able to deliver the movement promises practically for their audiences, a move towards gaining a bigger office space through government schemes was being internally debated since a few months by its chief coordinator, Sam Pillay. Finally, the proposal was found viable at both ends and the task accomplished. By the time I arrived for my second fieldwork, the ADF was in the process of shifting into a newer premises, (see Chapter III for details).

What these two dynamics of social movement politics indicate is that the windows of evolution are kept open in micro social movement environs. Just as by his decision to

contest elections or in his loss, Bhavad does not lose his movement audience, neither does Pillay by his change of office. Poaching and animal deaths continue to occur in western Rajasthan as low-key repetitive irritants. Substance abuse related apathies have not disappeared from the everyday social context of Durban either. Despite the changing dynamics of the movements, the vacuum they fill in with their concerned social action is received warmly. Consequently, the movement aspirations to wage a well-being politics with a difference remain equally strong.

I gather from my encounter with the MSM discourse that, if the idea is not to fall under the shadow of a statist imagination, the objective is also to not close out one's options. What cannot be achieved by maintaining a strict distance is promoted by bridging the gaps. Besides their agency, it also shows how MSM accumulate political confidence by working in the field and may come closer to traditional politics and political parties by will. I elaborate the previously mentioned characteristics of micro social movements in India and South Africa, in a later section, but first, a brief review of literature.

PART III: NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS (NSMS) AND 'NEWER SOCIAL MOVEMENTS' – REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND COMPARISON

3.1 New Social Movements (NSMs)- A Review of Literature: Since the 1970's, social movements have been analyzed and understood with a variety of frameworks such as those of change and continuity, higher and lower levels of mobilization and their changing character over time. (For instance in works of Isserman, 1987; Mc Adam; 1988; Meyer, 1993; Tarrow, 1998, 2005; Tilly 1995). Within these approaches there are two kinds of trends that can be demarcated:

First, the political process approaches that seek to explain broad cycles of movement emergence, growth and decline as well as tactical shifts that exploit political openings. So, forces such as state structure, vulnerability of political alliances to manipulation by challenges, support by elites, and availability of indigenous, tactical repertoires of movement actors (Gamson and Meyer 1996; McAdam 1982; Meyer 1993; Tarrow 1989, 1994; Tilly 1978, 1995) are seen as an important factor.

Second, organizational approaches tend to focus on explaining continuity of social movements. Building on resource mobilization theory and population ecology, they emphasize upon the characteristics of organizational structure, ideology and culture

that enable movements to mobilize resources (Mc Carthy and Zald 1997; Morris 1984) and preserve legitimacy in hostile environments (Edwards and Marullo 1995; Minkoff 1993) or sustain member's commitment through abeyance periods (Isserman 1987; Taylor 1989; Weigand 1994). These approaches⁶ enhance understanding and scientific vocabulary on processes of change, transition and mobilization techniques of the collective actors. These found special favor in the United States.

Aside from these, researchers from the Marxist tradition in Europe emphasize the opposition to structural conditions that lead to newer form of social protests. Theorists of New Social Movements (NSMs), therefore underline social, political and economic changes for the analysis of collective action. The NSM approach was social constructivist in emphasizing social changes in identity, lifestyle and culture. NSM scholars have also utilized identity as their core concept, with Melucci (1989) arguably being the most explicit. He suggested collective identities 'bridge[s] the gap between behavior and meaning, between "objective" conditions and "subjective" motives and orientation, between "structure" and "agency"'.

Alain Touraine (1974; 1981), in the 1970s and 1980s, was one of the first scholars to theorize the emergence of the 'new' environmentalist, peace and anti-nuclear, women's, gay liberation, minority rights, student and youth movements in Europe (Melucci 1989). Since then the list of new movements has grown to include struggles for human rights and democratization, the rights of indigenous peoples and the needs of the rural landless and urban slum dwellers in many other parts of the world too.

Thus, we see that the development of social movement activity in the prosperous times of the second half of the twentieth century led to different ways in which theorists in the US and Europe forwarded their analysis on it. While there was an emphasis in the US on structural aspects such as resources and political opportunities, answers were formulated in Europe in terms of new constituencies with new needs, values and aspirations arising from developing post-industrial societies, producing what were dubbed New Social Movements or NSMs.

This 'NSM approach' argued that processes of modernization created two groups of constituencies. The first were groups that had lagged behind due to marginalization

⁶ E.M. Martinez (ed.) (2011) has taken up a comprehensive discussion on contributions of each work with case studies in various kinds of collective action.

processes related to industrial modernization. The second were groups with a specific vulnerability resulting from modernization processes (Melucci, 1996: p.69). In particular, the post-war generation, whose material needs were satisfied, developed post-material values from which emerged the aforesaid new needs and aspirations as self-actualization and participation,(Inglehart:1977). This group came into conflict with the political and social system that was chiefly materialistic (Ellis and Kessel, 2009: pp. 1-16) in orientation, leaving the other questions of identity on the side.

Hence, the proliferation of causes and concepts dividing the social movements into categories such as old and new movements contextualized the varied realities around collective action and transformative politics in a more nuanced way. In terms of this conceptual grid, the old social movements were those concerned with old labour or working class struggles in terms of which class was the central social divide, category of analysis, principle of organization and political issue. The new movements, by contrast, rejected class as the master category and sought to achieve their goals outside of existing institutional channels and party political structures. The NSMs perspective, by focusing upon cultural motivations, attempted to connect the macro-social dimension with the micro-social aspect, observing both, macro social changes and the modification of everyday life (Melucci, 1992).

Alan Touraine (1988) claimed that the central focus of the studies on development of collective actions required a shift from structural to cultural aspects. According to Touraine (1988), emerging forms of society assert and demand new ways of thinking about social change – namely, to intervene in complex global networks and systems requires social action. One of the ways in which this becomes clear is when the collectively organized actors perform in the context of a social movement. Touraine called for a, 'return of the actor', and his work embodied a general transformation of the theoretical focus toward the symbolical, discursive and cultural aspects of the social movements.

The idea that globalization has altered the very nature of society is central to Touraine's (1988) work. From his perspective, society no longer exists in the manner and form that helped to define the field of sociological analysis. Consequently, Touraine argued for a new vision of sociology, grounded not so much in the concept of society as such, but instead, in the idea of social change amidst changing social action (Touraine, 2004, pp.717-725). This also indicates the pivotal reference to the

changes that took place in the modernization process heralding the emergence of new social actors. Of especial significance was the participation of the middle class in social protest that gave right to a specific kind of collective action -which not only fights for the distribution of resources, but also for the recognition of their identities and rights.

Some relevant examples are feminist and indigenous movements or, the ecological movements that emerged with the socio-economic development of industrialized countries and promoted a well-defined lifestyle. The rise of these movements brought on a demand for changes in the political agenda (Klandermans, Kreisi and Tarrow, eds, 1988; and Della Porta and Diani, eds. 1999). What I take from the NSM literature is its proposition of denser contextual descriptions of collective social action, rather than conceptualizing change as a pertaining to or proof of distant, universalizing, hegemonic meta-narratives.

However, as social scientists we know that theories and conceptions must continue to evolve and grow to become more relevant. Interestingly, the above stated approaches on NSMs –the American one generated from social psychology and the European from the structural analysis have been getting closer to each other. They have tended to converge on the constructive and cultural perspectives that emerged during the 1980's. Emergence of new forms of collective action in post-material, post-industrial contexts thus grew from and led to a newer focus on identities and culture.

In Southern countries, where the studies of collective action started with a predominantly structural focus (Eckstein, Susan, ed.: 2001), some researchers working on social movements since the past two decades, for instance Arturo Escobar and Sonia Álvarez (1992) have suggested newer ways of looking at such phenomenon. Arguing favorably for the inclusion of cultural politics in new social movement analysis, authors as Escobar and Alvarez (1992), take in processes of collective subjectivity to understand strategic practices by new social actors in their research model.

At the same time these authors give a political sense to everyday practices guided by alternative values and rules in order to have an influence on social change.

Santos (2006), writing about alternatives and the various kinds of crisis faced by the global left, suggests that new social movements as a concept, face various

challenges: But undeniably, they dwell on the contextual typicality of change, which can become all the more clearer if the emerging and developing 'citizen-consciousness and imagery, is explored alongside repertoires of contention. Inspired by this deepening contextual focus on NSMs, I find it particularly relevant to engage with newer methodological ways to understand how newer kinds of social movements operate in as well as unleash in a southern context. My findings indicate that alongside NSMs, there arise newer kinds of movements, which may relate only to a micro context and may not be entirely explicable by the new social movement approach.

The NSMs approach and theories have thus evolved and been critical to valuing changing social realities. This is illustrated by the proliferation of NSM literature in the countries of the South as well as the mitigation of differences between the European and the American approaches. To become more relevant to changing times and modes of social action witnessed by countries such as India and South Africa, it is time for NSMs theory to expand. Micro Social Movements that are analysed in this research point to the prevalence of newer modes of collective action which can be termed as the Newer Social Movements of the South as I argue below.

New Social Movements and the Newer Social Movements: A Comparison

Given the previously mentioned cultural turn, it is not surprising that these NSMs have received their share of criticism of being more conservative and reformist than 'older' class-based movements. New social movements (NSMs) are criticized for being concerned with questions of cultural recognition, difference and identity as rallying points for social action in ways that end up reproducing the fragmentation of popular struggles against global capital and its allies. However, movements that may fit in typical NSM narratives are present at fairly macro national, transnational and global contexts.

Micro Social Movements as Newer Social Movements: My findings indicate that alongside NSMs, there arise newer kinds of movements, which may relate only to a micro context and may not be entirely explicable by the new social movement approach. What I take from the NSM literature is, its proposition of denser contextual descriptions of collective social action, a return of the actor in contexts of social change, citizen –consciousness and imagery and the construction of discursive and symbolic meanings.

Added to this, Escobar and Alvarez's (1992) suggestions on everyday practices guided by alternative values and rules to construct social change holds a valuable resonance in the MSM politics of bringing to life alternative public spheres. Much work needs to be done on social movement imagination and social movement discursivities. With respect to citizen –consciousness and imagery, I dwell on movements as vehicles of social practice imaginations. I describe two kinds of imaginations, namely the philanthropic and the competitive. In terms of discursive constructions that social movements operationalise, my analysis of micro social movements forwards the notion of twin discursive spheres, i.e. the internal discursive sphere and the external discursive sphere.

MSMs are Not the New Left of India or South Africa: These 'micro movements' are present and going strong in various local contexts and channelise, what Sheth⁷ calls, a 'micro politics' into action. This necessitates a closer look to see if they offer relevant social political insights behind transforming collective action practices and imaginations. For the purpose of this study, I look at two newer kinds of social movements that depict a micro social character. NSMs that describe themselves or belong to the new left in Europe, America and other Asian, African and Latin American contexts, are new in terms of issues and repertoires of contention and ideological leanings. MSMs (as described in my case studies) do not pertain to the New Left. They qualify to be the 'newer social movements' in India and South Africa, especially owing to the issues that they mobilize in support of such as contestations to protest against crime but making the state more accountable.

MSMs focus on the Grassroots and not the Transnational: MSMs as the newer social movements could have certain but not all features attributed to NSMs. Owing to their micro specific focus and limited membership many such movements (Sheth: 1995; 2004), exhibit certain cultural and contextual dissimilarities to other forms of mobilizations. Besides, arising in distinctive non-western milieus, the challenges they face are different or at least more varied than just organizational. The struggles against political marginalization, poverty, injustice, structural inequalities, social

⁷ In India for instance, these movement organizations differentiate themselves sharply from the welfare (cooperatives, voluntary organizations) societies, philanthropic and such other non-political NGOs. Although there is no systematic survey, compilations made from different sources by researchers and guesstimates provided by observers in the field suggested a figure of about 30,000 micro-movement groups in the country in a study conducted as long as a decade ago- as quoted in, Sheth, D.L. 2004. 'Globalization and New Politics of Micro-Movements'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, January 3.

divisions, referential modes of framing the 'self' and the 'other', form a much different challenge in the MSM space and time. The newness of the issue and actors or the resultant forms of mobilization and execution of collective action imagination, could be similar to what prior NSMs could have taken up in other western contexts or non-western contexts. There the comparison ends. Unlike their transnational and global counterparts (i.e., the other kinds of NSMs), micro social movements focus more on local and regional networks and look at leadership not as *dirigente* (authoritative) but as *facilitante* (facilitative)⁸. They search for equal relationships and mutual dignity within collective action to resonate to the needs of local communities. In this quest order to protect local wellbeing and focus on solving everyday issues that people face, they do not contest, hinder or negate the NSMs.

MSMs do not rise from typical Post-Material Contexts: The micro social movements that I elaborate upon have valuable similarities in terms of their repertoires and group identities (such as solidarity, fraternity)-as the literature on NSMs delineates. Typically, MSM actors do not profess any single ideological orientation. They represent smaller numbers of participants who articulate on repetitively experienced problems (such as, though not always, incidents of crime) and felt needs at a community level. MSM actors, largely associate with one another, over and above-the poverty-prosperity divide, class politics or issues of resource sharing. However, this is not to deny that the problems such as opportunities or income disparities do not form a valid part of the overall concerns and challenges that they face w.r.t their relations with the state. Movement actors in India and South Africa have separate, structural and political expectations and aims that are not co-terminus with their actions against poaching or substance abuse. South African Indian activists discuss current political and economic challenges related to race as much as their Bishnois counterparts in India talk of caste, in a distinct context yet in similar terms.

Meaning thereby, that, unlike the NSMs, which can arise out of purely post-material issues, the MSM actors may not be entirely or comfortably immersed in a post-material status. Although, ironically, the issue that provokes their contentious politics

⁸ In their work, *New social Movements, Political Culture and Democracy : Brazil and Argentina*, (Kellogg Institute, HKIIS, working paper 33, 1984) Sott Mainwaring and Eduardo Viola use this description and distinction between 5 kinds of NSMs and the older SMs in Brazil and Argentina. Since I found a similar leadership proposition in the micro social movements that I have so far observed in India and South Africa, this definition appears useful to me.

may very well be reflective of post-material (w.r.t temporality of its occurrence) values and concerns. So despite similarities in modes and techniques or even a similarity of issues behind collective action, MSMs remain distinct from the very typical NSMs of the west. Raising protest against the politics of poaching or substance abuse for instance, does not indicate that in India and South Africa, the actors who do so, have no other struggles/ challenges in the realms of their socio-political existence. Hence, this clearly distinguishes the Indian and South African MSM context from the usual post-material conceptualizations associated with NSM action.

In fact, the MSM protest action demonstrates how many other issues simultaneously co-relate with each other. This is amply evidenced in the way that the MSM actors wage their struggle⁹: By protesting against discrimination in registration of cases at police stations (in India: see Chapter III), or the administrative obsession of numbers –i.e. quantity over quality or arrests (in South Africa: see Chapter IV) the MSMs reveal how their struggles stem from marginalized contexts. By raising voice against prevalence of crimes that affect their everyday life as communities, MSMs also indicate how prejudiced/partisan the meanings of the rule of law can become in unequal and discriminatory contexts.

They also call for better infrastructural provisions and policy changes over issues that they contest. Together these two sides of action- i.e., transformative politics as well as protest orientation, shape the movement imaginations against poaching in India and anti- substance abuse in Durban. On the face of it, the MSM actors seem to have noticed very small issues that hold no immediate appeal in the national public spheres. Nevertheless, in reality, these movements are a hard-hitting statement on unanswered social issues writ large in the functioning of the Indian and the South African state.

Hence, seeing MSMs as Newer Social Movements is not to deny that the problems such as lack of opportunities or income disparities do not form a valid part of the overall concerns and challenges that they or others face. In addition, Newer Social Movements in India and Africa can also be of a macro character. The Right to Information Movement in India and the Right to Know Campaign in South Africa are two newer social movements macro in character. Whether waged as micro or as macro, the Newer Social Movements in India and South Africa constitute of marginalised participant struggling to make the system transparent and ethical.

⁹ For detailed examples from fieldwork, see Chapter III and IV.

Newer Social Movement actors in India and South Africa have separate, structural and political expectations and aims that are not co-terminus with their actions against poaching or substance abuse. South African Indian activists discuss current political and economic challenges related to race as much as their Bishnoi counterparts in India talk of caste. The issues that provoke the MSMs may very well be reflective of post-material (w.r.t temporality of its occurrence) values and concerns elsewhere in Europe or America or similar contexts. Unlike the participants of NSMs, the MSM actors may not be immersed in a post-material status. In fact, the MSM protest actions demonstrate how other issues are simultaneously part of their struggles. This is amply evidenced in the way that the MSM actor do not have an easy reach to or equity in the 'political'.

MSMs get traction more readily in the alternative public sphere: It is interesting to note that MSMs, going by the characteristic issues and struggles they deal with, are aware of their lesser insertion potential at a macro level. Ironically, however, they carry forth with their agendas convincingly in the micro levels and are felicitated by periodic successes and praises. This is quite in contrast to the NSMs which readily navigate the national public sphere and enjoy audience therein. Therefore participants of Newer Social Movements (such as MSMs against poaching and substance abuse) of India and South Africa, face a difficult insertion in macro politics of the country as compared to the NSMs elsewhere in the world as well as their own countries.

The question therefore arises, why do the MSMs, unlike the bigger NSMs do not find space in the macro public sphere? Is public sphere a homogenous entity or does it entail a mini replication of the dynamics of power relations of the societies and polities? At some point, therefore this discrepancy becomes indicative of the relationship between social movements and the public sphere(s) in India and South Africa. In the debate on social movement action and its manifestation potential in the public domain, it is essential, therefore, to examine their mutual relationship closely.

Public Sphere¹⁰ as a term, per se, was not used by any of the participant actors in my

¹⁰As elaborated by Habermas and later, by Nancy Fraser. In a later section of this Chapter I take up this debate vis-à-vis my own findings. I will explain how the notion of crisis in social movement discourses on ground and the actors' efforts to create a politics of problem solving as well as insertion tactics, may extend the boundaries of non-responsive public spheres by creating alternative issue based public domains.

case studies directly. Nonetheless, their methods that promote visibility (marches, sit-ins, demonstrations, media consciousness in the public domain) and the innuendo of their motivated self-descriptions around these transformative practices reveal a discursive text which points to a common public space. A common public space for the actors signifies a communicative sphere inside which they imagine and plan their insertion. This space is symbolic of their desire to become visible and heard as free equals. The idea of a commonly imagined, lucratively communicative but distant public space, external to the movement emerges so dominantly in their oratory that I found this term as a useful reference point.

Without naming it or projecting it as an ideal, theoretical notion as such, the actors plan their external trajectory around such a space or in other words the public sphere. They refer to that 'somewhere' where they must go and make a point or they speak of it as that 'something' which they are keen to address and stage their social movement 'performances' in. MSM participants, very much take cognizance of processes through which an active public opinion can be build up. By practicing competitive politics such as protest marches, narrative projection through planned speeches and talks, placard demonstrations they consciously enter this external public realm of visibility. However before, after and even through these periodic/episodic manifestations (of a visibly competitive form of politics), the daily existence of collective social action goes on in its internal discursive realm in a different way. Its daily inner core of activities unfold in the shape of connective, network expanding or voluntary and philanthropic gestures.

Hence, two questions arise: a) what is the relationship between the public sphere and new social movements in non-western contexts and, b) To what extent do the Micro Social Movements (MSMs)¹¹ in India and South Africa relate to the notion of New Social Movements (NSMs), per se? Attempting to answer these questions, I bring in the concept of a multi-layered discursive space that the MSMs construct around them. Unfolding as a critical link between public sphere and the social movements, these discursive spaces function to mobilize collective action groups represented by the social movement publics on the one hand. On the other hand, these spaces project competitive positioning of the social movement publics.

¹¹ For a further discussion on meanings of micro movements and micro political action in India, see, Sethi (1984:305-316) and Sheth, D.L. (1984). For more on newer forms of collective action in South Africa see, Robins (2008: pp 4-6).

This social movement discursiveness composed of both, internal and external discursive spheres, helps us to understand how MSMs continue to mobilize themselves as counter publics (Fraser, 1990)¹². Emerging from and receding to their alternative public spheres in inter-related cycles of (collective) social action- social protest the MSMs show preparedness to hold forth in and invoke local debates on the issue. Moreover, in a bid to validate the organization of collective voice, MSMs show how their practices symbolize the culmination of two kinds of imaginative actions- the competitive and the philanthropic (see, Chapter II for an elaborate version of this argument).

This social practice imagination helps us to understand how NSMs in the non-western world may arise over similar issues, yet given the plurality of identities alongside multiple representational disparities, they may differ in methods, moves and motives. The political systems of India and South Africa, which are based on differences, and assigning differential system of rights and obligations of citizenship, provide the legitimacy for the creation of multiple public spheres. Differential treatment to different groups creates differential identity, affiliations and vibrant mobilizations in both the countries.

Yet the presence of these diverse, small collective action groups is not continually visible in the dominant public sphere- which may submerge or push peoples' discourses to their respective comfort zones. It is in this context that I analyse in Chapter II, the symbolic discursive spaces constituted by social movement actors. Here the actors remain operational in various capacities to plan, share, collect and embark upon their social imagery and practices, even though they may appear to be silent in the mainstream public sphere.

I elaborate separately (see Chapter II) how vital information on contemporary movements can be gained. Following periods and moments of 'silence' before, after and beyond visible acts of collective mobilization or manifestation of protest repertoires throws light on an information gap. If protest actions are followed only in moments wherein MSMs demonstrate their repertoires of resistance, vital ethnographic information of MSM everyday work remains outside the purview of analysis.

¹² For a fuller discussion on features of alternate public spheres, see, Fraser,(1990). On the basis of the qualitative data from the field, I analyse how such an alternative space can come into being through discursive articulations of two issue based MSMs.

PART IV: CONCEPTUALIZATIONS ON NSMs IN INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ENMESHED EMIC OF MICRO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In this section, I undertake a brief look at the arrival and conceptualizations on NSMs in India and South Africa. Since the conceptual taxonomy on NSMs, contains the problematic of viewing movements as 'old' or 'new', I would like to draw attention to the fact that given the diversities of experiences in social mobilizations in India and South Africa, 'new' itself may connote multiplicity of meanings. 'New' may not be limited to a pre-defined or statically understood 'new' of social movements. While the issues may be new such as poaching and substance abuse for instance, the contexts from wherein these contentious categories arise may very well be old.

Similarly, while the repertoires of actions may signify newer processes in public domains of both the countries, the actors themselves may come from mixed background. Therefore even in the 'new' of NSMs of India and South Africa, a chunk of participants may be experienced members or social inheritors of 'old' social movements, whether religious or political, (see Chapter III or IV for more details on community origins and memory systems). My arguments therefore is that, Micro Social Movements of India and South Africa represent the 'new' of NSMs in fairly indigenous ways, significantly bound to a very contextual local. In this light, we would need to understand, how conceptions on NSMs in India and South Africa are relevant for this study, as I discuss below:

4.1 Debates in India

In the Indian and South African contexts, like elsewhere, the term, new social movements, strictly in a temporal sense, refers to movements that emerged from the late 1960s onwards. Attempts to draw fine lines between old and new in social movement research is arguably, as its critics assert (Nilsen, 2007), a complex endeavour as in most cases the supposedly 'old' is present in the 'new' and the supposedly 'new' is present in the 'old' - whether it pertains to groups, issues, strategies, or ideologies (see for example Calhoun, 1993). Certainly, Shah's (1988) overview of grassroots mobilisations in India brings out the deep historical lineage of most of the movements that authors such as Omvedt, Vanaik and Basu designate as 'new'. Forest dwellers' struggles, for example, go back to the colonial era when the British introduced forest legislation. Meaning thereby that a movement such as Chipko had deep historical antecedents, (see Rangan 2000; Shah 1990 and 2002; and Rao 2000).

The eruption of the Naxalite revolt in West Bengal in 1967 sounded the death knell of, what has been called the, 'subaltern acquiescence'. It marked the onset of a decade in which India - much like the rest of the world in the aftermath of the global uprising of 1968 (see Watts, 2001) witnessed the emergence of new social movements that subjected the exclusionary and exploitative dimensions of state-led capitalist development to substantial critique (Vanaik, 1990; Omvedt, 1993; Kamat, 2002; Ray and Katzenstein, 2005). During the early 1970s in India, there occurred 'a substantial radicalization of youth outside the circles of the traditional left' (Vanaik, 1990: 195), which in turn resulted in the organisation of groups and mobilisation around issues that had been neglected by the mainstream left.

Significant movements of the 1970s, to name a few were as follows: Chipko movement which championed the livelihoods of forest-dwelling communities in Uttarkhand (Guha,1989; Basu, 1987). The Kerala Fishworkers' Forum, which organized poor fisher folk in Kerala against the depredations, wrought on their livelihoods by mechanised trawling (Basu, 1987; Shah, 1988). Shramik Sangathana organised Bhil adivasis in Maharashtra around issues of agricultural wages, land control and forest rights (Basu, 1987; Shah, 1988; Upadhyaya, 1980 and 2000).

Moreover, the 1970s witnessed the mushrooming of various social action groups – a phenomenon that Kamat (2002: 10) refers to as 'the new grassroots movement' - which came to identify the dominant conception or ideology of development as the root cause of persistent poverty and increasing inequalities in Indian society. These groups particularly flourished in the wake of the Emergency. During this time in the mid- and late 1970's, the Janata government encouraged 'voluntary work and the formation of voluntary organizations in the countryside (p.12). From the middle of the 1980s, India's NSMs increasingly came to be involved in a search for perspectives and agendas that could serve as a unifying platform for the diverse struggles that had emerged during the previous one and a half decades.

For some movements, such as the Kerala Fishworkers' Forum and the Shetkari Sangathana, this revolved around addressing gender relations and feminist politics. For others, such as the Chattisgarh Mukti Morcha, it revolved around developing a red-green politics - that is, a worker-peasant alliance around the politics of social justice and environmental sustainability (Omvedt, 1993: 230-36). 1989 signified the high point of NSMs in India, when the coalition government was formed at the centre

with mandate for change and the backing of social movements. But mired in the controversies surrounding its affirmative action, rising communal protests and economic crisis, the government was not destined to last beyond its tumultuous first year.

According to some commentators, for example Basu (1987), Vanaik (1990) and Omvedt (1993), the failure of India's NSMs to advance their agenda decisively in the late 1980s and early 1990s puts the stamp of defeat upon these movements. Yet despite this glum analysis, movement struggles are still vigorous in India: indeed, as neo-liberal restructuring picks up momentum, so too does popular mobilisation. Most recently, this has been evidenced in the upshot of significant movements and networks of resistance to the introduction of Special Economic Zones in India. Surely, there is due reason for scholars to focus their gaze on the characteristics and dynamics of the movements of subaltern social groups as India enters the 21st century (Nilsen, 2005: p.7).

Alongside the typical NSM struggles, there has been the emergence of numerous micro-social movement- politics that epitomizes people's participation in day-to-day issues such as felt crisis.

Here, my concern is not to steer the debate on which kind of movement performs more valid social, political tasks. My disquiet is to bring in the discourses of micro politics, that is waged through everyday activities of Micro Social Movements(MSMs) such as those depicted by the Bishnoi Tiger Force since 1998 into the analysis of NSMs.

The NSMs and their relation to state and development paradigms is a burgeoning debate in India since the past two decades and the half. For some time now, it has been fashionable among critics from the quarters of post-structuralism and post-colonialism to posit India's NSMs as the bearers of an authentic and insurrectionary otherness that is mobilised in opposition and from a position of exteriority to the modern development project. These perspectives typically draw on Escobar's (1995: 13) argument that 'development' is a discourse which relies 'exclusively on one knowledge system, namely, the modern Western one and thus dictates 'the marginalization and disqualification of non-Western knowledge systems'. Further, that social movements in the global South do not articulate 'development alternatives' so much as 'alternatives to development, that is, the rejection of the entire paradigm

altogether' (ibid.: 215)4.

For instance, in his analysis of NSMs in India, Parajuli (1991: 182) argues that the political significance of these struggles is that they challenge the notion of the integrationist and developmental Indian state'. They do this by opposing a 'counter-discourse' of '[situated] knowledge that is locatable in time and space, embodied in struggle and participatory process' to the 'unmarked, disembodied, unmediated, transcendent knowledge' of the developmental state (Parajuli 1991: 186, 185).

But to return to my argument, my work talks of movements of the NSMs kind that do not emanate to refute teleological and statist or developmental paradigms. There could be micro- movements and voices, as my case studies illustrate in a comparative light, that are concerned with issues even separate from locating developmental paradigms and so on, as their reference points. I locate such MSMs as those emanating from the Bishnoi thresholds in Western Rajasthan as thriving in a fuzzy, enmeshed emic and grey interactive zones between state and non-state actors. So is true for the anti-substance abuse movement of the Indian South Africans in Durban, as I point out below.

4.2 Debates in South Africa

Some of the most influential analysis of post-liberation mobilisation and opposition in Africa, analyses Ballard (2005), is pessimistic. Fanon points out that former liberation 'militants disappear into the crowd and take the empty title of citizen' (Fanon 1967: 137). Mamdani cautions of the postcolonial 'marriage between technicism and nationalism' resulting in the de-mobilisation of social movements (Mamdani 1996: 21).

For Mbembe, political opposition in a postcolonial context is different to opposition in a colonial context as a result of the local origins of the postcolonial elite. Whereas either resistance or cooperation against an external oppressor characterizes colonial relations, postcolonial relations are convivial because of the familiarity between the population and now local elite (Mbembe 2001: 104). Mbembe describes the outcome as a mutual 'zombification' in which the dominant and dominated are left impotent.

Yet despite certain pessimistic aspects of Mbembe' predictions holding true (Ballard, 2005), South Africans for instance, have not been reduced to passive recipients of the post-apartheid order. A large swathe of activism in South Africa is orientated

against government policy on consumption issues. Community movements oppose the state's failure to provide affordable services (Bond 2004, Buhlungu 2004, Desai 2003, Dwyer 2004, Egan and Wafer 2004, Pape and McDonald 2002). Privatisation and cost recovery are key components of this problem. They also oppose evictions and attempt to secure land tenure (Greenberg 2004, Oldfield and Stokke 2004). The state has been opposed on its HIV/AIDS policies and, in particular, its reluctance to provide antiretroviral treatment (Friedman & Mottiar 2004).

Among the newer movements in South Africa, at first glance (Ballard: 2006), many movements appear to be concerned with particular issues such as cut-offs, evictions and privatisation (McKinley & Naidoo 2004: 11). However, single-issue causes can also become vehicles for achieving broader ideological objectives (Flacks 2004, in Egan & Wafer 2004). Many radical activists and academics define their progressiveness in terms of the promotion of a socialist alternative and, in this sense, construct their counter hegemonic project as an anti-capitalist one.

Ngwane argues unambiguously that '[s]ocial movements ... have to fight the state, destroy it and replace it with a workers' state' (Ngwane 2003: 32). Particular campaigns around electricity or other narrow issues thus are taken to be a means to an end. The scale of focus is broadened from a particular issue to the state's economic path. The role of movement leaderships and intellectuals is crucial in imbuing a generalized impulse to mobilise and take action with a 'sense of strategic and political purpose' (Barchiesi 2004: 5; also see Mngxitama 2004). Such intellectuals identify their ideology through markers such as: anti neo-liberalism, anti-capitalism, anti-GEAR, anti-globalisation, anti-marketism¹³.

Ngwane differentiates between 'good' and 'bad' social movements (Ngwane 2003: 32). Further, Trevor Ngwane (as cited in Mottiar and Bond, 2011: pp.3-4) has also identified three distinct phases of the 'protest movement' in the post apartheid era. The first phase occurred in the mid- and late-1990s and was related to discontent over municipal services, housing and the lack of infrastructure, such as by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The second phase of protest

¹³ A number of such voices gather in the Social Movements Indaba, which was convened in response to the World Summit for Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002, and continues to meet periodically. These are movements such as the Anti-Privatisation Forum, Anti-Eviction Campaign, the Landless Peoples Movement, Concerned Citizens Forum, Jubilee South Africa, Environmental Justice Networking Forum, Rural Development Services Network, and others (Cock 2003: 20). One delegate at the Social Movements Indaba meeting of 2004 referred to their collective as the 'socialist movements'. There is a sense within the Social Movements Indaba that they constitute the 'real' social movements of the country in contrast to more collaborationist and reformist organisations.

took hold in the early 2000s and is linked with the rise of the new social movements such as the Anti-Privatization Forum (APF), the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC) and the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC).

An original site of the new urban movements was Durban's Chatsworth township, where the Concerned Citizens Forum (CCF) began pioneering a new class politics (Desai, 2002a; 2000b), consisting of the poor and marginalized to contest and engage the state. The third phase of protest refers to current protest actions, which according to Ngwane (2010), include local community uprisings and militant national strikes but which do not exhibit sustained ideological tendencies of either the 1990s Mass Democratic Movement or the 2000s new social movements.

Active since 2005, the Anti-Drug forum of Durban, on which my case study is based, forms, in my view one of these, mutual aid groupings-and movement. It is one of those struggles that retains its newness even if it does not seek 'rupture'¹⁴ or bring on a socialist (such as the New Left w.r.t the theory and perception on NSMs, would hold) alternative. While some activists involved may be mindful of, and even sympathetic to, these objectives, their primary focus is a local or issue specific struggle. Drawing on Castells' notion of 'militant metropolitan dwellers', Desai points to movements that 'concentrate on fighting in their own locality and are often animated by the immediacy of their situation' (Desai 2003). They do this 'without any grand ideology' (Desai 2003).

Desai speaks of movements where the poor and other commons defend the little that they have (Desai in Wren Spaulding 2003). They do not address anti-IMF or World Bank struggles, or anti-state politics directly. These movements do not disagree with international bodies necessarily, but refer to their local and immediate scale. These are hence, the new social movements of South Africa. However, they have a certain indigenous flavor of their own as many operate as service delivery movements, making active demands on the state.

What does the Anti-Drug Forum (ADF) indicate by its micro politics? This anti-substance abuse micro politics begs another look at previous categorisations. Its

¹⁴ Bond distinguishes between the desire for participation and the breaking of the social system or its rupture (Bond 2004: 10).

actors do not only make competitive claims on the state they also render philanthropic duties in community spaces, whilst suggesting ways out to reduce crime. These then constitute the Micro Social Movements of the newer kind, as I have explained earlier. It is relevant to note that Bond distinguishes between organisations that emerge in the implementation of formal social policies (such as welfare agencies or implementation-oriented NGOs) or the reproduction of daily life (mutual aid groupings) – and *movements*. The latter are both protest-oriented and utopian, in the sense of attempting to construct the community of a future society in the decay of the old, (Bond 2004: 9-10).

Through this study, I certainly do not question the utility of the whole NSM approach to conceptually divide the old from the new kinds of movements. There are, indeed, specific forms of collective action, which were ‘new’ in many aspects when they arose. These, which are generally recognized to have become present dominantly post-1960s (onward)¹⁵, captured the imagination of newer and older actors alike in many parts of the world. The terminologies and descriptions used to construct the phenomena of new social movements in scholarly debates and popular conceptions, is certainly relevant for grasping various aspects of micro-social movements.

NSMs as a concept is not exhaustive of all kinds of newer mobilizations and neither is it anywhere conceived as a closed category. It is also not a closed category because newer forms of collective action can rise anywhere to challenge the limits of perception and analysis. Hence, my proposition is that, we update the concept and extend the meaning of NSMs to include, relatively recent newer forms of micro social action such evident in the articulations of - the Bishnoi Tiger Force in India and the Anti- Drug Forum in South Africa. A fundamental question to ask here would be, why do people feel encouraged to become parts of these newer, micro social movements? I attempt to answer this in light of an essential ethnographic finding elaborated below:

¹⁵ The date could vary according to every countries own historical trajectories and examples. This study cannot hope to speak for all kinds of examples or contexts, even in its widest arguments. Neither is it my intention, here, to present a teleological cut-off date or an opening and closing deadline of the movement entrants to the ‘category of NSMs’; Nor do I use the term to define what started happening in one part of the world in accordance with its precedents or successors in other parts of the world. The concept is used instead, as a heuristic tool to understand certain kinds of movements.

4.3 Peoples' Participation, MSMs and Melting Discursivities in India and South Africa

Upon the completion of my fieldwork in India and South Africa, some significant similarities across the two social movement contexts that I had observed helped me arrive at the term, 'Micro Social Movement'.

The similarities that I cite below can serve as adequate grounds to expand the conception of New Social movements (NSMs) by adding the idea of, 'newer' social movements to it. MSMs in India and South Africa are grassroots action pertaining to the genre of NSMs, yet a closer look at the MSMs reveals how they retain certain particularities of their own. They are perhaps persuasive contenders of why it is time to expand the concept of NSMs to Newer Social Movements to include in it, community based, small scale, organic forms collective social action.

To return to a description of commonalities between the two social movements (which I call, MSMs, as noted above):

- Firstly, the movements pick up immensely context related repetitive issues and wage a small-scale micro-politics around them. By describing themselves as 'anti-poaching' in (Western Rajasthan) in India and 'anti-substance abuse in Durban (South Africa), the involved actors have projected an organized position of protest against status quo (poaching/substance abuse). At the same time by articulating everyday ideas and practices around the issues, they have situated themselves as a collective force not only arising out of shared imaginations and worldviews but building upon them in their changing and evolving contexts.
- Secondly, these create layers of complex, interactive and discursive spaces at micro everyday levels (see, Chapter II on Methodology). The issues raised are small and practiced or picked up by those who are either directly involved or those who, 'feel'¹⁶ directly concerned. Bishnois, of western Rajasthan, for instance, are an ecology conscious sect, a minority within

¹⁶ MSMs represent a climate of intense social scrutiny and gaze (towards the 'self' as much as the 'other', in search of solutions to everyday crisis on collectively experienced issues. (Elaborated in Chapter III and IV in detail)

India, but a discernible numerous entity in certain western regions of Rajasthan. Many of them now 'feel' involved in the in the debates on poaching. Indian South Africans (ISAs) in Durban are once again a minority in the overall context, but again like the Bishnois in western Rajasthan, the ISAs in Durban constitute a striking presence. They make for a prominent 'visual' given in Durban and areas around it. As coming together and meeting each other is an everyday common occurrence, many ISAs in Durban cast a self-gaze at their needs and are inspired to participate in the anti-substance abuse movement,

- Thirdly, in the making and unmaking of the old and new spaces around the emergent and evolving issues, it is the micro-politics of the Bishnoi social movements as well as the anti-substance movements of the ISAs which plays a fundamental role. Through its entire range of discourse, the micro social movement politics has the potential of creating newer discursive spheres. Performative actions, oral narratives, imaginations, articulations and strategic interventions in the local context are parts of its discourse. In this way, the MSMs creating newer links between two kinds of public sphere, mainstream public spheres as well as those constituted of alternative publics in countries such as India and South Africa.
- Further, issues, articulations and space aside, (as discussed in the above three points), the two movements are similar another font: The defining identity of the participants, members, spectator actors) is not a common self- description alone. The Bishnoi movement is acknowledged by and often engages many non-Bishnoi actors, such as, officials from police, forest and conservation departments, as well as other communities like Rajputs, Bhils, and Ban Bawris who remain either sympathetic or apathetic to the cause (see, Chapter III). This micro politics is reflective of an emerging and evolving discursive formation between communities, structures and institutions. With respect to the anti-substance abuse movement of Indian South Africans in Durban, one witnesses a similar process. The debates and the practices prompted by the protest actors bind the local bureaucracy, municipal and state representatives (who may or may not be Indians by

origins) as well as others from within the community in various kinds of discursive spheres and spaces (see Chapter IV). The movement brings into dialogue actors from various backgrounds, spaces and religious identities (Hindus, Muslims and Christians); social networks sites such as schools, hospitals, courts, social workers, specialists, proponents as well as models different from the Anti- Drug Forum's methods and aims.

- Next, the actors remain enthusiastically attached to the idea of the state that they engagingly hold on and 'pertain' to while at the same time becoming, ironically, its competitors in performing public good. The micro social movement activist told me often that they consider themselves as fundamental stakeholders to the idea of a 'functional' state. Gaining access to its central politics is for them less important than their imagery that their role in solving local crisis is taken note of (See also, introductory notes on ISAs in Chapter IV). The motive is to 'let' state remain conscious of the multiple voices that constitute it. Even if that means remaining strong, in the peripheries and margins of political life. Their daily range of success is utilized to illustrate with confidence how the limit of collective action can be pushed upfront for the state take due notice.
- In doing so their positioning is demonstrative of how peripheral contexts of crisis, may or may not go on to occupy coveted positions in elite public spheres cannot be subsumed as peripheral contexts of identity and action. Poaching and Substance abuse are peripheral issues for elite public spheres of India and South Africa, yet from within the social movement context in which they matter, these issues occupy a 24/7 sense of concern.
- Additionally, an important similarity of MSM participants is worth elaborating. For the involved actors, their movement is a form of voluntary social work (not a source of profit making). Meaning thereby, that, their work towards their organisational goals and strategies is separate from their professions. They rather come together and contribute various resources to the movement ranging from donation of time, energy, knowledge, expertise. These voluntary contributors also attempt to raise funds or support (through

social networking or dovetailing some programmes with governmental schemes) for day-to-day activities of the movement. These movements are therefore a consistent collective pool of various kinds of resources and membership retaining self- help as a significant value system.

- As far as membership goes, there are similarities too. On the one hand, the frontline articulators who volunteer for the organisation and represent it in various official forums are usually middle age and above in both India and South Africa. This batch of volunteers have established professions or businesses, separate from the social movement. They contribute by bringing in their time and social- intellectual energies to the movement, aside from some monetary assistance as and when possible/needed. The main volunteers on ground on the other hand are younger and may not be yet established in their professions or businesses; still they contribute with their much required motivation and presence. In my knowledge, so far, there are no salaries for volunteers to the social cause
- Both movements bank on youth support and voluntary association. In the anti-poaching movement of the Bishnois of Rajasthan youth in their late teens to late twenties get involved as their work is highly relevant for the movement which is in perpetual search for those who can drive or have vehicles. This is so as the movement covers long distances for following up poaching incidents and carrying on their repertoires of protest in local places as a show of strength, (details in Chapter III). The anti-substance abuse movement, in contrast, sees many volunteers as young as in their mid-teens, who get exposed to the cause, because the movement operates through spreading awareness and forming 'Smart Clubs' for dissemination purposes right in local schools(details in chapter IV).
- Finally, the participants originate from multiple backgrounds and viewpoints. Professing multiple ideological leanings and cutting across various identities and classes (similar to what many NSMs have also shown), they refrain from vying for an overarching insertion in mainstream public sphere. Unlike NSMs, which engage actively with mainstream political machine, even in

their rejection of politics, these MSMs rely more on operating through local strengths and associative work on ground. It therefore becomes difficult to refer to MSMs as New Social Movements, uncritically. NSMs have undertaken a more high profile politics, as compared to those movements that operate at quieter local levels such as the ones that we take up in our case studies and refer to as micro social movements.

A note on Participation and of ‘Melting Discursivities’: In this respect we see, that the MSMs concern themselves with newer issues and conceive newer tactics and partnerships. Aid in the shape of voluntary transport services for the Bishnoi activists is as great an asset as the voluntary participation of youth in the annual truck drives of the ADF is. It is also fruitful to distinguish between the politics related to sweeping, grand changes and systems in contrast to newer and the everyday urgent issues that the MSMs bring into the fray.

The movement participants by virtue of promoting their issues, do not depict an anti-state stance. Rather, they challenge the state-, in its failures or discrepancies by the means of a competitive and/ philanthropic ‘bottom up’ and ‘bottom down’ activism: The newer social movements such as the MSMs accomplish this by spearheading resuscitative social practices in areas and spaces where expected state function are in a disarray. Coupled with that, MSMs reach out and build communicative bridges with those actors who need urgent help or immediate articulation over their issues (this point is elaborated in Chapter III and IV). Hence, they are able to convey how solutions can be collectively shelled out with viable local resources to deal with repetitive, everyday micro-crisis¹⁷

What is striking to note here is that both movements negotiate their position using this diversity in the everyday political sphere. This is done in two ways: a) For strengthening and appealing to internal as well as external support bases, common community symbols, vocabularies, rhythms and modes of being are used as an asset in innovative ways. b) At the same time the MSM acts as a context to ‘vent’ out on

¹⁷ If we contrast, the anti-drug movement or the anti-poaching movement with mega movements such as those against dams or anti-war movement, we see that the frequency of repetitively disempowering events for the former movements are more than those of the latter in terms of the everyday encounter/occurrence.

felt issues and experiences of identity and marginalization, to talk of politics of caste and race, political parties and leaders in open, informal, collective conversations and exchange of views. MSM actors relate to each other with an everyday closeness and familiarity in their internal discursive realms.

In this way, MSMs convert into discursive spheres and spaces through which communicative actors bridge gaps, silences or construct new information bases around the main issue. They do so by building up and acting on various kinds of community imaginations and concerns. It is thus the main issue which remains of prime importance, but at the same time, potential actor identities began to operate with a connective discursiveness: If they help each other in one context, they are likely to come together again in another context. Even if the political feel of MSMs remains low key, its social mechanisms are potently magnanimous and self-sustaining especially from the point of view of the publics they cater to.

It is this complex feature of MSMs, that in my view constitutes their strength and helps them to trigger a 'melting discursiveness'. A discursiveness that runs neck deep in social diversities or similarities and begins to constitute many subtle internal and external realms of action and imagination (See Chapter III and IV for more on social movement discursivities). These movements remain micro in issues, spheres, spaces and numbers. Nevertheless, going by the prestige and prerogatives they enjoy in their discursive contexts, they perform larger than life roles of binding the society cohesively in multiple channels of dialogue and collective social action.

Hence, their main objective is to expand in relevance. By finding, persuading or welcoming people with a passion for social service or competitive politicking, they remain in the fray by optimising the time and energies of such volunteers. As my study focusses on the role of imagination as a social movement practice in binding together a social movement context, I forward the view that social movements are able to evolve and expand their significance by virtue of mobilizing a shared social practice imagination.

PART V: MSMs AS MOBILIZERS OF A SHARED SOCIAL PRACTICE IMAGINATION

Social Movements and the Anthropology of Practice: Since the late 1970s, attention to social movements and other forms of collective action has progressively grown, indeed thrived, in many political and scholarly spaces (political science, history, sociology, philosophy and in other interdisciplinary fields such as women's studies, Latin American Studies, and ecology) all over the world. Though anthropology has been slow in picking up the study of social movements¹⁸, it seems to have made up in the last two decades or so.

And well in time, for today's social movements are seen as playing a central role in (collectively) producing the world in which we live, its social structures and practices, its meanings and cultural orientations, its possibilities for change. Embedded in various kinds of crisis that the local, the nation and the global context has faced in recent years, micro as well as macro social movements have emerged as a growing social response of many kinds of actors in search of solutions.

In a persuasive piece published in the early 1980s, Ortner (1984) highlighted the growing importance of the concept of practice for anthropology. Elaborated initially in response to Parsonian/ Durkheimian views (of the world as ordered by rules and norms, and as a complement to the study of structures) studies on practice arose in order to account for the role of human action in the genesis, reproduction and change of socio-cultural orders. Contrary to earlier attention to socialization and ritual practices in reproducing the 'system', the new tendencies focused on everyday practices in the belief that it is the temporal, spatial and social orderings underlying daily activities that sustain social systems. In sum, the practice perspective in anthropology would examine how society and culture are produced by human action. Coupled with more carefully conducted historical analyses (Rosaldo, 1980; Price, 1983, 1990; Borda, 1984; Sahlins, 1985), these two trends, Ortner predicted, could

¹⁸ Anthropology, it is now widely accepted, has experienced deep changes during the 1980s, to the extent that, according to some, a significant 're-imagining' of the discipline has been set underway (Marcus and Fischer, 1986; Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Clifford, 1988; Rosaldo, 1989). During the same period, a whole body of literature has appeared, such as in western Europe and Latin America, dealing with the nature and role of social movements in relation to the crisis of modernity and the possibility of new social orders.

afford a more complex view of the interaction of system and practice in the historical production of societies¹⁹.

Within anthropology, therefore, the literature on social movements has examined a wide range of processes and practices linked to collective action. One of the key contributions anthropologists have made to the study of social movements has been to expand the definition of collective resistance beyond the scope of formalized protest to encompass everyday forms of resistance and intermediary forms of dissent. Anthropologists have also foregrounded the affective and subjective effects of political participation by examining the lived experience (rather than simply the strategic outcomes) of collective action. In past years, anthropologists were mostly concerned with the politics of “subaltern” groups such as indigenous organizations, movements focused around gender and sexuality, and other identity-based forms of mobilization.

In more recent times, one sees a great interest in how populations have struggled against the effects of economic globalization and neoliberal reform, with increasing attention to protests against transnational corporations and global financial organizations (such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization). Of late, anthropologists have also become interested in newer practices, preference and trends such as digital activism. The question of ‘digital’ social movements are redefining political participation and democratic politics amidst various kinds of crisis situations and mushrooming of social voices collectively is newer concern within the realm of ethnographic studies. Inquiry into social movements from this perspective seeks to restore the centrality of popular practices to the analysis. It vindicates the value of the practices of communicative actors in producing the world in which they wish to intervene through different kinds of media.

¹⁹ Just as an analysis of embedded discourses and practices borrowed from anthropology can throw up new insights into collective action (Escobar 1992), there are other useful approaches linked to seeing movements as praxis, - of knowledge production and the everyday creation of meanings. Praxis refers to the collective knowledge making activities of the social movements, which thrive by building up newer spaces. While emphasizing the importance of such spaces, the social movement praxis/ process approach brings in the idea of actors as key resources in the production of such everyday and evolving knowledge (Chesters and Welsh: 2011). For the purposes of this study, I understand practices as related to the everyday actors or the organic intellectuals of collective social action. Thus, I look at social movements as processes of enacted and embodied practices of change.

However, a word of caution must be placed in connection with the possible use of this approach in Third World contexts (see, Fiske, 1989b: 6, for more on social media and other forms of digital technology and third world social movements).

As the case studies from India and South Africa will show in the later chapters of this work, there exist practices, 'residual' or 'emergent' (read more in, Williams, 1980), that have a decisive collective character, and which still have the potential to provide a different basis for resistance and collective action. In other words, and despite the pervasive influence of modernity's technologies, there still exist, pockets in the Third World, which are formed of socially significant groups (even if never 'pure', of course) that represent alternative cultural possibilities, preferences or even priorities. Of course, without meaning that they are in any collision course with what the elusive idea of modernity may imply. Or, even, without implying that collective actors who adopt hitherto available resources from within the repertoires of existing cultural experiences, beliefs, mortalities and translate them into social action imagination, have an ethnic romanticism in mind. On the contrary, certain examples in my case studies will show how collective action imagination toggles its 'best possible options' (exploring all sorts of socio-cultural repertoires of communication for instance), to sustain its journey in between the two opposites of conceived (plans, goals) change and ongoing change (actual experience).

Whether through newer or older modes of expression, the changing collective discursive practices in a crisis-situation reflect a change in people's participation. Besides, the appearance of concerned stakeholders in the shape of goals oriented social movements also reflects that social action and social change are deeply related. In today's world, the politics behind many kinds of locally felt trouble and social action can be global in origin, yet the rise of small scale social movements points to the fact that the relevance of many an issue is lived and felt locally by real life actors in grassroots situations. Hence, the global, the national and the macro changes inherently hold a local, an everyday and a micro side to side to it and vice-versa. It is therefore interesting to focus on the ethnography of everyday practice and change.

When (not necessarily a set time as much as a set of mutually significant

circumstances), why (where there was a social silence or quiet before, how does a collective voice began to appear into the public domain?) and how (what has changed in terms of thoughts, imageries, experiences and responses?) do people emerge as a collective actors. Amidst repetitive, day-to-day crises (such as substance abuse crimes or poaching incidents) and social change, - social voice and social action hold deeply inter-related ethnographic clues to people's evolving imagination. It is in this particular sense, that my study on actors as social movement participants strives to throw light on.

Whether a felt situation of crisis has origins in profoundly macro environs such as environmental depletion or substance abuse politics, when those who experience and live through it (in one form or the other), began to share the issue with each other, plan on people-level solutions, a social movement originates from the grassroots with a worm's eye vision. For instance, the case of anti-poaching protest in protection of endangered wildlife read along with economic and conservation choices of governments or reaction of other communities in the fray (Chapter III on the Indian case study). Or, the anti-substance abuse movement read along with the state's failure to pin down situations of crime effectively (Chapter IV on the South African case study) are cases in point. Here, the issues may have deep rooted macro ramifications but the practice of protest politics could be small scale and local. Escobar has aptly explained the link between social movements as reflective of changing social practices in the midst of crises (esp. linked to 'modernity. Social movements, it is argued (Escobar, Arturo. 1992), "emerge out of the crisis of modernity; they orient themselves towards the constitution of new orders, and embody a new understanding of politics and social life itself. They result in the formation of novel collective identities which foster social and cultural forms of relating and solidarity as a response to the crises of meanings and economies that the world faces today", (p.396).

Whether locally or globally, the import of social movements as social practice asserts the importance of need- based ideas, goals and action that actors find relevant to forward their cause. In her volume, *Social Movements: An Anthropological Reader*, June Nash (2004) analyses that anthropologists who once ignored the intrusion of national and international in their field, are now among the principal observers of

social movements. Although the potential of these movements is often underestimated, it is in these circuits once considered marginal to global processes that major change is occurring (Nash: 2004). The practice perspective is hence, central to social movement research as undertaken here.

5.1 Social Movements as Social Practice:

The expression, 'social movement' cannot be easily translated/reduced to an observable phenomenon 'on the field', but it is an expression that evokes, 'historical ensembles', as remarked by Touraine. Although his key interest has been social movements and he has written extensively on workers' movements across the world, his notion of the ability of the society to be able to shape itself and change its structures through its own "sociology of action," or social struggles is a useful definition for considering change through collective action. In this sense, Touraine's (1977) view on historicity as the capability of a society to take action upon itself, also echoes through his concept of social movement and what all it may be symbolic of concretely as well as abstractly.

To talk of social movements 'broadly', would be like referring to mega categories such as capitalism, modernity, renaissance, nation and so forth. However, it is seldom exactly clear where or when such sweeping phenomenon actually start or finish. Hence, as we have noted above, anthropological contributions on social movements are often less indulgent to the temptation of wide theoretical speculation because of the practice of fieldwork. This keeps alive the awareness of a complex, intricate and irreducible social life in place, which may profess fuzzy, fragmented and merging emic significant of various kinds of ongoing and occurred transformations.

If the emergence of many working class movements in industrial societies, national liberation movements and other newer (not necessarily class oriented such as the feminist movements) kinds of protest movements are an indication, we see that not only social science but also movements look at the social world. They do so by understanding the society as a collective construction, conglomeration that demands as well as evolves through transformations, (Sullivan and Thompson: 1986). In this context, Neil Smelser's classic work, *Theory of Collective Behaviour*, distinctly sees social movements as agents of social transformation, in contrast to other theoretical

viewpoints that focused on class exclusively²⁰ and wherein the idea of social movements as agents of social transformation remained ambiguous, (for more details see, Castells,1983:pp. 298-301).

My study wishes to focus on seeing collective social action inside a social movement context. Hence, I will focus on its evolving resistance and protest politics therein, firstly, as day to day practice of issues-internally as much as externally relevant to it. Secondly, I see social movement as a practice sphere, symbolic and significant of an ongoing change. For this study, the ongoing change has been observed as a part of everyday situations of crisis and the collective search for support, meanings and solutions alongside disputing claims and processes reflective of a practice grounded in social identity and imagination.

The various kinds of changes that a transitioning social environment impacted upon by a social movement can undergo could be termed as - internal as well as external. In a specific understanding of transition, Hopkins (Alloun and Alexander: 2014) emphasizes the importance of changes in internal as well as external processes. The rationale for many grassroots activities and collective action is, as he asserts, “if we wait for the government it’s too late, if we act as individuals it’s too little. But if we act as communities, it might be just in time and enough”. Hopkins analyzed collective transitions from the point of psychology of change that relates to a juxtaposition of the inner and outer realms of movement existence.

However, while not denying that certain reflective and narrative changes are more internal than outward practices/manifestations of change, I focus on both the internal as well as the external aspect of change- as realms of movement discursiveness. In other words, first, the internal as well as the external realms of change form differently oriented, though not strictly distinct or compartmentalized layers of social movement space and time. Next, I use these descriptions as hermeneutic tools to accommodate social movement reality into viable names for discussion here. For descriptive purposes, I find the notion of a multi-layered and evolving discursive formation (For more details on discursive spheres of a social movement, see Chapter II), practical and useful to define change.

²⁰ such as that of classical Marxism wherein social change is symbolic of a moment when a class in itself transforms itself into a class for itself, in which case it will always require, the medium of a revolutionary structure like a political party

For a social movement change to evolve and grow, on the one hand it is required outer structures, institutions and organizations on which society rests have evolved or begin to evolve in newer ways. On the other hand, social transitions imply that a shift has appeared or is beginning to take shape in the internal social worldviews, action patterns, norms and narratives (Hopkins: 2013.). It is the power of social practices, visioning and of imagination as a combined force that begins to hone change by story telling around new issues. The discursive spheres thus constituted reveal layers of interactive spaces and times, which belong equally to the internal as well as the external social life of a movement.

5.2 Social Movement Imagination as Social Practice Imagination:

It would not be out of place to repeat here that just as 'social movements' cannot be translated in an explicitly visible 'whole' phenomenon or process in the field, so is true for imagination. Imagination as a process cannot be reduced to an observable phenomenon 'in the field'. Just as it would be more fruitful to break the idea of a social movement in the innumerable action spheres that its participants represent to accomplish the day-to-day social, the same would hold good for understanding the relationship between imagination and collective action.

My contention is that during phases of collective social action it is not just actors as articulators of physical acts/action, who get mobilized. Rather this conglomeration of acts and actors also reflects how imagination itself is mobilized and mobilizes social action. This is evident in three ways: a) views, opinions, ideas, beliefs or ideological standpoints; b) collective social frames such as class, rights, social well-being, justice; c) social and verbal positioning in the form of demonstrations, speeches etc. pro -or against- an issue; d) collective discursive journeys in the garb of 'exchange' of multiple opinions, dialogues, disputes among various supports and oppositional elements.

What can be done therefore is to view imagination as a social movement practice. From an ethnographic view, a social movement action holds in itself, actors who act to either rupture previous forms of being or create bridges between pre-existing forms and newly emergent ones. In this respect, social movement action cannot operate without fostering multiple forms and chains of action-imagination patterns on sociopolitical realities or ideals, a feature, which stands convincingly revealed by its repertoires (practices) of mobilization. A social movement is not only experienced by its participant but it becomes open to being experienced by others in the form of

ramifications, responses, opinions and reactions around its mobilization strategies.

So, in a way, a social movement not only mobilizes actors, it also mobilizes discursively imagined socio-political spheres around them. Here I would like to point out that a social movement actor is a holder of three kinds of postures. First as an individual, an actor's views and beliefs around the specific issues that he/she tackles or gets attracted to reveal their social posturing. Second, by participating in collective action, actors reveal their willingness to share/exchange views with their co-participants, fellows and peers. Third, going by logic, social movement actors come together not only to share and exchange views and concerns, they also come together (i.e. act) because they are prepared to challenge others' (of state, governments, communities, groups-such as elites) views. A participant in collective social action is also a participant in collective social imagination. He/she is a willing subject towards exchange of views, mutual dialogue, planning or goals of social well-being significant of a shared, philanthropic imagination.

Yet, at the same time, social movement actors in their competitive assertions, views, strategies and disputes, also reveal a counter posturing among various public spheres and domains. Their preparedness to posture collectively on behalf of their own social movement publics reveals a competitive imagination towards those that it challenges. Hence, social movement practices and praxis consist of both acts/activities and corresponding motives and imaginations that go along with them. Therefore, from the point of view of collective action (as I understand here), a separation between imagination and practice or practice as imagination, seems almost artificial or even redundant.

Förster²¹ (2015) argues that,

“Collective images, that is, images shared by the majority of a society or a group, are the outcome of a specific type of social practice. I will call this ‘social practice imagination’. As social practice, imagination brings individual images and intentions together and produces an imaginary that goes beyond the mere sum of individual idiosyncrasies. Social images are more than merely shared. They have a distinct form that builds on the social practice through which they emerge”.

Citing the more contemporary studies on imagination (Kearney; 1988 and 1998) that call for a more discursive character to it, over the older notion of it as ‘unreal’

²¹Based on author, Till Förster's presentation in 2015 in the Research Group on Social and Political Transformations, Chair of Social Anthropology, University of Basel, His finalised paper titled, 'Of Imagination: The Social Productions of Images', is, *In Press (2016)*.

(Sartre:1972), Förster (2015) builds on imagination as a process rooted in inter-subjectivity of the actors (as opposed to what he calls the their 'monadic' subjectivity²²: p.3). He explains how in recent works, the relevance of imagination is being widely recognized in social sciences (p.1). It would be difficult to work on politics for instance, without taking political imagination into account (e.g. Comaroff and Comaroff 1999).

Förster argues that groups within a society are the subject of social imagination, for instance the youth, (e.g. Durham 2000). Religious imagination is seen as one of the driving forces of change in Africa, (e.g. Fernandez 1982). Imagination is considered, a driving force in aesthetics and the arts. The people who think of themselves as members of that society, (Castoriadis 1997), imagine even the very core of the social as a coherent entity-. Ethnography and social description themselves are seen as the product of anthropological or sociological imagination, (Willis 2000; Mills 2000).

From a social anthropological viewpoint, the act of imagining involves groups and collective entities (just as it does individuals), then a basic question arises-if imagination is social, then can it also be called (just as it is an individual practice), a social practice? As Förster (2015) explains further, "the actors do engage in such processes (of collective imagination), produce images, and they also share mental images. Any analysis of imagination as social practice thus has to explore its inter-subjective character first". Imagining, in this sense means, that it produces shared or collective intentionality.

To understand how it does so and what that means for a theory of imagination, it is useful to reflect briefly, on how a social science understanding of collective intentionality differs from a philosophical one. In his book on imagining, Edward Casey distinguished an 'act phase' from an 'object phase' of imagination (Casey 2000: 38). During the act phase, he writes, the "mind directs itself onto and absorbs itself in a specific content" (Casey 2000: 38). From a social anthropological perspective, however, it is unclear why a mind should direct *itself* onto a particular content. Anthropologists would rather posit that such an orientation, and hence, intentionality, is always embedded in the structures of relevance that the actors have to face when they situate themselves in the life-world (e.g. Schutz and Luckmann 1980, 1989).

²²The Cartesian as well as monadic misunderstanding of imagination, that is, of object vs. mind as real vs. unreal, can be overcome, as the author suggests, by conceptualizing images as intentional objects.

They would also claim that intentionality often has a sensory and bodily foundation, and that merely mental intentionality is more the exception than the rule. The structures of relevance as well as sensory and bodily experience have a social dimension, as other actors are always a constituent part of our life-world. If the emergence of collective intentionality is not thought of as restricted to acts of consciousness only, Casey's "act phase" of imagination is, reframed as social practice and answers the basic question of namely, how imagination works through the inter-subjectivity of the participants.

Imagination as a shared collective intentionality can be attributed, hence, with three characteristics: firstly, imagination as intentional social practice can be shared over time and space; secondly, images generate a shared interpretation of the social. Though images could be contradictory and divergent, more often, however, images are coherent and bring order to life-worldly elements that were hitherto incomprehensible; finally, by projecting the reference point as the social, imagination instigates or invokes a shared agency.

On the relationship between imagination, images and social practice, Förster concludes that

"Shared images motivate the actors for collective action as, for instance, against an oppressor or against rules and regulations that, according to the interpretation provided by that image, inhibit the wellbeing of all. Shared intentions to change social reality grow out of joint intentional acts as they are embedded in the social practice that also generates shared images. Through engaging in the particular kind of social practice that imagination that is social the individual becomes a plural subject They are no longer a sum of individuals that have the same images in mind, but become in a strong sense one collective actor (Förster, 2015: pp.25-26)".

Hence, Imagination when viewed as a part of social practice becomes an essential part of the actors' agency (see, Emirbayer and Mische 1998 and; Chapter II of this work).

Drawing from the above stated conceptions, in chapter III, I share a vignette on what makes the Bishnois activists (of Rajasthan) experience helplessness. Their imaginations leave them with a sensation of almost feeling guilty when creatures such as deer, black buck, Indian gazelles die near their (Bishnoi) homes and this feeling breaks down into a potent endorsement of collective social practices against poaching. Similarly, in Chapter IV, I show how the prevalence of a drug-abuse

related sociopathy punctures the self-respect of the concerned among the Indian South Africans (in Durban). So, by virtue of their collective introspections, they feel united in the fight against drugs. In such contexts, it is perhaps logical to state, that as a social practice, imagination links the images of the past to the images of the future and vice versa, (Forster, 2012: 42).

Before I give examples of collective agency in circumstances of shared inter-subjectivities, I elaborate, in the next part, how the communities behind social action feel united by a general sense of malaise and crisis over the issue concerned. This helps understand how the imagery of collective well-being, ironically starts with the notion of, 'all is not well or functioning well'.

This also indicates partly, what makes an 'issue', an issue. In simple words, when people or communities experience moments of dislocation (as understood in the post-Marxian sense, see Laclau and Mofe, 1990 and Förster, 2012), internally (mutual) as well as externally (in relation to an, 'other'), they turn towards newer modes of articulation.

PART VI: MSMs IN INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA: OF IMAGINATIONS AMIDST FELT CRISIS

6.1 A brief Comparative Introduction:

The everyday sphere of the two micro-social movements, one in Durban and the other in Rajasthan, incorporates the experience of crisis and corresponding perception towards solutions. Voluntary social action emerges as one of the first solutions, like a socio-political 'first-aid' measure in damage control. Once preliminary measures are taken vis-à-vis rehabilitating or helping victims, coordinating medical treatments or pressing for appropriate recording of crime/ registration of court cases, actors divert their attention to the other side of crisis. Movement imagination becomes busy searching for networks, acquiring local support and sympathies. For counter-publics that make up the domains of MSMs, these day to day crisis are experienced by the actors in repetitive cycles. Poaching (for instance in Rajasthan) and substance abuse (in Durban) are crimes that can occur, recur and persist as regular encumbrances.

The MSM have a full 'hands-on' job and seldom goes out of 'voluntary work' requirements. Obviously, without such a daily involvement, the collective action would stop to supply meaning towards the everyday solutions of an everyday crisis

situation. A hectic 24/7 drudgery, perpetual shortage/ search of funds but, a perennial supply of support cum repetitive events and cycles of crisis keeps these movements with their transforming practices, going strong. MSM dedication gives the feel of an informal social contract, - one which is a mandate of change, which actors did not propose or sign formally or legally in a single episode, but came forward to frame and protect voluntarily over a period of ongoing transitions.

Movement articulations reveal that actors imagine themselves as agents of social intervention. They perceive their collective force in the creation of a fundamentally contemporary response to resolve the emerging social crisis around them. It is important to note that this crisis is not only an actual problem among a set of people on ground but also something, which has got a wider local recognition to it. Hence, many people coincide with social movement perceptions, while others follow it up with supportive action. It is this common imagination, of recognizing events and happenings as crisis, that steers them in bonds of competitive and philanthropic relations and inter/subjectivities. Peoples' local experiences on issues such as crimes related to substance abuse (as in the case of Durban) and problems w.r.t poaching in Rajasthan very much complete the notion of a crisis.

Over a period a situation, which has been recognized as an instance of suffering, owing to its proliferation gets converted into a system of common local memories and commemorations²³. These further provoke as well as built upon images of an ongoing crisis by providing a discursive context that suspends the issue in its rooted space and time. When actors share their knowledge as well as desires vis-à-vis individual efforts and struggles towards a common cause, their articulations and discourses start to acquire the motives of a joint imagination and convert the local contextual time into contemporary platforms and spaces of collective action.

It would be very much apt to point out that the two countries have very different backgrounds in view of the two social movements under question. Additionally, the issues that these movements are involved in trying to 'collectively solve' are as different as can be. If the Indian set of actors are organized against the politics of poaching since late 1990s in Jodhpur and areas around it, the South Africans of Indian origin have been articulating a collective voice around the politics of substance

²³(Chapter III and IV include vignettes, interpretations of examples from the field. Chapter V contains a comparative analysis of such processes and identities).

abuse in Chatsworth.

However, certain qualities shared by the two sets of movements provide a valuable comparative understanding of contemporary forms of social action. In both the movements, aside from a common descriptive identity ('*Bishnois*' from Jodhpur and Bikaner in western Rajasthan or the '*Indian South Africans*' living in Durban and in well-known Indian areas such as Chatsworth), the involved social actors form heterogeneous entities, coming as they do, from various socio-economic backgrounds, educational levels, and being of various political choices. However while the Bishnois profess common religious backgrounds, this is not the case of Indian South Africans who can represent diverse faiths.

The previously mentioned internal diversity of the actors makes the movements similar on one fundamental account and different in another. Owing to heterogeneity in composition, the actors remain incommensurable to generalizations of their social class/character in both the cases. The closed composition of the actors- as largely hailing from the same community though might come across as a similarity, yet it is played out in very different ways in the movements:

In the Indian case, the Bishnois belong to one specific sect in the western Rajasthan but they are dispersed over a vast area. On the contrary, the Indian origin people in South Africa belong to multiple communities and religions, yet the movement actors enjoy proximity of residence and operation because majority are concentrated in one city i.e., Durban with some pockets of close-knit Indian dominated areas spread within it. Both the communities are placed in a multi-cultural, multi-religious context around them and neither live in isolation of the broader social context. These differences in the geographical spread of the actors as well as similarities in social compositions of the regions they belong to, produce interesting logistics of how and where the crisis starts and the corresponding modes of action that take shape in accordance to that.

As an introductory warm up into the action world of movement imagination and its sense of internal and external crisis, I provide a little description of some relevant aspects of each case here:

6.2 Poaching and Micro Social Movements (MSMs) of the Bishnois:

In India, the Bishnois living in western Rajasthan are spread over various cities, towns and countryside. They are inter-linked through pre-existing community bonds that merge rural and urban boundaries even during normal transactions and linkages owing to changing migration patterns and work profiles. My fieldwork indicates that other factors (such as collective social action) also inter-weave patterns of change in the greys between the city and the countryside. In this respect, it becomes interesting to watch how micro social movements of the Bishnois link up the rural to the urban and back, creating in the process grey inseparable spaces and times of operation. Owing to the typical zones and opportunity factors in which hunters or poachers carry out their activities, the Bishnois and their supporters (who could be Bishnois or non-Bishnoi actors) connect over large areas and have an extended sense of crisis. Negotiating the vastness of the desert is very much an essential part of their organizational imagination just as bonding over distance is. For them, collecting resources for transportation is an essential infrastructural issue. Many of the volunteers of the Bishnoi Tiger Force (BTF), for example, spend a considerable effort to persuade their fellowmen to donate funds to buy adequate four by four vehicles that could provide the movement activists, the medium as well as the speed needed to respond immediately to an 'SOS' situation.

Most of the community men and women including the family elders that I met during July 2012 and later in December 2013, whole-heartedly endorsed the transportation strategy of the activists and collaborated with them on it. Donating vehicles to the movement is the community's contribution. They are not just passive onlookers as the BTF activists are able to involve them actively. Others simply sent word in, **as** community position holders/elders to inspire owners and drivers of big and small vehicles among Bishnois to contribute by either donating their vehicles or by remaining available to volunteer in a crisis situation. The success of this idea owes its credit to the fact that many Bishnois have opened transportation agencies and they seem to enjoy driving.

In Lohavat village near the district town of Phaloudi, between Jodhpur and Bikaner, the ten Bishnoi families that I spent time with, completely supported the aims of the BTF efforts to save the wild life and vegetation. Although many children and young, married women were not fully aware of the movement's work, the older folk

conversed excitedly over how important it was for the movement to be waged. They were happy that youth (mainly men) from their community were able to use transport vehicles to cover crises as in hunting episodes, police cases, long protest marches in city spaces and sit-ins outside public offices or at high profile administrative institutions. Hence, vehicles have acquired a special significance in movement parlance.

By evoking the image of vehicles as being crucial in solving collectively recognized crises, the Bishnoi volunteers are able to gather the force and the energies of even the spectator actors. The spectator actors, in turn, enjoy the satisfaction of having contributed, without disrupting their own routine or without creating trouble to their own positions. For instance, many cannot participate owing to their old age or jobs such as being village headmen or priests etc. that require them to stay back or be in one place. The provocative imagery of not being able to reach the spot on time where the endangered species cannot be rescued from the clutches of poachers, hunters and hunting parties is a nightmare in the self- assessments of the Bishnoi men and women.

Real instances from the past, when the poachers have escaped or animals injured or killed, or when Bishnois have achieved martyrdom during their struggle signify lapses that become an eminent part of the discursive formation. Delving deep into this sphere of a layered internal discursiveness, community activists perform two functions at the same time: they bring alive past memories as well as foster newer traditions of collective remembrance cooperation. From this vantage point of 'immersion' into a shared sense of crisis, activist repertoires are planned for the future, reminiscent of what Emribayer and Mishce (1998) explain in reference to the agency²⁴.

This crisis is seen as having two sides: One is an external side to the crisis where the outsiders- the poachers have been successful for instance, leading to loss of the animal. But the other side of the crisis is seen as far more impactful on their morale, as it is an internal flaw – of not being able to reach the poaching zone owing to lack of adequate vehicles. This is something that is considered a lapse from within the larger community as the Bishnois are known to take upon themselves, that task of being custodians of the Thar Desert. It makes their sense of crisis complete. The

²⁴ See, Chapter II for a fuller discussion on this.

movement hence, emphasizes on the need to partner resources in such a way that the activists' participation in chases that unfold with or without the help of police in the deep desert forest zones where they live or are called upon to help can carry on smoothly. In this way, the activists are able to lift common frames that hold a wider appeal amongst their community

6.3 Substance Abuse and Micro Social Movements (MSMs) of the Indian South Africans:

In South Africa, on the contrary the movement takes place in the heart of the city. The territorial touch to the Bishnoi movement with the play of the rural and the urban becomes contrastable to the local substance abuse politics and socio-economic processes suspended in legitimate as well as clandestine spaces, binding local to the global through acts of smuggling and related expanse of the situation. The local actors in Rajasthan envisage and exist under the shadows of an experienced as well as a perceived crisis. Similarly, the Indian South Africans (ISAs) derive inspiration from the idea of countering a clandestine and illegitimate world of crime and exploitation that has seeped into the moral and physical fabric of the society around them (elaborated with examples in Chapter III and IV). Poaching trespasses, the world of trust and belief in deep desert zones as well as questions the veracity of administrative and legal operations of the state. Illicit drug/substance abuse politics replete with the presence of smugglers and petty criminals as runners, street children (involved in substance abuse by virtue of either being homeless or having escaped to live on the street owing to the addiction), prostitutes and others, looms large in the physical, moral and social spaces of the community. Providing therein, an adequate 'feel' of a crisis externally. The victims, so to say, are seen as symptoms pointing to prevalence of a larger and ongoing social evil, i.e., the illicit networks around drugs.

The actions of the underworld in Durban, lapses in administrative efficiency, the outrage of the Indian community nestle themselves in the limits of the global and the local and merge the 'white' of the 'over-world' to the 'black' of the 'under-world'. In this zone that traverses various kinds of silences and various kinds of voices, the actors from the Anti-Drug Forum (ADF) have taken a lead for carving out a collective space. Within the micro social movement action, one of the most urgent provocations that fires the imagination of the movement makers is the image of drug users who arise from their own vicinity and from within their own communities and localities.

This is a more internal aspect of the crisis, once again which rounds off their notions on an overall crisis.

The ADF actors invoke (and build upon) a discursive formation that thrives with the imagery of a twin pronged crisis in Durban. The anti-substance abuse pathways opened up by the ADF, coincide on collective disapproval of an outside world that is composed of criminals and anti-social elements that inject drugs into the society. Here they recognize an external 'other' at the heart of the crisis. However, in their discussions with each other and during their protest action, it is observable that they reflect more dejectedly on the internal side of the crisis – of having to witness a scourge of drug use among their youth and children. This provides a collective mandate on a personal lapse.

An interesting contrast between the two movements is worth mentioning here and it adequately explains how the movement actors recognize and respond to their sense of crisis. Worrying for transportation and being on constant move becomes an internal preoccupation of the Bishnoi movements as immediate presence at sites of poaching is their most daring, crucial, expensive as well as essential aim for creating deterrence in crime rates. Conversely, endeavours to create a better, functional office space in Chatsworth, the Indian dominated area, becomes one of the major area of concern for the anti-drug movement in Durban. The movement actors responded to the community need of providing an official space as well as a functional building to launch and take up de-addiction as a community endeavour.

The ADF members and support actors look at ways to keep a personal space for users in running order, where the affected can turn themselves in for help. This serves a motivation for building and seeking community help in situations of drug abuse and raising voice against reasons for easy availability of illicit drugs. It also provides a one to one assistance with de-addiction and inspiring users to strive for healing and good health.

6.4 Of Crisis, MSMs and Public Spheres:

Here, I would like to bring in the concept of various kinds of crisis, as activists in both examples stated like to refer to their predicaments so. One kind is that which pertains to those macro as well as micro transitions that may lead to an overall crisis in the

political system. Sheth²⁵, elaborating on the concept of an overall political crisis states, “a political crisis is much more than the many problems which continuously arise in the political system. Problems are specific and isolable; they are definable in terms of agencies and actions required for their solutions. When problems are allowed to accumulate over time, they become compoundable into a crisis. It then becomes difficult to isolate one problem from another; these acquire deeper roots in the economic and social structure and engulf the whole political system.”

In reference to the two cases taken up here, I firstly propose to relate this notion of crisis to a set of problems which get accumulated over time in the social, political, and economic context of everyday (and not overall) problems life in Western Rajasthan in India and Durban in South Africa. Secondly, for a heuristic benefit, I propose that we scale down this notion of crisis to comprehend how the MSM ‘quotidian’ relates itself to a ‘colonized’ every day.

This, then, brings us a bit closer to the Habermasian (in, Mc Carthy 1984 and 1987; Dews 1999; Gaspar 1999) proposition of the colonization of the ‘life-world’. In his work, ‘Theory of Communicative Action’ (published in two volumes) like Parsons, he believes societies require integration, but like the (neo-Marxists), he believes societies are in crisis. As advanced capitalist societies have developed, the core integrative function of communication, peoples’ life-world has been increasingly disabled or as Habermas would say “colonized”. Thus the legitimation of social institutions, indeed of nation states, is in crisis. By legitimation, Habermas means citizens’ sense that the institutions within which they live are just, benevolent, in their best interest, and deserving of their support, loyalty, and adherence. For Habermas, the core of any action is communication²⁶. The central problem of contemporary societies is not how order is maintained (Parsons’ problem), but rather how to create conditions for what, Habermas calls “communicative action”.

²⁵ D.L. Sheth. 2014b. Monograph : Transformative Politics, Grassroots Movements in India - A yet to be published text made accessible to us by the author at the Centre for the Studies of Developing Societies (CSDS), Delhi, during a research visit in November 2014. p.2

²⁶ The Habermasian notion of the structural transformation of public spheres entails the idea of inclusive and critically communicative discussions free of social and economic pressures. In such an environ interlocutors treat each other as equals in a cooperative attempt to reach an understanding on matters of common concern. As an ideal at the center of bourgeois culture, this kind of interchange was probably never fully realized, nonetheless his complementary notion of formation of the public opinion shows how public spheres can become more representatively constituted or undergo transitions (see, Dews: 1999).

Habermas opines that social settings these days are largely dominated by quantitative (such as money and votes) over the qualitative media. Rather than communicative action—people talking about their differences and coming to a common understanding—one (person, party, or interest) dominates the other by having more money or votes. Colonization has the effect of reducing the sphere in which communicative, qualitative media operate, and more of social life depends on non-communicative, quantitative media. Crisis in Habermas' specialized sense occurs when those qualitative media (influence and value-commitments) are too weak to generate the legitimacy of the quantitative media (McCarthy 1984 and 1987; Dews 1999; Gaspar 1999).

In the context of my case studies, I observed that even if the MSMs operate in the 'reduced sphere' of macro public domains, they can pick up the cudgels in the alternate public domains. Thus unleashing important social spaces and processes by virtue of which alternative, qualitative modes of communicative action can be used to construct alternative public spheres. MSM actors may not be powerful enough to solve larger, systemic crisis. Yet when institutional legitimacy dwindles in their issue related life-world; their articulations begin to address problems with a twin communicative imagination. This double-sided imagination provides them an everyday relevance, solidarity and satisfaction, (see Chapter II)

The MSM actors in Rajasthan and Durban may not be able to address the widespread concern of state corruption or legal discrepancies, which make the fight against poaching or for a drug free society difficult. They do have the ability, nevertheless, to make grassroots changes for addressing the micro- crisis emanating from substance abuse or poaching. Within that, their little successes accruing from the repertoires of protest they adopt, can show how to hold their own fort amid the larger crisis of corruption, rule of law or administrative apathy (See, Chapter III and IV for details), as so forth, which the actors know that they are exposed to.

Despite the fact that their actions are not game changers in the macro public spheres, their protests can do so at a micro day to day realm, at least providing effectively adequate solutions on repetitive criminal contexts of poaching or of substance abuse. Some powerful/well linked poachers and drug runners (the everyday nuisance factor, though not the lone quintessential 'bud' of the crisis) would have escaped the clutches of law, without micro protest action, as actors of both the

social movement assert.

My focal concern here is to place in context, the finding that MSM lifeworlds, even while undergoing communicative crisis may still have the art to build alternative public spheres (Read Fraser: 1985, on multiplicity of public spheres and discursive spaces). Hence, scaling down the idea of a crisis,- that threatens to engulf a 'whole' political system, as Sheth opines or, - that in which the Habermasian colonization of the qualitative by the larger quantitative media occurs, I bring in an understanding to recurrent, low-key crisis situations. These accumulate over time; remain like a low-key irritant in peoples' lived experiences- until picked up by a set of conscious social actors who can no longer bear to exist in status quo. They wage, therefore, micro social movements whose causes (issues they fight for) may be threatened by anonymity when compared to the pet, 'blue-eyed' issues usually picked up the mainstream public spheres of their respective countries and contexts. For instance, caste or race can become huge issues owing to their sweeping relevance in India and South Africa respectively. More recently, rape crimes in both the countries have depicted the same potential to gain mainstream insertion.

For ethnographic detail, when the point of reference is inverted and a micro issue is examined from within its micro contextual relevance, it is big enough to bring in waves of creative social action, mega attention and discursive abilities within the internal and external discursive spheres in which the MSMs thrive.

Poaching of the endangered species in Western Rajasthan or Anti-substance abuse movement in Durban, are headings that may not find way into the prominent national, mainstream public sphere discourses and articulation in the two countries. The more favoured or troublesome issues may be ones ranging from terrorism, corruption, rapes, caste/race politics, communal tensions and sectarian or xenophobic violence. Nonetheless, poaching may become a "front page" of life issue or make prominent local news in the realms of the micro spaces and zones where its politics affects the well-being of communities, (see Chapter III).

The issues taken up by multiple actors collaborating with the ADF over drug politics may not get the place of honour in the mainstream debates and activities. Yet the vernacular newspapers and social agents may print, think, act, articulate as well as strive to become supportive and conversant with the ADF style anti-substance abuse politics, (refer to Chapter IV). Conversely, collective action issues that do get an

insertion status in the mainstream national public spheres are usually those that become representative of bigger social movements,-a feature reminiscent of the descriptions, tasks and hopes attributed to New Social Movement politics in Europe and America.

However, in India and South Africa prominent issue based social movements may be composed of actual as well as symbolic conglomeration of various kinds of activists ranging from grassroots locals, academicians, intellectuals and the forces of 'formal' civil societies. The Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA or the movement against the Narmada Dam) in India is a fair example of such a coming together to debate/promote ideas and practices against the hegemony of the developmental state post-Independence. The service delivery movements in South Africa around housing, for instance, have united various kinds of forces before they became projected as national discourses on newer issues, post-Apartheid. They operate and form across macro contexts unlike the MSMs that I analyse.

Heller, who undertakes a comparative focus on the Indian, South African and the Brazilian democracies shows how these function, unlike the ones in the West. Moreover India and South Africa are said to have a fractured, fragmented, dispersed and hierarchical public sphere (Heller and Ntlokonkulu: 2001; Heller: 2000, 2003, 2008 and 2009). Therefore, the struggles that newer kinds of social movements face are different from the struggles that such movements face in western contexts vis-à-vis their insertion strategies in macro public spheres. This is so because the public sphere in these countries remains diverse, hierarchical and discriminatory. Not all groups have the same access to the macro public sphere. In this respect, the MSMs require a different course, in fact a larger route to, in case they aspire to reach, the mainstream, macro public sphere. MSMs achieve this by gaining validity first in the alternative public spheres, I argue.

The macro public sphere (See Habermas: 2000; Habermas in Pensky: 2001; and refer to the debate in the pages above) enjoys the ability to readily convert relevant local issues into forums of national/ international debates. Various 'publics' (Frazer: 1985), for greater details on a plural understanding of, 'public' as well as viewing the idea of 'public sphere' not as a determinist macro, rather as an open conceptual resource and possibility), may need to join hands to acquire insertion power in the mainstream public sphere for particular as well as general issues. Just as the

movement against the Narmada Dam in India or the movement for better housing in South Africa picked up broader concerns, other movements in contemporary times have also branched out and picked up issues that are more general.

A fitting example here would be that of the Right to Information movement in India and the Access to Information campaign in South Africa. Both movements provided a new understanding and extension of individual liberties and freedoms in the democratic contexts of India and South Africa. The older set of individual freedoms received an extended brand new layer of flesh and blood around the idea of citizen rights by further impinging upon the doctrine of state secrecy, of course with reasonable limits applicable on both sides. Both these movements qualify to be Newer Social Movements in India and South Africa, but of a macro kind.

Nonetheless, the prevalence of newer social movements with far-reaching implications and multiple civil societies does not mean that the smaller forums of peoples' actions have ceased to exist or become irrelevant in the modern state system. In fact the presence of various new forms of micro social action in India and South Africa, (which may or may not pertain to definitions of civil society or fit inside formal intellectual terrains, but are equally a representation as well as reflection of peoples' politics), provokes us to think otherwise. BTF and ADF politics too falls under the category of Newer Social Movements of India and South Africa. Nonetheless, they raise and try to solve micro issues tied to a specific local context.

Drawing inspiration from Sheth's (1984, 2004 and 2014) notion of micro politics, I was able describe the two movements that I have observed as, 'Micro Social Movements (MSMs)'. By inductively employing the term, 'MSMs' to understand the two examples of sustained, alternative social action (which I have observed and followed up during July 2012 to March 2015), I hope to throw a new light on the micro politics. Waged by alternative publics who do not shy away from creating viable alternative and contextual spaces of communication, MSMs strive to create alternate public spheres.

Towards this goal, MSMs practice discursively philanthropic and competitive imaginations, which shape up, transform as well as respond to changing social relations on ground. Building on the notions of philanthropic and competitive imaginations in various discursive spheres in India and South Africa (in Chapter II), I will show (in Chapter III and IV), how the issues that MSMs fight against, fail to be

picked up by the system. In the end MSM, discursivity operates with an ironical dialectics. While it expands its own spheres of philanthropic and competitive actions, it may inadvertently (or otherwise), restrict or supersede the arguments of those who represent the anti-discourse.

In doing so, MSMs may play out yet another irony. They may be unable to dominate the macro public sphere as per their wishes, but they are capable of becoming dominantly viable in the representation of their own issues in the alternative public spheres. Thus making the dilemma of a general, 'public sphere dynamics' complete. When variously empowered groups try to insert themselves to work out the contours of mutual agreements/disagreements on issues, some groups emerge more dominant than the others.

In order to address the various questions, that may be framed by now in the readers mind, I sum up what a social movement imagination means for the purposes of this research.

PART VII: SUMMING UP

7.1 MSMs and evolving Social Movement Imaginations:

Social movements and imagination have a close relationship. Khasnabish and Haven (2014 a) state that, "Not only does the imagination allow us to project ourselves beyond our own immediate space and time; it also allows us to envision the future, as individuals and as collectives. The radical imagination, then, is that spark of difference, desire and discontent that can be fanned into the flames of social change".

As vehicles of transformation that inherently envision and seek to bring about a radical change in the way society is 'reproduced', the authors go on to state that social movements are a bundle of collective ideas and practices. Whether they seek to alter government policy, institutional and organizational systems or cultural norms, movements do not want society to be reproduced in its current form (Khasnabish and Haven 2014b). While this is especially the case for radical social movements (that see the problems they face as deeply rooted in the social order, and recognize that a radical change to that order at its very roots is necessary if these problems are to be solved), it is not exclusively so.

Even small scale micro political action can strive for change that is obviously not overall or massively systemic but can still be radical in terms of its propositions of action. At this point, I wish to clarify that my study is not occupied with how imagination 'can be fostered and cultivated' externally or pedagogically, rather, my case studies focus ethnographically on how changing imaginations come into being discursively and operate 'into' and 'as' a given discursive context. My case studies focus not so much on assessing the degree or the extent of change- i.e. radical or piecemeal or quantitative, but rather on the ways in which change becomes manifest qualitatively: Which characteristics, for instance, are visible in social movement imagination? Is it possible to read the movement imagination as possessing any landmark characteristics? Which kinds of discursive spaces do MSMs use to re-create, respond and register to ongoing change? Chapter II takes up these concerns in details.

7.2 MSM Imagination as the Step Zero:

This work focuses on collective micro social action that is of a non-radical variety especially w.r.t its imagined scale of change for the overall system. Collective protest actions of MSMs rather strive to radicalize the everyday choices on the ground. Put in other words, MSMs are not like a bottom up revolution unfolding their politics of change at the visible macro. Instead, they focus on changing the everyday realm of a particular, lived problem. Hence, micro social action that transfigures into a social movement kind of activity is perpetually in search of a local, ground level solidarity. It operates taking the 'grassroots' as its central focus and returns to this 'zero' before, after and in between its visible manifestations and repertoires. Here an analogy, but from a faraway discipline, comes to mind. A successful MSM acts much like an adept Tango dancer who cannot take the risk of not enacting his point zero on the ground.

The point zero of Tango (as a dance) is a point where a dancer's equilibrium, momentum and imagination all become one and from where his forward, backwards, sideways maneuvers and desires on the dance floor become possible. This 'step-zero', also has a little visible but hard-hitting reality about it: If you do not perform the step zero or if you lose touch with it in between each step, you lose the Tango. Similarly, step zero for a MSM is that crucial and unforgiving reference point which if failed to put into practice, the collective social action would lose its credibility among

the crucial alternative publics it aims to satisfy. MSMs have to operate under enormous pressures to remain in touch with and enact viable practices for the publics that form their step-zero- or, the preparatory, everyday ground from where the social movement derives internal and external legitimacy.

The alternative publics are powerful audiences of MSM contexts. They not only bring alternative movements into existence or render support to them, but also expect that such movements remain answerable to them. Public scrutiny, then, effectively compensates for lack of formal-official contracts, recruitment and obligations. If the movement fails to perform its step zero with consistence, it loses its credibility. When I observed the speeches of activists in Rajasthan, or, walked through a solidarity march with the Anti-Drug Forum in Durban, I saw this crucial MSM 'step zero' unfold:

Visualize for instance, BTF activists on stage to spread conservation ethics among school children or ADF participating in solidarity marches with other marginalized groups; A BTF worker returning to his native village folk or an ADF member coming back to the local community after an important workshop/ event, success or failure . I saw how eagerly the movement actors at these internal/ external discursive sphere moments (Chapter II) wanted to 'report' and explain to their respective publics. It was evident that without this constant fortification and inculcation of returning to their 'ground zero', the *raison d'être* of movement would cease to be representative. It would then run the risk of being seen as a top-down engagement rather than the bottom-up that MSMs are expected to be.

This step zero of a MSM is a space where the movement usually emanates from and returns. It incorporates memories (common experiences, issues) and/or discursive constituents and social realities (such as caste, race) that determine its momentum and equilibrium (futures, plans and imaginations) on ground. Hence, MSMs are as philanthropic as they may be competitive. Governed by a 'perform or perish' spontaneity and foresight, they constitute a system of obligations, expectations and prerogatives to the 'local', once they announce their arrival. Alternate publics receive MSM's social intentionalities with keen expectations.

7.3 MSM Imagination and evolving social transformations:

I propose that in the kind of changes that it attempts to bring on or negotiate, social movement imagination, reveals a set of responses to the system they operate in but

at the same time, they extend beyond those, to share and practice ideals together. The shared import and meaning systems that go hand in hand with social movement practices, become manifest in repertoires of collective social action. These together are reflective of transformative process of change. As mediums of collective action, MSMs show the ability to convince a group of people to come together as activists or/and supporters of change.

It would be therefore difficult to imagine social movement action taking place without a shared conceptual understanding of collective issues and an imagination for change. Additionally, it seems far-fetched to think of a social movement as possessing and retaining the imagination of change merely as an idea without ever following it up with appropriate action. In other words, whether seen in competitive or philanthropic forms, social movement imagination is neither a pure idea nor a pure action in isolation of one another.

Rather imagination, as visible in social movement contexts begs the need to be understood as a collective, inseparable realm of idea and action that unfolds over particular discursive spaces in transformative contexts. I propose that movements are reflective of two kinds of change or engagement. First concerns the more obvious, i.e., the politics of demand they project onto the system by spearheading collective action in hope of a future change. The second, pertains to those subtly ongoing processes of internal and external change that the movement conglomeration itself is a bearer of.

I analyse micro social movements and their protest politics by describing layered discursivities led, composed or traversed by them. The aim is to elicit an understanding of protest politics not just as a harbinger of impending change- (whether radical or otherwise), but also a bearer of social meanings, relationships, practices, thinking and mutual efforts themselves reflective of change. In this scheme, imagination is therefore not just a thing that individuals possess, but as a collective process, it is something that groups do and do together through shared experiences, languages, stories, ideas, beliefs or grounded concepts of day-to-day living.

While collaborating as social movement colleagues and peers, multiple actors weave overlapping, co-incidental and coexistent imaginary landscapes, which create, shared spaces and social imageries. These shared landscapes are shaped by and

also shape the social practice imaginations of those individuals who participate in them. In other words, shared imagination is a decisive and participatory act. In words of Khasnabish and Haven (2014 c.).

“The idea of the imagination typically makes us think about our own unique, individual mental worlds. In a very real way, our mental worlds are shared imaginative landscapes. When we tell stories about our past, present and future or about inspiring victories or humbling defeats, we are crafting such landscapes through dialogue and participant power. Sharing them helps us experience a common sense of who we are, what (and who) is valuable, and what might be possible in the future. We are building these imaginary landscapes all the time, together, not always explicitly, but through our interactions. This is what lovers do when they dream together of their futures and build a relationship. It is also, what successful movements do. Creating purposeful and positive spaces and times for imagining together, and for debating and refining shared visions of the past, present and future is key to the vitality of successful movements.”

7.4 MSM Imagination and alternative publics, public spheres:

In the discussion above, I have analyzed how collective micro social action may not always be visible or handpicked by the processes of macro public opinion. But the fact that it exists and at various levels of social life indicates symbolic rupture between common issues that remain challengingly enmeshed in local life and those blue-eyed issues that gain the favour of macro public spheres. There can be NSMs that remain very much publically debated and evolve under macro public gaze, despite the fact that they emanate from and represent alternate publics and public spheres. However, the movements that I elaborate upon in my as case studies are those that remain on the peripheries of the national public spheres. Nevertheless, MSMs can be grouped under the category of Newer Social Movements that share a few nuanced similarities and differences with the NSMs. Both are concerned with questions of quality of life, requiring the mandate and ongoing support of alternative publics like the NSMs do; But MSMs flourish by creating or/and enriching micro public spheres receptive to their own issues, unlike the NSMs that depict macro concerns and consort with the macro public spheres engagingly.

Analytically put, the fact that MSMs occur and go on to evolve organizationally (with or without the macro public spheres) states volumes about evolving social change on

ground and the relating legitimacy that this kind of micro politics is representative of. MSMs hence, represent a context of ruptures between the macro and the micro imagination just as much as they represent a layer of social practice imagination that holds the potential of bridging the gap between the macro and the micro. Insertion in the macro public sphere is not an ideal that the MSMs are enthusiastic in overarching ways. Rather, their issues at hand (such as poaching or drugs) require them to build up and maintain micro public opinion in interactive daily life zones. MSM imagination unfolds, therefore as a conglomeration of alternatives - of issues, publics, politics and alternative public spheres.

However, that said, it must be recognized that the distance between the micro public spheres and the macro public spheres indicates and brings into perspective, yet another distance. A political signpost indicates the distance between peoples' issues and micro participatory goals on one hand and the bigger national objectives operating in partnership with the powerful elites and media on the other hand. In such a scenario, although the MSM imagination is able to show how it surmounts disempowering politics (by successfully practicing associative and transformative politics on the ground). Meanwhile, macro public spheres continue to negotiate the world of big national goals and agendas. Nonetheless, both lose out on one vital aspect. MSMs miss the opportunity to shape up national public opinions and create a bigger audience for their cause. The macro public sphere misses the opportunity to incorporate plurality of voices.

As much as they epitomize a space and time for searching solutions to micro crisis, MSMs contain collective action forms that emerge contextual social tensions, arguments, debates, differences and lived experiences. By laying down support systems, networks, and binding the society together in various discursive spheres of communication and protest, social movement imagination shows a risk bearing capacity. This risk bearing capacity helps the MSMs for exploring pathways to change and arriving at participatory routes out of irritant and unjust status quos, deadlocks or dead ends (for details see, Chapter III and IV).

Recent literature on social movements is a reminder of how people continue to shape their world through types of political activism that include the fashioning of visions, symbols, and alternative meanings as much as concrete forms of mobilization and organizing. For gauging the relevance of such contemporary social movements at the

macro level (or what message they might hold for development or patriarchy, capital and the state, politics and society) one must return objectively to the ethnographic emic of the everyday. Actor positions on ground reveal the extent that MSMs reflect an imbrication with larger national processes. From that perspective, MSMs are a window to grassroots posturing amid ongoing and inter-connected processes of change, at national as well as local levels.

At the same time they reveal how macro structures and institutions find their way into people's lives, identity and social relations. In Chapter III and Chapter IV, I provide examples of this 'back and forth' discursive journey between the overall context and collective action that MSMs can be significant of. In other words, we see how social practice imagination shapes and gets shaped up by various discursive spheres of rooted ideas, actions, identities and memories.

Analysing social movement discursiveness through the two case studies here gives us the opportunity to see protest politics and resistance action as a 'living text in itself'. It is a text that is narrative of actors' emotions, ideas, beliefs, conversations, discourses, monologues, dialogues, impasses. All kinds of philanthropic and competitive actions that collective social imaginations are significant of reside in this text. It is difficult to avoid here, a reference to 'texts'- as written, oral or otherwise. A text can present, what I refer to as contractive (i.e. text as written or oral narrative) notion if examined from point of view of language. I rather use here, the 'expansive' (i.e., viewing human action as text) notion of 'textuality' under anthropological approaches. (Borneman and Hammoudi, 2009: pp.1-25).

In other words, a social movement as a text, both in its own participatory forms (written, visual, 'read', spoken, practiced and understood versions) and content (performance oriented, secretive, conflicting, sensitive, collaborating or negating in nature) imparts a much required diversity into perspectives on social transformation. Attempting to avoid one-sidedness of a text or its import, or become trapped in what, Borneman and Hammoudi (2009) call, 'textoscapes', I have attempted to analyze the social movement 'texts' in the broad inter-connected diversity between their forms and content. Social movement imaginations when seen as broad discursive texts, spaces and times (in itself symbolic of a change), can become methodological devices to study the evolving transformations- written, narrative and the lived-amongst various kinds of publics.

In the next chapter on methodology, I expand upon these few above stated points to show how a social movement discursiveness is not only an ethnographic tool for analysis but also a space of social ethnography in the making. At the same time, I acknowledge that writing fieldwork or for that matter 'reading fieldwork' (i.e. while in the field) cannot be perfect. Something will always escape a researcher's notice just as something that may begin to evolve, unexpectedly, even as the researcher turn their back to the field to write. In that sense, my work is not a complete or a perfect understanding of micro social movement worlds, but it attempts to be adenosine. As, indeed, Geertz (1973) has remarked, "Ethnographic findings are not privileged: just particular: another country heard from."

Chapter-II

METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH: PROTEST ACTIONS AS A DISCURSIVE TEXT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

PART I: CONCEPT NOTE: MSMs AS LAYERED DISCURSIVE PRACTICES ROOTED IN ONGOING PROCESSES OF CHANGE

In this part, I bring to light the methods and approaches that I used and considered relevant for looking into my research question. I also take up some dilemmas, watershed moments and difficulties that I faced as a researcher while applying the methods to the field. Before I present my data collection techniques and results, I would like to briefly introduce the main themes that my study entailed. While elaborating the stages of data collection, I will dwell on the questions that I brought back from the field as opposed to the ones that I had taken along, in my first field visit. Initially, I wanted to research on the relationship between collective social action and peoples' imagination under situations of social change. My clarity on social movement imagination developed only after my second fieldwork visits to India and South Africa.

My assumption as well as impression during this first exposure to the field (in both the countries) was that the moment of collective manifestation of protest is a catalyst ominous of 'prospective' change, i.e. something that is/maybe about to happen in a desired or undesired way. Placard demonstrations, street marches or protest action (such as a signature campaign, speeches or deliberative petition politics that movement actors may undertake herald an impending change? When I came back from both the sites, compared and reflected upon my first results and comparative notions, I began to see a pattern. I remembered that, while I was busily engaged with the chief articulators, leaders and volunteers of the movements, there was also actually something, almost always, also unfolding in the background. When I took distance from the field for the first time, I felt that I had missed something vital even while I was busily recording that which I considered vital.

What was this something always going on? What did it signify? This related to the everyday activities of the movement's life trajectory such as efforts to fix up meetings, network with others, make innumerable phone calls, sending mails, planning and collating of long term/short term agendas or travelling to various preparatory meets

and so forth. These were certainly parts not visible during moments of 'protest'. But in social movement or collective actors' space and time however, those moments, as per my reading were significant of something that had 'already' changed, is constantly changing and might become crucial for planning/ shaping up the next major manifestation of protest politics in the public domain.

Therefore, as I understood it - the moment or an act of protest is not (just) a harbinger of change, but, perhaps a vital signifier of change in hindsight as well - a sort of a posthumous recognition of one of the stages of ongoing change. As per my findings, a social movement can be seen as a four- dimensional space of practice: a) as a practice in itself per se (its repertoires, modes, techniques) that creates transactional interventions in the public sphere; b) as a practice which can become a harbinger of local or widespread changes; and c), Most subtly, as a practice reflective of ongoing change- for so many relationships and facts, figures and notions may have changed inter-subjectively, simultaneously and internally to have made a protest moment/ each show of protest possible; d) Lastly, social moment space is symbolic of practices that envisage, process and respond to change. In addition, in order to make their association with change complete, the MSMs and their action spheres receive as well as incorporate change from within.

Largely, my comprehension of the field together with the doubts, questions and qualitative data that popped up from my observations relate to the methodology and the Emic Evaluation Approach²⁷ that I adopted to undertake this study. Additionally, critical feedback from my Supervisors, Professors Till Förster (Basel) and Madhulika Banerjee (Delhi) provided my research with new vigour at each stage of data collection. Four brainstorming sessions with the Research Group on Political Transformations at the Institute of Social Anthropology and my presentations at three workshops organized by the Centre for African Studies (CASB) at the University of Basel helped me chisel my terminology and arguments further. I am especially grateful to Professor D.L. Sheth (from India) with whom I discussed the idea of collective action forms that I observed as, 'Micro-Social Movements'. I am equally grateful to professors Anand Singh, Aswhin Desai, Goolam Vahed and Dr. Nirmala Gopal from South Africa for encouraging me to deepen my arguments on how an issue, such as an 'anti'-substance abuse or 'anti'-poaching becomes an issue and

²⁷ Explained in the next section.

gains a social movement discursivity. In addition, what qualitative steps does such a process entail? Last but not the least, insightful views of activists from the India and South Africa as well as audiences at various international conferences where I presented some of my findings provided me with further arguments to work on.

These reviews together with some of my own concerns that arose during and after data collection, prompted me to write a separate chapter on methodology. For it was during my observation and participation in the emic and etic terrains of the two movement spheres that it became clear how micro collective social action builds a twin field of discursivity around itself. From the vantage point of its two layers- the internal discursive sphere and the external discursive sphere, a movement is able to show its agency. It demonstrates its capacity not only to inculcate internal solidarity, philanthropy among its followers but also to contend competitively with its external challenges. Thus such movements not only exist and emanate from contextual power relations but also rise above or duck under when required, embedded in perpetual cycles of discourse and anti-discourse (see Chapter III and IV for more details) around them. Before I take up these above stated points, I briefly elaborate upon my methodology below:

PART II: APPROACHES AND METHODS

I adopted an ethnographic methodology mainly centered around the Emic Evaluation Approach (explained below) and being with the involved actors. The aforesaid methodology was taken up keeping two aims in mind: By collecting ethnographic data on micro social movements as processes rooted in on-going, unpredictable change my motive was to bring forward a holistic perspective on actors and their modes of participation w.r.t to my research questions on the one hand. Comparing the diverse interactive imaginations and the layered social spaces and times across differing contexts of India and South Africa was a second concern, on the other hand. In the end, the idea was to study analytical contrasts and similarities that may provide ethnographically useful information. I share, in this chapter, a few noticeable similarities in the functioning of the two social movements - in Durban and Rajasthan that my methodology helped me uncover.

Aside from these describable co-incidences in micro social movement practices and inspirations, I also bought back some concerns, doubts and watershed moments from the field related to my methods. I bring both these features into discussion in the sections below. In doing so, I illustrate in this Chapter how MSMs form a layered

discourse. As discussed in the first Chapter, I reiterate here that MSMs are embedded in situations of day-to-day urgency vis-à-vis the tasks they need to perform in situations of poaching or substance abuse, for instance. As grassroots stakeholders, they may not be in a position to always be noticed, or wait for mainstream political endorsements and approvals for these tasks. This twist in their situation that renders the MSMs an ironic course of existence, provoking two kinds of actions, spaces, and imaginations- the philanthropic and the competitive.

Therefore, I bring into context how I started to notice that movement imagination unfolds in and constitutes a layered solidarity. Meaning thereby that, in the functions (kind of participation and involvement) it performs and the character it holds, the timeline of a social movement may have two kinds of times and involvement. A treadily observable linear presence of a MSM in the public domain i.e. its external realm; and the not so readily observable circular set of presence that the movements bear in their internal operational realms. Furthermore, participation itineraries of the actors are not only derivative of two kinds of actions, two kinds of time and two kinds of imaginations but also divided over a twin discursiveness of space - the internal as well as the external.

2.1 Actors, the involved Actor and Agency

“**Actor**”:²⁸ It would be a logical here to begin speaking of what the term, ‘actor’, has implied from various perspectives and how I have understood it with respect to social movement discursive spheres. To begin with, the concept of actors has been variously portrayed and debated and the idea of the actor itself forms one of the central notions of anthropology. Some theories, such as systems theory (Luhmann 1984), are used to think about the social as a sphere autonomous from actors; others ascribe the status of actor to both human beings and things (Latour 1996).

Usually from the point of view of the pioneering authors of the Actor Network Theory (ANT), where actor is described in terms of networks and actions, a network is often referred as a ‘heterogeneous network of aligned interests’²⁸. Herein the entity of an ‘actor’ is taken to mean both human and non-human elements (Sidorova A. and

²⁸ For Latour (and Callon: 1981) people and machines should be treated as equal. For example, Latour clarifies we have to *negotiate* with machines just as with people, we need to *recruit* them as *allies*, to *authorize* and *notify* them, and to *mobilize* and *delegate* them; he claims that this kind of language should be taken *literally* not metaphorically. However for our research, we only use the world, ‘Actors/s’ to mean human being as the real life entities in processes of change that social movements originate in and spawn off.

Sarker, S. 2000), “Any element which bends space around itself, makes other elements dependent upon itself and translate their will into the language of its own. Common examples of actors include humans, collectivities of humans, texts, graphical representations, and technical artifacts. Actors, all of which have interests, try to convince other actors so as to create an alignment of the other actors' interests with their own interests. When this persuasive process becomes effective, it results in the creation of an actor-network”.

The sociological angle expressed by one of Latour's (2005) favorite slogan,- "*follow, the actors*" relates to understanding what an actor (as in the ANT meaning of the term) is and what an actor does. It means to not only look at what they do, but also be interested in what interests them, and (more doubtfully) even believe what they believe. According to ANT, you have 'to follow the actors themselves', that is try to catch up with their innovations in order to learn from them what the collective existence has become in their hands, which methods they have elaborated to make it fit together, which accounts best define the new associations that they have been forced to established.

On the other hand, perspectives from Structuralism dissolve the notion of the actor altogether. Some anthropological studies, however, acknowledged the existence of actors in a rather “conventional” way, conceiving them as embedded in a variety of social relations and as producers and transformers of social patterns (rational choice approaches, Godelier 1984; Also see, Giddens: 1984, 1989). Giddens²⁹ rejects forms of sociology in which social structure is conceived of as an external constraint on individuals (1984, p. 16) because “structure exists...only in its instantiations in [reproduced social] practices and as memory traces orienting the conduct of knowledgeable human agents” (1984, p. 17). In rejecting any role for structural explanation, Giddens proposes to explain the emergent social as solely in terms of individuals' motivations: “no explanatory variables are needed other than those which

²⁹ Enduring social patterns that sociologists have conceptualized as external structures—race, class, cultural institutions, power asymmetries—are instead conceived of as “deeply-layered practices constitutive of social systems” (1979, p. 65). Socio-cultural theory 8 Giddens argues that inseparability entails a rejection of social causation and social laws (1984, pp. 172-179, 343-347). Consequently he rejects structuralism (1979, Chapter 1) and structural sociology (1979, pp. 59-65; 1984, Chapter 4), both theories that posit irreducibly collective entities that have lawful causal influences over individuals. Instead, Giddens describes actors that consciously choose among available options rather than being unknowingly forced to act by external structure. He prefers to speak of structure as “enabling” rather than constraining, and this focus leads to an emphasis on agents' knowledgeability or practical consciousness.

explain why individuals are motivated to engage in regularized social practices across time and space, and what consequences ensue” (Giddens, 1984, p. 14); ultimately “all [structural] explanations will involve at least implicit reference ... to the purposive, reasoning behavior of agents” (p. 179).

Under various theoretical positions that conceive the “actor,” there are studies from within anthropology in which actor appears as a bearer of social roles. In others that talk of the primacy of social relation over inter-subjectivities, the actor is virtually deprived of his ability to create a distance between himself and his social roles (see, Bourdieu 1984/1979)³⁰. In yet other conception, actors may be driven by some pertinent and potent subconscious desires and experiences (Crapanzano 1980). Moreover, different sub- disciplines within anthropology look at actors and their various features from different angles. While in religious anthropology different states of consciousness play a role and in family studies emotions come to the fore, neither of these seem to be of tremendous interest in the anthropology of work – instead focus is often laid on the actor as bearer of rational decisions. Again, it seems far from clear if such restrictions are very useful, since ‘non-rational’ elements may play decisive roles in the competent execution of some technical tasks.

“Actors”, in this research : While the concept of actors is variously defined, for the purpose of this study (and in hindsight-i.e. especially post-fieldwork), I would like to keep the idea of actors whose agency can be seen both as independent of as well as enmeshed in some or the other networks, structures at the same time. Similarly, as social movement actors or as collective entities, peoples’ agency is both, embedded in and shaping up waves of socio-economic changes and political transformations in their life spheres. Lastly, in order to study social movements themselves as creative contexts of resistance and change by adorning an emic lens, it is useful to complement the image of the actor beyond the objective and the subjective or beyond the structure and agency dichotomies in absolute terms. I look at the actors who form the discursive layers in social movement contexts as iterative, inter-subjective beings moving in as well as striving to move the world around them.

³⁰ Also, Bourdieu (1990 and 2005). Bourdieu fiercely opposed rational choice theory as grounded in a misunderstanding of how social agents operate. Bourdieu argued that social agents do not continuously calculate according to explicit rational and economic criteria. According to Bourdieu, social agents operate according to an implicit practical logic—a practical sense—and bodily dispositions. Social agents act according to their “feel for the game” (the “feel” being, roughly, habitus, and the “game” being the field), (Calhoun, C. et al. 1992).

Agency: Finally, for describing the field in terms of actors and their agency, the conceptual framework of the ‘Chordal Triad’ given by Emirbayer and Mische (1998: 970) is worth expanding upon. For it provides us with an analytical talisman to locate collective practices, evolving from the discursive life spheres of actors witnessing moments of transition, in juxtaposition to their corresponding temporalities. Hence, I recall here the definition of agency, in words of Emirbayer and Mische, as, “the temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments—the temporal- relational contexts of action—which, through the interplay of habit, imagination and judgment, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations”.

This notion of agency allows us to effectively address the social times, spaces, meanings and actions that come up in a social movement context and remain concerned with the past, present and the future. Attempting to make my qualitative approach reflective of the social reality as composed of the social movement actors, I adopted an element of ANT approach in a specific form (as I describe in Part III of this Chapter): Its slogan “follow the actor,” via interviews and other modes of ethnographic research that proved fruitful for me in the field. However, in the choice of actors, I zeroed in on following, first, the ‘involved’ actors (i.e. those directly in the social movement) so as to fathom their various kinds and methods of involvement. I identified other actors too, who were differently ‘involved’. They were those who made up the social movement’s ‘context’ even if they did not make up the social movement itself. These were the ‘indirectly’ involved people or audiences such as fence sitters whose gaze makes the social movement actors conscious of what they do. Or, others such as detractors and non-believers whose gaze challenges the movement to perform various kinds of politics. This had three implications for me:

Firstly, while understanding that various kinds of actors exist, I needed to map the actors in their different capacities and positionalities. Secondly, while I placed the premium on interacting with a variety of actors, I chose to spend more time following those who were directly involved (as activists or ‘victims’ and witnesses) in the social movement as opposed to actors representing the broader society. Meaning thereby that people such as politicians, police, bureaucrats, social organisations and networks or other communities who observed or reacted to the social movement, were followed over shorter durations. Thirdly, this brings me to the another clarification of what, following the social actor per se, meant for me as the

researcher. It meant that my observations were derived from participatory excursions in the actor lifeworld wherein I was acquainted with their daily routines and ideas. At the same time, I also followed up or took participatory excursions into the world of practices embarked upon by the 'involved' actors as their non-daily routines. Observing both (the daily as well as the non-daily) spheres of action was equally important to me for following up social movement action as a dialogue embedded in layered spaces and times.

2.2 Emic Evaluation Approach (EEA): As I held in Chapter I, the main approach that I adopted for my research was the EEA. The EEA is a multi-actor, multi-method, ethnographic approach that moves through a circular investigation for data collection, organization and analysis. The EEA entails three nodal aspects in data collection and research- actor analysis, social discourse analysis and practice analysis. Although initially it was developed to work in post-conflict societies³¹, I adopted the EEA as it gives room for and voice to a whole variety of actors, practices and discourses visible in social movement situations. Issues such as poaching and substance abuse that have spawned off a variety of ideas and actions, situations conflicting action and. By laying equal importance on all the three nodal ethnographic aspects visible in social transformation- multiple actors, practices and discourses, it brings us closer to the aim of a sensitive and representational methodology. Specifically the adoption of this technique therefore necessitated the following plan of action in the field:

a) First, mapping the actors that cross the social movement paths. The strategy meant that as a researcher doing qualitative research, I needed to hang around the social sphere of the key players in the MSM discusivity. The supportive ones such as volunteers, activists or staff and opposing ones such as suspected poachers, hunters (India), or, those with a different world view such as vigilantes (in South Africa). My research was an endeavor to investigate the transforming realms of social movement imagination and practices, which, emerge from as well as merge within the socio-political situations on ground. Therefore, the EEA entailed mapping the chief articulators as much as those behind the scene endorsers, articulators and

³¹ In its initial version, Gregor Dobler, Kerstin Bauer and Till Foerster at the Institute of social Anthropology (University of Basel, Switzerland) developed EEA in 2007 for the research project "Trust in Post- conflict Societies". Though it owed much to the methodology of the preceding project on Visual Culture in Urban Africa, EEA was later applied to several other projects, in particular to "The Work of State Imageries" and to a comparative project on the public sphere in Johannesburg and Maputo. (Förster, Till and B. Heer,et.al.: 2011). Available at :http://edoc.unibas.ch/23547/1/Basel_Papers_No_3.pdf. Retrieved March 7, 2015.

workers whose discourses and practices silently fill up social movement space, time, practices and discourses on ground.

b) This brings us to the second implication of the EEA- social discourse analysis. From within the emic evaluation perspective, discourse offers a partial but precisely focused access to social reality. Again, standard procedures in the social sciences were applied, i.e. this step retraces relationships between social actors by examining what they say about each other and how they react to such articulations. Unlike Foucauldian discourse analysis, however, the EEA does not aim at the general structures of discourse where the actors just occupy a particular position without having much agency of their own. On the contrary, the EEA aims at the opposite: it assumes that the actors have agency and that their relationship to discursive formations is dialectical; they while simultaneously shaping them shape them. Like in final version of the EEA, social discourse in my qualitative data, is not merely limited to verbal utterances, it incorporates all possible signs and symbols through which the actors actually interact and connect with each other.

c) The next in the EEA's circular chain of steps for me to follow in the field was practice analysis. As pioneered by Max Gluckman and later refined by scholars of the Manchester School (e.g. from Epstein 1967 to Evens/Handelman 2006). It meant to follow the involved social actors (as identified in step one) and analyse how they engage in social practice and what consequences events have on how they interact. After having identified relevant practices for the thematic field of study, they were contrast with the outcome of step two, i.e. social discourse analysis. The aim was to clarify the relation between cultural assumptions and persuasions as they become visible in the discursive formation on the one hand and social practice on the other. Assuming that both will reshape how social actors identify each other, one would then contrast the findings again with the initial mapping of social actors – to bring the circular procedure back to the start.

By adopting the EEA, I hoped to understand the motivations, ideas, memories and practices of movement actors in India and South Africa in plural perspectives. My aim was to understand not only how a movement moves within its own self but also how it develops and gets developed by the surrounding discourses. In other words, analyzing the layers of discourse that live within, behind, and beyond collective manifestations of protest action was an important criteria of my research. Using the

EEA seemed apt towards this purpose. Secondly, my main motivation for considering the EEA was the hope that it carries of sensitizing the usual techniques of fieldwork such as listening, interviews, observation, participation, documenting or recording. Thirdly, the EEA helps place the actor- a subject for my analysis- as an autonomous (though embedded) part of a lived social reality to see meanings from within his life world. In the analysis that follows (in this as well as the other chapters), I will focus not only on the language and speech of social actors but also the intentionality which fires their social movement imagination.

To sum up, the EEA has been undertaken by keeping in mind a post-structuralist approach where the universal discourse of power and knowledge in any given system is important not because it exists as a super imposed and fixed given but because the actor is seen as the agency which creatively dialogues this given and can act independently of it.

2.3 Ethnographic Tools: My experiences and reflections from the field

‘My’ Interviews, ‘their’ Narratives: I stayed for a total of twenty weeks in both Rajasthan and Durban (ten weeks in each) and conducted fieldwork over two visits lasting five weeks each. On an average, I conducted two open ended, one to one interviews each day in formal and informal settings. Over and above these sessions, there were instances when I met certain actors- such as my informants, chief articulators of social movement action or their acquaintances frequently and took their opinions regularly as and when the opportunity arose during both my visits. There were a few instances when I conducted semi-structured interviews with government officers, police, bureaucrats, research institutions’ staff and politicians who could spare limited time. I also had to take up structured interviews with those who portrayed their desire to only address direct questions pertaining to their area of expertise. This happened with a few journalists and professionals (such environmentalists or drug specialists) in India and South Africa.

Interviews undoubtedly, provided me a large part of my data. Yet there were other informative moments and activities, such as- interactions, discussions and collective brainstorming sessions (with individuals, groups, families, institutions, organizations and activist-volunteers at various planned and unplanned sites and events), that have helped generating my inductive arguments. Meeting up with people and observing their views and practices in various kinds of sites spread across

Rajasthan³² (India) and KwaZulu Natal³³ (South Africa), helped me acquire an embedded picture of the everyday discursiveness a successful movement lives in.

According to Davies (1999) ethnography is, “a research process based on fieldwork using a variety of (mainly qualitative) research techniques including engagement in the lives of those being studied over an extended period of time”. Ethnography is a style of research rather than a single method and uses a variety of techniques to collect data. The methods used must permit access to people’s social meanings and activities and involve close association and familiarity with the social setting. In my case, being a single individual researcher, this did not mean actual access or long participation in each setting. I relied more on conducting in- depth interviews and interactions to take into account actor narratives and vignettes (see Barter and Renold: 1999, on vignettes). These allowed me to construct a discourse analysis with participant observation in situations where that was possible. Interviews through visual methods (see Pink, 2004) like photography and film or information through social media such via Internet (Hine, 2000) were helpful, but in a limited way. As both the movements were taking up issues concerned with crime/criminalised contexts, this was quite predictable.

In the end, I must say that the interviews so conducted were definitely mine, as I had conceived (foresightedly or spontaneously) them or as they become- once in my possession. Yet, the import of these interviews was significant of and constituted by narratives of the actors- It remains theirs, as I privilege it. Similarly, the analysis that I have undertaken in this research does not rely solely on those interpretations that I see as emerging (etic) from such narratives but also those that duly rest in (emic) these. The codes and categories, which helped me organize my data, were based largely on repeatedly occurring actor voices.

Observations and Notes: I focused on chartering the social movement activities as a mirror to understand the various phases, faces and features of the movement. Of keen interest for my research was to see how different kinds of activities got divided

³² I interviewed and interacted with actors spread across Rajasthan, namely in the cities of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaipur and Churu; district towns of Nokha, Faloudi, Mukam; and Villages of Jhajiwal, Piapasar, Rotu, Jhangaroo, and Nagaur. For details see, Chapter 3-Section I.

³³ Mainly, focusing on Indian South Africans living in and around the municipality of Durban, namely, Chatsworth, Shallcross, Wentworth, Phoenix, Verulam, I also travelled to cover sites and events in Pietermaritzburg, Glencoe, Dundee and Lady Smith. For details see, Chapter 4-Section I.

between various actors or how even the same actors divided their functions and performances differently over different spaces. I covered the different places, sites and venues handled by the activists in their daily tasks related to their internal and external routines. For generating qualitative data on how everyday practices shape up collective action and define peoples' participation, I relied on what Spradley (1980) calls as 'descriptive, focused observation'.

One usually starts ethnographic fieldwork conducting descriptive observations, which usually means entering the field setting or situation with a goal of recording as much information as possible. While making observations over the principal action unfolding dominantly, I also made casual entries and jottings in my diaries over situations that seemed to be unfolding in the background of the main tasks such as meetings, discussions, agenda setting (I describe this, below, under Part II) happening in the forefront. Although I was occupied with speaking to and interviewing the leaders volunteers and visitors over their experiences and views, yet there were other set of tasks which seemed to me a fascinating part of social movement activity and were not just ordinary 'office work'. They were movement work – for instance soliciting voluntary technical support for an event, making calls, persuading people to chip in or searching for volunteers.

The 'organizational' tasks that unfolded in the background, attracted my attention, even when I was busy interacting with actors on the main scene. When I scanned my notes, these jottings on the side helped me arrive at interpretations that perhaps my Dictaphone and photo camera could have easily missed. In the social movement contexts, there was always something happening, continuing and very much a part of the movement's every day, over and above clearly visible efforts undertaken by the actors for insertion in the public sphere. These casual activities that extend beyond the politics of protest contain clues of persuasive and communicative actions that carry on despite the movements' momentary 'silences' in the public domain- between one repertoire of protest and another.

“Don't Record! No Photos please!”: Audio recordings, photos or videos were not welcome by many actors. So I heard that request from many actors often in the beginning of my discursive journey into their life world. Involved as they were in positioning themselves against environs of social crime and pointing to loopholes in the legal approaches, there objections were perfectly comprehensible. Brewer (1990,

1991), explains how ethnographers are viewed differently (in different situations) and over a period of time as a relationship is built up and trust developed. This bond of trust is premised on the same qualities people bring to all social relationships – honesty, friendliness, reciprocity, openness, communication and confidence building.

Trust is rarely instantaneous and normally builds slowly. Over a limited period in the field, a fieldworker's persistent inquisitiveness is bound to become something of an irritant, and van Maanan (1982: 111) warns that ethnographers must not expect to be liked by everyone. The stress over being photographed or recorded was something that I had already suspected (while planning the fieldwork) because of the sensitive issues that they were struggling against or would be sharing with me. Certainly, my camera or the Dictaphone at some junctures provoked discomfort. With time, as I became familiar with the field, I knew where and in which circumstances it was okay to ask for permission to click or to record. Or, where here even the question/request to do so would be out of place. Fieldwork was hence, a great learning experience for me.

“Oh! but our names our important”: Surprisingly, however many middle-aged and older actors about to make sensitive confessions or share personal narratives of struggle were not apprehensive of the Dictaphone (though the camera was a definite no) which they assured me did not disturb them. Some younger actors (adolescents, school and university students) were shy and very suspicious of the camera and the voice recorder. Hence, I preferred to make my observations while speaking with them or writing just after the interviews or, when my participatory excursions were over or during a pause.

At times when it was not possible to write, one of the tricks that I utilized was recording my own observations on the Dictaphone, even in two or three spare minutes here and there. I could record plenty of key words and phrases without losing out the freshness of the account. So while I did have some difficult moments, being innovative helped – if the actors were uncomfortable with the Dictaphone post-interview, I quickly recorded my own relevant observations and descriptions onto it. They did not mind this- as long as the account was not in their voices and still reflected their narratives, they 'let' me record my own voice.

Interestingly, majority of my informants, young or old, were eager that I did not change their names in my account, because that would mean, 'obliterating their

identity, even though giving them voice' as many people expressed to me repeatedly. Hence, I did retain either original names, or initials in cases where there was no danger of jeopardizing the actor safety or identity as they had spoken out publicly many times before and made their positions clear by virtue of their participation in the movement or other practices.

Reciprocal bonds of concern: Overall, more than the pictures and the recorder, my observations got detailed in written notes. Although, at times of activity galore, writing may become cumbersome, distractive and alienating in the field, yet I found that my engagement with the journal was always less intimidating for my informants and other actors (See Brewer: 1994, 2000). Hence, it went a long way to gain their trust and friendliness. Moreover, I noticed hilariously, that the actors enjoyed and felt very satisfied at the sight of me, diligently scribbling at break neck speed, many times, I would look up and shake my arm to relieve myself, and all of us would burst out laughing! There were some who would even ask me if was able to put the right punctuation marks and if they should wait for me to catch on before they continued. As much as I perpetually worried over being able to represent this glimpse into their worlds accurately, sensitively and relevantly, I saw them concerned about the realization of my goals while moving in the field.

I felt that as familiarity grows, the field could ensnare one in reciprocal bonds of concern. They worried that I did not miss vital parts in the information that I was writing in my diaries for the sake of my research. Such a large heartedness for patiently sharing their experiences, knowledge and thoughts made me concerned about my own presence amidst them. I wondered exactly how impinging my presence would be on their time and space. At times, I felt uncomfortable with my own role. However, in none of the places did I ever face any hostile situation. Additionally many times they advised me and got worried about my safety as well.

PART III: PARTICIPATION AND DOVETAILING OF THE RESEARCH METHODS AND QUESTIONS

3.1 Following the involved actor

Since my research objective was to see what role peoples' imagination plays in the making of discursive formations around collective action, my strategy entailed much more than interviewing. This meant that I relied on observing and listening to the

actors at different venues and sites where they debated or carried out their ideas formally or informally. I requested them to let me be present as an observer at events such as group discussion or workshops or core member meetings and journeys from one place to another. Interviewing was not enough. I made a request if I could accompany my informants in all the activity spheres related to organization of the social movement. They complied, but not before asking me bemused questions as, “Look, we are just going around the corner to confirm with that photographer, who volunteered to cover our next speech. Do you still want to come along?” I was of course waiting for such opportunities for they provided me grave answers to how a social movement provokes fields of interest in common public who join in, all for a good cause.

My research came to a point where I accompanied the involved actors in their daily, informal set of collaborations and transactions, as opposed to being with them only during evident moments of politicking. So there were times, when for instance in South Africa I walked with the ADF volunteers during a mass placard demonstration as part of the ADF team in Durban; I attended the Drug awareness workshops held by ADF supporters or brainstorming sessions (with various schools or hospital/police/court staff) in Chatsworth meant for the organization’s own internal consumption. I would also sit with the reception staff and observe their interactions with the various walk-in cases at the ADF. Once I was asked to participate in a Radio Talk show on substance abuse to share my observations on the anti-drug movement with their regular listeners. My co-discussant was a member from a local community based organization on de-addiction. We received many talk-time queries and opinions directly from the listeners in Durban as we conversed. This helped me expand my interactive focus and information base. In return, I ended up expanding my own contact-base as I moved along, independent of key informants.

In India, I accompanied the BTF activists *en-route* their frequent rounds of speeches and awareness drives in schools. As important as the activity at the destination, was how people coordinated so many errands during the journey itself. This helped them tap into the services of appropriate volunteers with requisite talents. A light man, an electric engineer or a photographer could offer services free of charge. At two such occasions, activists, spontaneously called me to address the audience and share my observations on the anti-poaching movement. In order not to disappoint my informants, I did take to the stage to narrate my experiences. In the end of such

events, someone would volunteer to talk of the event to a local journalist, so that at least it becomes news brief. I accompanied the activists to their philanthropic visits to families of victims who had died in poaching mishaps. I also visited animal Rescue Centers across western Rajasthan to interact with their care-takers. This amplified my information base.

At both places, I also attended religious events and walked in ritualistic processions with my informants, especially at times when my visits co-incided with festivals. I accompanied the social movement actors to ceremonies and celebrations such as the Kavadiya and Maha Shivratri Festivals in Shallcross (Durban) and the new Moon Day celebrations at Jhjajhiwal and Mukkam (Rajasthan). These became perfect spaces to walk with freely interacting actors, who wanted me to get a sample of their day and routine. They needed to cater to social life requirements alongside social movement articulations. At times, one role/identity did not coincide with the other and at times all became one. During street processions or even temple ceremonies, for instance, information was generally exchanged on many things – from politics of the nation to social movement issues and so forth. Meaning that, MSMS' discursivity can come to life during banal quotidian affairs too.

Important ethnographic clues on the motives, knowledge systems and beliefs over the socio-political issues that stir or silence them came my way by being an observer and participant in action from within their thresholds. Involvement in tasks undertaken by movement actors afforded me a glimpse on how other stakeholders in society, from various professions, communities and orientations positioned themselves over the issue. Listening to my interview-data, post –interviews and reading the field notes once at my desk, would have remained a partially illuminating endeavour, had I not been able to contrast the clues held in the 'palpable' audio- visual data in front of me with the subtle, unsaid shadows of the imagination and impressions from events and incidents that I had participated in.

3.2 First Fieldwork and the addition of a related question for research

As my research progressed, I became familiar with the movement context. But I was not entirely comfortable with my findings. I got the feeling that something fell short in my description. I knew who the actors were and their positions, but I could not make the connection between their appearing and disappearing from the 'picture'. Put in other words, between the movement image that builds up in the public domain at one

site/ incident of protest action and the next appearance of it, what happens to the movement ?- where does it go and what does it do/ how does it carry on? I incorporated this question into my quest to ascertain the continuously evolving relationship between the manifestations of protest action/voice on the one hand and the movement's quietness on the other hand. How does the movement imagine its phases of silence and voice? I take this discussion up along with vignettes and pictures in the succeeding sections.

PART IV: THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF A MSM: THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS OF DISCURSIVE SPACES, MOMENTS AND PROCESSES OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

My understanding of the two MSMs, that I describe in this study stems from combining two kinds of recourses. While I relied on employing the appropriate waves of literature to understand collective action, I also elaborated my observations and interpretations based on an ethnological methodology. Therefore, firstly, I situated my case studies in the theories and notions of collective action of the NSM (as explained in Chapter I) variety. For the sake of further terminological precision and clarity, I forwarded my own conception of a 'Micro Social Movement' as per my interpretations.

However, my academic task would have remained incomplete if I left my description at that juncture alone. Hence, in this chapter on methodology, I bring into focus the methodological considerations and observations, crucial for completing the description of the two MSMs. By means of vignettes below, I analyse my momentary passage into the world of the MSMs as a journey through, and a discovery of, their layered discursivity. Before looking at the discursive 'task spheres' of the two case studies, it would be imperative here to briefly analyse the term, 'discourse', as I refer to in my work.

4.1 Discourse

In the Foucauldian conceptions, 'discourse' would denote a sequence of written or oral enouncements that relate to each other and frame what can be said and thought about a particular signifier. Through his seminal work, *Archaeology of knowledge* (1972), Foucault traces the role of discourses in wider social processes of legitimating and power, emphasizing the construction of current truths, how they are

maintained and what power relations they carry with them. He later theorized that discourse is a medium through which power relations produce speaking subjects (1977, 1980). Arguing that power and knowledge are inter-related, he concluded that every human relationship is a struggle and negotiation of power.

Such an understanding of discourse largely ignores non-verbal statements and says effectively nothing about the power of images or pictures in discursive formations.

However, for understanding the world of MSMs, such a definition is a bit restrictive. For a social movement discourse implies many signifiers and chains of significations beyond language. A social movement is not only enmeshed in power relations but can work its way about them, as I describe in Chapter III and IV.

What then is, discourse? Is it the use of language" (Chilton 2004: 16), as in, "anything written or said or communicated using signs" (Fillingham 1993: 100)? Is it simply "the flow of knowledge through time" (Jäger 2004: 129 as quoted in Schneider:2013; translation FS) or would it imply, "talk and texts as parts of social practice" (Potter 1996: 105)?. Could it be equated with, "social cognitions, socially specific ways of knowing social practices" (van Leeuwen 2008: 6)? For Stuart Hall (1997: p.4), "Discourses are ways of referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic of practice: a cluster (or formation) of ideas, images and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms of knowledge and conduct associated with a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society" .

At the other end of the theoretical landscape, post-Marxist discourse analysis takes all possible expressions—written, oral, visual, olfactory, haptic—as parts of discursive formations if they are perceived as intentional acts by the participants (Laclau 1996, 2000). This is not to say that pictures and visual experience produce sense the same way as written or oral language does. There could be subtle or even, apparent differences. However, messages are given and taken by both. Protest movements, in my view entail, all that visibility- verbal and non-verbal. Mutual dialogues, oral narratives, pictorial depictions as in placards demonstrations, representative images or even speeches are a few examples. They are discourses within themselves, impart discursivity around them and get influenced by a broader discursive formation in which they are naturally embedded, (See Chapter III and IV).

In this sense, a more applicable understanding for analysing micro social movement

discursivity comes from Laclau and Mouffe. A discourse is an attempt to fix a web of meanings within a particular domain. The constitution of a discourse involves the structuring of signifiers into certain meanings. This could imply to the exclusion of other meanings. It is a reduction of possibilities, and thus can be seen as an exercise of power (Howarth and Stavrakakis, 2000). All other possible meanings excluded by a particular discourse constitute the broader field of discursivity.

Thus, any discourse is constituted as an attempt to dominate the field of discursivity, to arrest the flow of differences, to construct a centre (Laclau & Mouffe, [1985] 2001: 112). Since no discourse can fix a web of meanings completely or permanently, the field of discursivity makes possible the articulation of a multiplicity of competing discourses (Torfing, 1999). A signifier that is allocated a certain meaning in one discourse may be given another meaning in a different discourse, and since signs derive their meaning from their relation to one another, all other signs within the discourse will be configured differently as a result. Discourses thus have the potential to constitute spheres of meanings and practices in relation to a 'pro' and an 'anti' audience.

4.2 Discursive spheres - of practices and meanings:

The ADF and the BTF constitute discursive spheres on poaching and substance abuse, respectively. Through their discourses, they attempt to fix webs of meaning through the constitution of *nodal points*. Nodal points organise the discourse around a central privileged signifier or reference point – 'points de caption' as Lacan (1977) termed them. They bind together a particular system of meanings or 'chains of signification', assigning meanings to other signifiers within that discourse. For instance, the BTF's (Bishnoi Tiger Force) discourse against poaching of endangered species in Rajasthan or that of ADF(Anti-Drug Forum) against substance abuse in Durban, are processes that can be considered as nodal points in the formation of social movement publics. Around these points, chains of signification have formed over poaching, anti-poaching, rule of law and systems of justice, rescue operations and performance of philanthropic duties in Rajasthan. Similarly, the anti-substance abuse discourse in Durban creates chains of signification on illicit drugs and trade, analysis of rehabilitation procedures and encourages debates/position taking on crime and punishment. Those within a particular discourse, such as ADF actors in Durban, understand substance abuse context in one way while the others who

represent the anti-discourse understand and act upon the context in differently meaningful ways.

In and of itself, a nodal point possesses, *per se*, no density of meaning – quite the opposite. It only acquires meaning through its positioning relative to other signs. This positioning becomes clear through articulation. The BTF and ADF are example of such collective social articulation. Their MSMs are a combination of practices that establish a relation among various elements of discourse such that their identity is modified because of articulatory practices. Movement discourses are, symbolic of ‘the structured totality resulting from this articulatory practice, (see, Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 105 for details on articulation). An element in this sense is a sign within the discourse whose meaning has not yet been fixed: Debates on appropriateness of BTF rescue operations in Jodhpur or ADF rehabilitation procedures in Durban are two such elements wherein the discursivity of the movements is kept abreast with dialogues, assertions, introspections, transitions and revisions.

Through articulation, a discourse may establish a closure, a temporary halt to the fluctuations of meaning of elements. Signs that have had their meaning fixed by a discourse are called moments. This closure is, however, never permanent: ‘the transition from the “elements” to the “moments” is never entirely fulfilled’ (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 110). Elements, which are particularly open to different ascriptions of meaning, are known as floating signifiers. Nodal points themselves can be thought of as floating signifiers, but, as Phillips and Jorgensen (2002: 28) explain, ‘whereas the term “nodal point” refers to a point of crystallisation within a specific discourse, the term “floating signifier” belongs to the ongoing struggle between different discourses to fix the meaning of signs.

In the BTF discourse against poaching, the culmination of rescue operations in provision of concrete makeshift/permanent rescue centres for injured animals was the beginning of one such moment. Herein, the Bishnoi activists were able to unleash processes that ended up modifying various relationships. Bishnoi community was encouraged to donate for the cause of official care of rescued animals, while at the same time, the image of injured, -endangered- creatures evoked to appeal to as well as oppose various groups simultaneously. Wild life practitioners began to endorse the objective behind Bishnois rescue operations (Interactions with Harsh Vardhan July 24, 2012) whereas community lawyers worked free of cost (Interview Mahipal

Bishnoi, December 15, 2013) to wage the movement's fight in courtrooms (post-rescue incidents). At the same time Bishnoi activists began to gain prominence in police circles (Interview with Assistant Commissioner of Police, Jodhpur, July 12, 2012), as their philanthropic action proved that their objective was to 'help' the rule of law. Provision of rescue centres operating from inside temple premises were a first. This bought on many other transitions in its wake as other rescue centres sprang up within Bishnoi vicinities and the moment settled into a burgeoning trend of the moment. The tussle between legal conception of poaching and the notion of hunting in customary societies on the other hand, is a matter that remains a floating signifier in the overall field of discursivity in which the BTF and its struggles unfold. The BTF is unable to intervene effectively in these anti-discourses, so far.

The ADF discourse in Durban on the other hand, is ubiquitous with its changing rehabilitation measures and postures. Since the ADF rehab gestures also include chemical procedures, obviously it attracts an additional responsibility and social gaze. So remaining enmeshed in ideas of social welfare and philanthropic work with individuals and families, it equally engages in a competitive discursivity with specialists, medical experts, media and others who expect detailed information from the organization. Hence, while ADF helpers and volunteers provide a discursive recovery 'space' (It has no medical centre of its own for keeping patients, but attends to their daily/weekly or as the need be) using local infrastructure³⁴, it must perpetually explain its own changing notions on rehabilitation (elaborated in Chapter IV). ADF needs to address its followers and the larger social audience that considers themselves as spectator actors, impartial observers or supporters to ADF goals. Other measures such as, the 'Art of Living' programmes that the ADF runs as a part of its social-psychological and spiritual rehabilitation gestures, attracts many first time patients and caregivers. It also draws in those who, after having tried other recourses turn towards a spiritual a path to recovery. Overall, ADF's healing courses are firm moments in the evolution and patterns of its own repertoire and give it acceptance among successfully rehabilitated patients and their families, and so on. But at the same time, its rehabilitation mediations may provoke more debate from spectator actors and other stakeholders of society and state. The ADF carries its work forward, even though, medical rehabilitation is a subject, which remains

³⁴ The ADF wellness centre is opened Monday to Friday, 9AM to 4PM at the Chatsworth Child Welfare Centre in Durban. See, <http://www.artofliving.org/za-en/anti-drug-forum-and-art-living>.

variously contested, and open.

Just as (locally) there is no singularly accepted mode and argument of stopping poaching and treating injured animals or exploring the connections between hunting-poaching, similarly there is diversity of practices and opinions on how to tackle the substance abuse related apathies in society. Hence in both cases we see that the transition from element to a moment occurs on and off, during various phases or vis-à-vis certain aspects but certain issues remain unclosed and ever open to discursive challenges.

Discourse, for the purposes of this case study, is not prescription or a determinist rule. It relates to agentic notions of collective interventions. Besides, it is not discourse itself, which performs actions or social practices, but rather social actors discursively involved in different social fields and symbolic struggles. MSM discourse in this sense is viewed as dynamic as it either is based on or invokes changing beliefs, feelings, emotions, events and imagery which could all operate in a circular relationship with each other. Not in the least, in any pre-determined, fixated sequence.

4.3 The Discourse and Anti-Discourse:

To collect data on the two MSMs and their discursiveness, I interacted with different sets of actors. Therefore, the discourse of the social movement articulators has been juxtaposed with those of non-social movement actors. Together they constitute crucial parts of the 'field of discursivity' (explained below) around the issue. Descending the narratives of hope, memory and methods of the protest, as practiced by movement participants, in the broader local context reveals two sides to the discourse- the internal as well as the external. Even though it is the BTF and the ADF who articulate themselves as micro social movements by mobilizing internal and external fields of discursivity around them, yet the other side/s, even though not collectively organized are equally discursive. This can be said as, the BTF and ADF have operated since many years and they have sufficient reasons to continue.

Whenever a collective social action discourse manifests itself fruitfully in local realities, there are, as per my findings, two sides to it. We have the discourse on one side and the anti-discourse on the other. Hence, the movement, in order to remain competitively placed in the politics around the issue, articulates foremost for itself- in

its internal discursive sphere. It then goes on to build its validity in the external discursive spheres of action. This happens in cyclical times and spaces as the movement perpetually circulates back and forth.

Together, the discourse and the anti-discourse provide some answers as to how collective, participatory spaces and actions emerge and evolve with philanthropic and competitive intentionality, (See Chapter III and IV for more).

Denzin and Lincoln's (2005), in their description of the qualitative, reflexive researcher refer to him being 'a Bricoleur who (p.4-5) prepares a representation from multiple fragments'. A reflexive approach to research entails exploring various accounts. It lets the multiple narratives that are thus, bound to arise from the inquiry to speak for themselves without imposing a larger, single narrative of one over the others.

However, I also agree with Atkinson and Delamont (2006) that the work of the narrative researcher is not over once the data is collected. The point is, as Maines (1993) maintains, to wait with 'reducing' until after it has been collected. This agrees with Cook and Crang's (1995) standpoint that "ethnographers cannot take a naïve stance that what they are told is the absolute 'truth' ... rather, they/we are involved in the struggle to produce inter-subjective facts to understand why so many versions of events are produced and recited. It is the ways in which people make sense of events around them, and render them true in their own terms, that is most revealing about how their / our lives are embroiled in larger, social, cultural, economic and political processes, (Crang and Cook, 1995:11).

This is more in tune with the idea that contemporary ethnographies usually adhere to a description of current circumstances/ communities by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities in larger contexts, (See, Brewer, 2000: 10; for other explications of ethnography see: Atkinson et al., 2001; Burgess, 1984; Davies, 1999; Fetterman, 1998; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). I have tried to bring to light some such inter-subjective facts, knowledges and truths that shape up the imaginations on ground and vice-versa, i.e how the ground itself shapes up the actor agency. For this, I needed to cover the sources of the discourse as much as the anti-discourse.

The anti- poaching and anti-substance abuse politics is reflective of both a discourse

and an anti-discourse. While in the movements' field of discursivity, certain sets of meanings crystallize around the phenomenon of poaching and substance abuse, yet for those who continue to perpetuate these practices obviously represent the anti-discourse.

PART V: MSM SPACES AND TIMES AS LAYERED DISCURSIVE SPHERES: THE PERFORMANCE OF COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS

5.1 Layered Discursivity:

In the exploration of the social movement emic, there were moments when I faced one major doubt: how to describe closely, the movement transactions and negotiations in the context of the multiple spaces and times that they unfold in and make use of. I wondered if and how I could let my moments of doubts guide my 'processes of discovery', as Whitehead (2005: pp.7-9) has artfully observed in relation to the steps entailed in ethnographic methodologies. This process of discovery often occurs when the ethnographer experiences what Agar (1982 and 1996) refers to as 'ethnographic breakdown' or more precisely a "disjunction between worlds"—the ethnographer's world and the host culture's world.

When I experienced that I fell short of a framework for making sense of what I had seen/heard in the background and yet not observed fully, it turned into a motivation for me to go back to the field in search for a thicker description. My findings, indicate MSMs lead a double existence, i.e. over twin spheres of discursivity. Using various alternative resources and repertoires, the protest politics strives to make meaningful interventions in the inner core of their lifeworld. MSMs also approach their outer layers of discursivity by making strategic interventions in the outer core of the collection action spheres in an attempt to access and gain visibility in larger mainstream debates. I talk of thus, two kinds of discursive spheres, inter-related yet separate in their constituents and reference points for the MSMs: The Internal Discursive Sphere and the External Discursive Sphere of a social movement. By following the involved actors, my motive was to understand the social imagery behind these layered processes of micro social action. To achieve this, my conceptual method was to look beyond the politics around the surface manifestation of resistance moments and actions or their immediate impacts such as media coverage etc. For this, I started to follow the movement in its everyday time and space. What interested me was the background processes that protest actions derive their

momentum from, aside from the 'externally visible', 'foreseeable' changes (alone). Focusing, therefore, on the everyday necessities that make resistance action sustainable, I searched for some 'behind the scene' imageries and activities- beyond a linear time-line of protest manifestation. Hence, seeing social transformation as a medium through which collective action such as protest politics becomes possible, rather merely, as an impact post- a moment of protest itself.

Exploring protest action as transformation in itself leads us to the complex discursive spheres that actors negotiate for making change possible. Further, by employing the EEA, my task in the above stated scheme was to see, which kind of diverse actors, participants as well as non-participant 'others' were relevant to provide chains of signification in the discursive processes. In accordance with findings, a social movement uses two set of practices- those reserved for its mainstream moment and the others that fill up agendas in the realm of its internal activities.

These practice spheres together as well as individually, come to define and set the tone of the layered discursiveness through which a movement validates its emerging partnerships, allies as much as detractors. I take this up in the points below.

5.2 Involvement as linear and circular: who is the 'involved' actor?

One of the main methodological criterion that I set for the period of data collection in India and South Africa was to 'follow the involved actor'. During a certain juncture in my fieldwork, I felt the need to examine the notion of 'involvement' more closely: i.e., whether involvement is only discernible in terms of a linear, horizontal time and space of the movement. Or, does it also imply those set of cyclic activities and discourses which occur in everyday vertical spaces and time of the movement? The difference between the linear and the cyclical space became clear by following the involved actor. Searching for the involved actor, therefore, threw up the related challenge of understanding his/ her mode of 'involvement' in movement politics. The involved actor moves in the external as well as internal space and time of a movement.

The externally discernible involvement quite clearly relates to the prominent public-sphere articulations of the movement. A behind the scene ethnographic journey into the domains of movement life begins to reveal the unsung, anonymous and everyday work carried out by the movement internally. Relevant examples of such work

would be the cyclic preparatory tasks such as seeking provisions (food etc.) prior to an event or quotidian PR building activities performed by the main actors spontaneously. Then, there are those jobs performed by main actors that require consistent spadework and support system. This is put in place by volunteers and core participants from local families (especially the elderly men and women, parents and wives etc.) and friends. Occasional, regular or unknown volunteers such as those who contribute a skill or premises (free of charge) to the organizational tasks of a movement, constitute the others. These could be volunteers, school-staff, local thinkers, scientists, ecologists, photographers, chauffeurs, repairmen and other skilled workmen who may chip in time and talent to the movement as gestures of philanthropy, Their contributions reveal an important discursive space where associative activities capture a significant cycle of involvement:

First, such involvement concretizes support to the movement based on its prior good will. Second, these helping hands become carriers of future goodwill triggering of a chain of vertically significant organizational events. Therefore, to get a comprehensive data base, following the 'involved' 'actor' w.r.t a social movement would signify taking note of those voices and actions which occur or manifest themselves in both the linear as well as the non-linear time and space of the movement. The circular imaginative base of organizational needs, ideas and actions subtly complements the predominantly visible and audible linear, episodic realm of a movement's life-world.

The anti-poaching movement in Rajasthan and the anti-substance abuse movement in Durban may operate with minimum monetary resources but are ever in search of maximum voluntary services. Voluntary collaborations and transactions in preparation of a mainstream/ 'representative' event constitute the internal discursive sphere of the MSMs. Mundane, preparatory tasks performed by the actors in their movement's non-public time line have a different significance for the internal logistics of the movement. Two instances of such actions that I observed and participated in are delivering a morning speech in a local school to raise environmental awareness (in Bikaner) or organizing a workshop to raise drug awareness among youth (in Durban). These do not constitute mainstream representations in the public time-line such as official meetings, interviews, formal tasks, press events or resistance actions.

When I concentrated only on the dominant/imposing examples or instances of collective action, I realized that there was something more to the movements. Although I was there where it mattered, I seemed to be missing vital action. If I would be sitting and making notes or recording the open-ended interviews, there were another set of movement actors in the background attending to core daily purposes of the movement. Hence, I reflected that juxtaposed to external discursive realm of a movement, there was a parallel internal realm.

This composed of jobs such as attending to important phone calls or fixing agendas and POA for the day or the week, or plainly appearing and disappearing busily and running errands that helped the actors carry on with the organization of the movement. It was my reflection on this gap, which made me question my method and wonder if I was covering the 'involvement' and its context fully. To correct this gap, I covered the internal as well as the external emic planes of collective action. My data indicates that both form a nuanced duality.

If we fail to take into account this layered discursivity, or bring forth an account of how the two spheres interact with each other, social movement ethnography would remain incomplete or non-representative of the core transition processes. These two discursive layers analyzed together constitute a holistic picture of collective social action as social transition. MSMs bring into picture the internal as well as external communicative moments that reveal alternate spaces and times (such as a local middle school or a community youth club).

5.3 MSMs as composed of Communicative Elements:

In the field, I took note of some subtly significant yet ongoing background processes in contrast to the actively representative moments that I was busy capturing. With time, the subtle began to present an interpretative real to me as much as the apparent. I began to shift my focus and divide time between the two sides of the movement. I realized that the background articulations of the movement form the lifeline of those processes that give it strength and become visible to onlookers. Hence, I started moving with the actors as often as possible and attempted to accompany them to all their mundane destinations. I witnessed and became a part of their routine trajectories. Following the actors (to networks, sites and situations where forthcoming events were being planned in the background), rendered richer clues on the everyday of the social moment imagination.

No matter how static, missing in 'protest' action they seemed, these local venues and symbolic spaces galvanized a distinct chemistry into my observations. Imparting a more comprehensive element to my descriptions, this method of 'following' the involved actor made me understand the subtly inter-connected elements of communication. Communicative moments and gestures; communicative witnesses; and communicative interpretations complete the discursivity of collective action. They play a role in building up the Inner Discursive Sphere (IDS) of the moment, besides the obvious reasons such as the commonly shared grievances, motives, ideologies and resource availability. The IDS of the movement is therefore an important emic layer that may not always be visible through its external manifestations but always remains parallel and connective to that outer core.

Communicative moments and gestures: When I followed the movement actors thus, the movement became discernible in its raw gestational space and time. Even if, to quote an example, the actors went out to attend to a sick animal spontaneously, I tagged along. For instance, on a scorching hot afternoon in July 2012, when I was in Jodhpur and working with the Bishnoi activists, they received a call about an injured horse that had fainted and collapsed in the middle of a busy main road in Jodhpur. The culprit, it's hand- to- mouth owner, had been using it to pull a heavy goods-cart despite the creature's deteriorating health. Just when they were still considering what to do, someone once again complained to the Bishnoi activists through the means of an SMS sent in anonymously.

Ram Niwas and Ram Bhawad who happen to be the two active organizational faces of the Anti-Poaching Movement of the Bishnoi Tiger Force (BTF) swung into action. They diverted their daily routine towards the cause and arranged for a veterinary doctor (who, well aware of the noble causes behind Bishnoi activism, decided to come to the spot and treat the animal free of charge) to give proper treatment to the animal. I had accompanied the activists to the scene as it unfolded in a busy market place in the main city square. I noticed how the two youth, despite the well-known preoccupation of their movement with the endangered deer and antelope rose to the occasion to save a dying horse. To wind up the issue in good humor, the BTF activists (Ram Bhavad, Ram Niwas and four others) pulled up its owner by making him write and sign on an apology letter publicly. The activists circulated the letter among his neighbors and passed it around the maze of the curious crowd and irate traffic that had gathered around the collapsed horse.

In my estimate, this mundane task, which went formally unregistered in the (mainstream) public timeline of the movement, had intense informal, external as well as internal, ramifications in the micro public sphere of the discursive formation. People seemed satisfied with the 'street-justice'- an injured animal treated and saved, the owner repentant, the activists jubilant and the onlookers supportive despite the chaotic traffic.

Of similar comparative value is a routine moment that I observed in the circular time frame of the anti-substance abuse movement in South Africa. In order to gauge the subtlety of the processes that operate from and influence the internal discursive sphere of the MSMs, it would be useful to start the narration with a related question. How can the gesture of stopping to buy food for a meeting (a non-publicized internal timeline action) create and build up the connective power of a social moment? This may seem a bit far-fetched for a moment. Yet this is what happened in mid-January 2014 in Chatsworth, when the Anti-Drug Forum (ADF) activist Sam Pillay stopped to pick up drinks (non-alcoholic) and eatables from the local superstore. Pillay stopped there *en-route* a meeting where I was to accompany him.

The meeting was scheduled at the ADF's yet -to -be opened brand new office. It was being held to finalize and chalk out the structure of a joint workshop that the ADF had proposed in the coming weeks (and which was eventually conducted in early February 2014, while I was still there) with the anticipated collaboration of various kinds of actors from Chatsworth in Durban. Official representatives from the police, local court and the department of social development were to come together for brainstorming on an impending workshop-series planned in local schools. At the superstore as he went about procuring the eatables, Pillay managed to connect with the local onlookers and created a discursive input as much as the Bishnoi gesture in Jodhpur had for their respective movement context. Can bigger movements and macro ideological frames remain dedicated to the everyday cause? Do MSMs possess a special knowledge, inclination, time and space to do so?

Communicative Witnesses and Communicative Interpretations: A close examination of kinds of discursive moments would help to see how the IDS is build up: The SMS/ text message that was sent to the Bishnoi activists and which resulted in prompt action (as explained above), visibly took the BTF a notch higher in the esteem of the impressed onlooker actors. Besides, the narrative, adulatory value that

such an act must have imparted to the sender of the SMS and his/her group is immense. It is symbolic of a quotidian expansion of positive feelings for the movement.

Let us consider the importance of the voluntary gesture of the ADF chief articulator to stop by at the local food store. To ensure that the impending meeting carried on in a courteous and comfortable environment, Sam Pillay on the spur of the moment, felt obliged to create a bonhomie by keeping a welcoming, though humble, table for the visitors to his yet to be (fully) functional new office. With a routine cordiality and familiarity with ADF, I heard a few people asking, "What's happening today and where is the scene of action, Sam?". Inching forward from the cue at the cashier, Sam Pillay casually informed them that he needed to purchase the food and the soft drinks for a meeting that the ADF was holding.

Thinking from the point of view of the local superstore owners as well as the customers who witnessed his preparatory buying, one couldn't help but notice the sense of satisfaction. An air of approval as well as respect spread over the faces of the onlookers. Though they were not active participants of the movement, yet they did acquire a glimpse to a process that may never be seen inside magazines and newspapers and page threes or what have you of social movements. In their own way, these onlooker-actors convert into the communicative witnesses of a thoughtful gesture that the social movement activist undertook on one common workday in the movement life. Pillay's small gesture was a concrete manifestation of the movement's continued dedication to tackle the drug scourge in Chatsworth. A proof for the local onlookers who, if nothing else, at least invest the force of 'local collective hope' and respect into the movement sphere. Just as many communicative moments create an external discursive benefit catering to the movements' exterior core, the examples shared above strengthen the inner core..

PART VI: THE INTERNAL AND THE EXTERNAL DISCURSIVE SPHERES OF MSMs- A SHARED IMAGINATION

Undoubtedly one may come across formal reporting and photographs on visible performances such as manifestation of actual protest politics with its imagery on civil disobedience- marches, placard demonstrations etc. in the timeline of a movement. My fieldwork prompted me to ask a simple question, 'what about those functional, connective, collaborating and discursive activities that carry on before, after, behind

as well as over and above the visible protest actions of a social movement? How about understanding the impact as well as the course that a communicative moment takes to foster new relationships and practices along the way?

Reconsidering my own questions that unfolded as I worked through my data, I quizzed myself once again by breaking them down even further. What about moments that remain visible to only a selected audience and invisible for those who assess and monitor the movements from formal parameters or units of measurements? Are these not watershed moments in connecting gaps and chasms between common people and movement actors? Do these moments become an essential part of preparing the daily course of action and performances of the involved actors? Do these instances of action establish long lasting support systems and relationships on ground? If yes, then how? Finally, to which layer of the movement do it's routine activities belong to?

6.1 Coding data in two categories- the Internal and the External Discursive Sphere

Asking the above stated questions, however, was not my moment of clarity. In fact, this rhetorical twist in my analysis was an instance of extreme doubt over the data collected during my first round of fieldwork. I felt that my data on the movements was different from what was usually heard, spoken and analyzed about them in the public domain- whether in the mainstream or in the alternative public sphere. This consideration prompted me to re-look at my data more closely- for discrepancies. What was it that was escaping my attention?

As I worked on my data all over again, I had the answer. I realized that there was a difference in impact, implication and space used by the movement for its public manifestations as compared to its non-public moments. My data (recordings, photographs, notes) gave me two distinct kinds of information bases. I had the ethnographic interviews, observations or even the media reports that spoke of the linear trajectories and agendas of the movement'. Another set of information and observations belonged to a non-linear space and time. Together, these two kinds of spaces and times make up the movement's collective actions and imagery. Hence, I coded my data in two categories: The Internal sphere and the External sphere of the movement.

I compared the ethnographic data from my first fieldwork in India with those of the formal media coverages and quoted views, opinions and political statements on the world of poaching in Jodhpur and Bikaner. I repeated this exercise for understanding the substance abuse context w.r.t the ISA dominated areas such as Chatsworth in Durban. I realized that the EDS of MSMs, its public performances of protest and media-savvy activities may eclipse the IDS and its non-public inter-subjectivities.

MSMs enjoy an internal as well as an external existence in which they validate different functions. They possess two core points - the internal core and the outer core. What I had observed in the 'background' (but failed to conceptualize or take cognizance of it on the spot) in my first round of fieldwork was something so very internal to the movement. Routine tasks, non-public meetings, search for resources, inspiring others to volunteer, discreet networking and expansion drives form the inner core of the movement. Even stock-taking endeavours and so on, are a part of a movement's IDS.

On the contrary, what was prominently spoken and considered about the social movements externally and in the public domain was also what became my own entry point into the research, from far. However, when I immersed into the actual world of the activists, I began to see different layers of the movement. Just as the activist perform different functions in them, both the layers serve different purposes for the actors. The relevance of the external layer is that it registers more clearly the formal performances such as planned or even unplanned events requiring a show of collective strength. These include occasions of formal representations of the issue during marches, workshops, sit-ins and in instances of mass visibility such as published photos, YouTube videos etc. covering the scene of a crime or crisis.

This external discursive sphere may serve the purpose of comprehending the repertoires of MSMs owing and its pressure tactics to make inroads into the public conscience. For instance, in early 1990s in India, reporting and formal debates on poaching in the Bishnoi zones were rare. But in late 1990s, owing to the changing opportunity structure provided by a few high profile cases (one being the controversial Salman Khan poaching case and public sphere conceptions around

it in Jodhpur and in the national media)³⁵, suddenly gave the Bishnois a vantage point to project their demands and arguments more visibly.

At that stage, when the Salman Khan case captured the public attention, some Bishnois youth activists had already been gradually coming together to discuss the blatant ignorance and breach of law on poaching. This case gave them the opportunity to share, expand and build upon their world view. Obviously, the Bishnois were not to stay behind and lose the moment. They did not. They protested and staged 'sit-ins' and walkouts in protest to the incident with various authorities. Consequently, the movement gained an 'official' momentum in 'formal public gaze', so to say. They were there and had 'arrived', publicly, but as far as crystallization of a collective action identity was concerned, the BTF discourse had started to evolve years prior to that incident.

Similarly, until the late 1990s in South Africa, the public sphere acknowledgement and response to drug scourge among the ISAs was quite low profile³⁶. More essential for the newly elected ANC members, even from within the ISA community, were other 'greater' social-political issues such as race, as many of our informants and interviewees have repeatedly analyzed while recounting the origin of a formalized anti-drug movement headed by the ADF in Durban. The system's response to drug issues reveals that these problems were part of strategic negligence during apartheid (see Annexure II). Substance abuse was also not immediately urgent post- 1994 (see Chapter IV). Until of course, a crisis unfolded in the shape of substance abuse.

The repercussions of such an attitude were however very positive in one way. It created an alternative discursive opportunity for the stakeholders and they began to articulate the issue in ways whereby their ideas and practices would be 'seen' and registered. Herein, lies the relevance of the point I wish to make that even when, in contrast to the position of the involved actors, the formal public sphere did not spot or consider the crisis as a crisis or even chose to silence these concerns, the nascent alternative action sphere continued to devise collective strength. These internally organized and consistent social movement voices over their respective issues went a long way in enabling the actors to gain viability and

³⁵ Various dimensions of this case, relevant for the Bishnoi social movement's analysis have been elaborated, in Chapter III.

³⁶ I take this up in Chapter IV.

fuel their confidence. However, this batch of work was more immediate to their life-world and internal to their movement action, yet it formed the background to their visible articulations. Together, the internal and external emic realms empowered them to insert their own discourses into the visible mainstream public sphere, when such an opportunity arose.

Interestingly therefore the low profile collective background work, the circular spaces and moments of MSM engagement, 24/7 drudgery and connective actions prepare the social movement team for a successful visibility. During the high profile moments of protest and other acts of visible resistance/collaboration, the movement addresses its external discursive sphere. During the ongoing, collective background work that brings the movement back and forth between visibility and assumed 'rest', the movement comes face to face with its '*Internal Discursive Sphere*' (henceforth, IDS). It is this, which suddenly became open to me and seemed deceptively different from the mainstream notions and representations of the movement, making me doubt the congruence of my data. Both the emic realms pertained to the same movement but seemed to hold various layers of participatory involvement. This doubt also led me to understand different aspects and journeys of a movement.

Concretely stated, through my reflections on the world of the two MSMs, I propose, firstly, that a social movement world constitutes a multilayered discursive universe. Secondly, I elaborate how discursive formations build up and are negotiated by this multi-layered universe, which contain at least two palpable, layers, that of an IDS as much as that pertaining to its '*External Discursive Sphere*' (henceforth EDS). Thirdly, the combined force of these two layers imparts a collective dynamics to the social movement imagination and transformation on ground.

6.2 Actors as Inter-connections between the Internal Discursive Sphere (IDS) and the External Discursive Sphere (EDS)

Regular or occasional preparatory activities that unfold in the background of active social movements relate to the movements' internal space and time. These pertain to its Internal Discursive Sphere or the IDS. Those that the movement engages in its formal public domain and with the intention of taking a position in the public sphere

become part of a movement's External Discursive Sphere or the EDS. Micro movements despite being registered as organizations, (such as the BTF in India and/or operating formally from offices, as the ADF does in South Africa), channelize two kinds of spaces and inclinations to empower themselves. This makes them switch constantly between organizational needs and demonstrative politics. My final round of fieldwork closed in March, 2014. Till that moment, it was clear that movement actors in India and SA continued to draw inspiration from their professed ideals and goals.

At the risk of succumbing to 'biographical illusion' (Bourdieu,1994), I recall what my informants have so often quoted and clarified- their daily struggles and tasks are sometimes more grinding and daunting than their protest profiles. It is in their daily jobs and social goals that they face repeated tryst with their cause. In this, IDS, they share memories with each other, recall their lived experiences, talk of remedies, accomplishing organizational deadlines and tasks while at the same time they plan their next political sojourn or strategic move. In this way their combined strength helps them glide over their memories of marginalization and dispossession as they bond with each other in the IDS. Undeniably the narratives and autobiographies of the movement participants, string together their set of memories and coherence of why they are doing what they are doing.

When we think or are tempted to think of our own life or the life of another as a logical sequence of events, (with an origin, understood in the double sense of both a *beginning* and a *first cause*), and an end, in the sense of both a *termination* and *purpose*, we fall into what Pierre Bourdieu calls the 'biographical illusion'. Nonetheless, for emic analysis, when one observes a consistent connection between perceptions on, and exhibition of collective action, I feel that a certain amount of biographical illusion is worth the while. It renders an actor's self –explanation accessible in a dynamic meaning of evolution. Incorporating an actor's account by embedding it contextually, forces analysis away from fixation on either of the extremes: of seeing change as progress, either through a set of teleological ideas and contexts or, change as a set of completely fluid/fragmented transitions in a vague post-modern sense. Rather, it advantageously allows for visualizing the stage-wise changes that may have been experienced by an actor who becomes socially mature and comes of political age (See Speller, 2008:p.2). This in turn helps us how

agency creatively negotiates structures around it. These inter-subjective exchanges and mutual dynamics between the two, - actors as agents and their circumstances as structures then, sets the pace and tone of social movement imaginations.

The EDS around a movement builds up a linear avatar where actors proceed with collective action and act in accordance with their plans and goals, exercising their hindsight and foresight as required. When involved actors, for instance, deliver a speech, address an audience or participate in a placard demonstration, they enrich and update the movement's EDS. Simultaneously, all efforts and partnered imagery that goes into actually creating such a moment of transformative significance in the movement's non-public time line, has much to with convictions and the strength of its IDS. Together they constitute a pair of linear as well as cyclic activities that make a movement thrive in its contemporary space and time. The activities and ideas that the movement throw up in the EDS or ruminate and plan on within their IDS reveal the range and inter-connectedness of their imaginations on social change, protest and resistance politics.

In the field, there were days and incidents where I was able to observe how activities in IDS and EDS are mobilized inter-connectedly of one another. For instance, before reaching the site of a series of planned speeches and Khejri tree plantation venues in five schools in Bikaner one fine day in July 2012, the movement actors (with whom I covered a distance of 100 kms spread between the distinct venues) coordinated with voluntary camera operators, journalists, support actors stopping en-route between one destination and the other. There were many tasks accomplished and relationships fortified. Without considering the contribution of such layered transactions and bonds, the moment of speech giving and plantation would have been registered only as a singular on-stage activity. The advantage that behind the scene interactions and negotiations that movements are build of, reveal the back-stage energies behind social movement practices.

In a similar example, I can recall one long afternoon in January 2013, when I followed the ADF team to participate in a protest march. The amount of work that needed to be coordinated on the spot as well as in the ADF premises beforehand (in order to make the clear representative gesture of participating in a joint protest walk with various other protest movements) was unthinkable. If we only saw the movement

actors walking on the street holding placards and failed to understand how the ADF, for instance, had prepared its special volunteer to speak to the audience for the occasion, we would overlook the scale of the tasks as well as transactions that a social movement world entails and derives strength from:

Seeking the permission of the family of the young man who was ADF 'de-addiction' success story for that day and encouraging him to be on stage was one task. Finally gaining the boy's confidence so that he came out in the open to share his life story with the press and the public was another work accomplished. While taking him home, Pillay, the ADF Chairperson, made a quick detour to buy the young man a quick sandwich and drink. Finally, once back in office, Pillay began to integrate the event in the movements' IDS- for the ADF staff, formal visitors and incidental passers-by that day.

Visibly, this was an occasion where the municipal authorities, representatives from the KwaZulu-Natal Premier's office and other staff overseeing the issue of drugs all participated or gave an ear to 'previous drug user's account as presented with the cooperation of the ADF. But seen internally, it was the culmination of a 24/7, inch by inch hard work and drudgery of at least six months (if the de-addiction cycle is incorporated). For the ADF both the layers hold equal tasks, expectation-politics and planning. But for those who monitor with strictly formal parameters, perhaps the only activity undertaken by the ADF that day was the brief speech by Pillay followed by Preben's courageous narration of his life history, (on tryst with heroine and de-addiction under the ADF guidance).

Following the involved actors in their IDS and EDS, hanging around in their various spontaneous or planned destinations, thus, rendered me a richer data base. Whether it was as unimaginable as, having a spontaneous meeting on the highway or chatting up under the cooling shades of the desert trees, MSMs practices are innovative, connective and layered. I found that the activists derived immense support system, by being able to cajole those, who were not directly involved but volunteered readily with time and energy towards the issue. These associations created communicative moments and provoked communicative interpretations, invoking witness endorsement, thereby granting discursive strengths to the direct participants.

Notably, these small incidents in the MSM trajectory do not attract media attention or

become eligible for macro public sphere debates. However, they do remain integral in the making of discursive layers around the movement and their relevance resonates through the formation of alternate publics. The unbeknownst, anonymous, banal and routine or non-routine jobs which remain partially invisible to outsiders, media and other entities of mainstream publics, constitute the internal core of the movement. To understand this internal, everyday side of resistance politics is to understand the underbelly of the Social movement, its agency and imagination in local public spheres.

PART VII: SOCIAL MOVEMENT IMAGINATIONS- OF COMPETITIVE AND PHILANTHROPIC WORLD VIEWS

When these movements are seen, heard and articulated from within the mainstream Public Sphere (for a detailed discussion on mainstream and non-mainstream public spheres/ macro and micro public spheres, see, Luthra Sinha: 2016d) context, they constitute a body of knowledge, a text and a narrative dialogue with reference to the larger state and society. In these spheres, the actor imagery is dictated by cut throat professionalism because these spaces and times denote opportunities for publicity- in the positive sense of a formal 'exposure' and 'update' of the issue between actor worlds and non-actor contexts. Herein, we witness a competitive imagery of the actors that pushes for staging of events, capitalizes on happenings and strategies on PR measures.

Usually such practices are undertaken by both the movements to prove themselves peacefully and strategically. Competitive imagination could also mean contenting for positive reporting or for becoming prime time news in the competitive world of the mainstream Public Sphere. However, this competitive imagination is not the only imagination that one observes in collective action discursiveness. One also sees how the actors exercise and get influenced by each other's philanthropic imagination in their various multi-layered transactions.

The voluntary activities undertaken in the relegated public spheres or the micro public spheres made up by a selective audience are based on personal contributions of time, energy, expertise, money and other resources. But these resources are contributed voluntarily or without profit motive and pertain to a collective imagery on the felt grievance. Unlike the competitive 'media dominated time', philanthropic

imagery extends inwards in the peoples' time- a moment in actual grassroots time which serves the function of expanding networks and providing a sympathetic gaze to everyday efforts unfolding behind the scenes. Together, the force of the competitive and the philanthropic imaginations build up the inter-subjectivity between the MSMs and the Public Sphere.

The IDS or the Internal Discursive Sphere, according to my observations, forms an organically invaluable part of a social movement as it links the world of crisis to the world of peoples' imaginative, philanthropic and social work practices. For me this distinction between the IDS and the EDS of the social movement would not have become clear, had I not critically questioned the method of, 'following the involved actor'. To what extent is it possible to follow the involved actor during ethnographic research? Perhaps, a careful observation of the processes of ephemeral and the ethereal memories within a movement world, can afford the researcher a chance to follow the actor more closely and tap the enigma of a movement's internal discursive sphere more thickly.

Hence, once again the same question: Between formal manifestation of momentary, point-centric and episodic events in a movement's trajectory, where do protest movements disappear and what do they do? If we were to compare the episodes of assumed 'noise' with moments of assumed 'silence' in protest movement politics, would we reach a chasm/ a gap or would we come face to face with the busy underbelly of the social action?

7.1 The underbelly of collective social action

On the basis of the above given instances from my fieldwork, the answer to the first would be that the micro social movements continue to hold fort and inter-connect the energies that galvanize their evolution even when there is no observable activity in their external discursive sphere. An inductive response to the second query would be that even the moments of silence are credible moments of voice, inside the enigmatic continuum of the protest movement. This enigmatic continuity is registered in its internal layer of action, which I refer to as the IDS or, 'Internal Discursive Sphere' which registers the first hand experiences and imagery associated with yet to occur events or conceptions that are not yet immediately accessible outside of the movement. Finally, actors and articulators in both kinds of movement spheres constantly interconnect and inter-imagine in series of competitive as well as philanthropic ways.

a) Pictures and Explanations: Discursive Spaces and Times in the Bishnoi Tiger Force (BTF) trajectories

I took the picture, included below, at the monthly New Moon meeting that the larger Bishnoi community organizes and attends at its famed religious Centre in Mukkam, in Bikaner's the district town of Nokha. I attended the ritual at the temple during my fieldwork in July 2012. Reaching the venue along with my informants (two Bishnoi Forest Guards) from the forest department at the Government Nursery in Nokha, I noticed that, besides a crowd of approximately 300 people and a local political leader of repute (JS Bishnoi), the Bishnoi Tiger Force volunteers were also present with a group of twenty volunteers at the venue. Once the New Moon prayer ceremony was over and the people started to relax during the afternoon, the conversation turned the BTF and its '*andolan*' (the Hindi word for Movement) to save wildlife.



Figure 2.1: An 'Internal Discursive Sphere moment': A gathering at the Holy Temple in Mukam. Photo: July, 18, 2012.

BTF volunteers may use their Temple space and time to update the other visitors of their latest information on their ongoing struggles and tales of their protest trajectories. Seen in the picture above are Bishnoi elders in conversation with some of the BTF youth, who make it a point to attend these meetings as often as they can. The community lends them a keen sympathetic hearing and tries to help when the

youth volunteers encounter difficulties and bottlenecks. MSMs can make innovative discursive inroads into community spaces and times by making use of competitive imagination vis-à-vis their own IDS³⁷.



Figure 2.2: The Philanthropic Imagination: The BTF Volunteers organised a blood donation camp on February 23, 2015. Photo: From the BTF volunteers on request by email.

In the picture above, a Blood Donation Camp followed by evening prayers, was organized by the BTF in the memory of the community martyr Shiv Beru, in his village. Seen in the picture, are some eager BTF volunteers and leaders who had joined the event to donate blood in a show of philanthropic strength. Such actions serve to lift the BTF prestige in the external discursive sphere.

³⁷ I explain this point below, in reference to a similar practice undertaken recently by the Anti-Drug Forum volunteers in a temple situated in Chatsworth in the South African city of Durban.



Figure 2.3: Competitive Imagination: BTF demands a formal enquiry over wildlife deaths and practices a visible external discursivity. Photo: BTF (Ramniwas Budhnagar) Update, Facebook Timeline. March 1, 2015.

In a status update on the Facebook Timeline of an eminent BTF volunteer of Budhnagar, Jodhpur, stated³⁸, “In the Bhati-Bhand village, near Balesar, almost twenty peacocks and twelve wild female pigeons were found dead on March 1, 2015. Upon the complaint filed by the BTF, the Forest Department has initiated an investigation. Amid reports that poisonous feed may have bought on these untimely deaths, BTF expresses grave sadness”.The next day, another status update appeared on the BTF volunteer Ram Niwas Budhnagar’s Facebook timeline, “*Finally*, after a running the whole day from pillar to post the Forest Department, conducts a postmortem with the help of a team of three doctors. It was conducted in the presence of BTF leaders Ram Pal Bhavad and Ram Niwas of Budhnagar and the

³⁸ Figure **Error! Main Document Only**.The Inter-Subjective Imagination: MSMs as stakeholders in the Public sphere: Amid BTF demands, the state Forest Department finally conducted post mortem. Source: Photo sent by BTF volunteers through FB message inbox.

forest officials, namely, a Ranger from the animal Rescue Centre- Madan Singh Bora. Then we *demand*ed that the guilty should be bought to book.”³⁹



Figure 2.4: MSMs as stakeholders in the Alternative Public spheres: Amid BTF demands, the state Forest Department finally conducted a post mortem. Photo: by BTF volunteers sent through FB message inbox. March 3, 2015.

³⁹ ¹³See, Ram Niwas Budhnagar FB update on March 2, 2015. Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100007354367177&fref=ts>. Retrieved March 3, 2015. Originally posted in Hindi. - “पोस्टमार्टम मौत के कारणो का पता ऐफसल रिपोर्ट के बाद चलेगा.....पोस्टमार्टम 3 डॉक्टरों की टीम ने किया डॉ. राजकुमार माथुर, डॉ. मनोज सिंह तंवर, डॉ. विठलेश व्यास ने किया ! पोस्टमार्टम रेस्क्युसेन्टर मे रेन्जर मदन सिंह बोडा. बिश्नोई टाईगर फोर्स के रामपाल भवाद, रामनिवास बुधनगर. व वन विभाग के कर्मचारियों की मौजूदगी हुआ... फिर हम ने रेन्जर से इस मामले मे दोषियों के खिलाफ कार्यवाही की मांग की”

b) Pictures and Explanations: Discursive Spaces and Times in the Anti- Drug Forum trajectories



Figure 2.5: Philanthropic Moment and the making of internal discursivity - An ADF charity workshop for children, youth and families facing addiction , or on the recovery from addiction. Photo: ADF records, January 2013.



Figure 2.6 : Competitive Imagination: ADF- Volunteers on the street - Gaining visibility through an external discursivity Photo: ADF files, January, 2013, Chatsworth.



**Figure 2.7: ADF Leader (in the front row) waiting to address a workshop on substance Abuse: MSMs as stakeholders in the Alternative Public Spheres.
Photo: ADF records, February 2014.**

In the picture above, Pillay, of the Anti-Drug Forum is seen (at the bottom right hand corner of the picture and -in a pensive mood)- with other delegates at the Umkhumbaan Hall in Cato manor in April 2013. The Stay Safe programme which deals with issues around youth and crime and is a project of the Independent Project Trust (IPT), hosted a successful half-day seminar on the effects of 'sugars'. Giving the Chatsworth ADF's anti-substance abuse movement a positive review, Pillay while narrating to me, recollected how the organizers had praised the 'Chatsworth Anti-Drug Forum (CADF) for its 'experience and capacity to enlighten people on the seriousness of the drug and called upon it to play the all-important role of conducting the seminar' (Interview, January 30, 2014) . Some of the delegates that attended were from the National Prosecuting Authority, the Assets Forfeiture Unit, church organisations, SAPS (South African Police Service) and Metro police and other NGOs. The Forum talked about its experiences relating to the drug 'sugars', which is prevalent in the Chatsworth and Phoenix area. Pillay shared the information from his organization on how Sugars addicts as young as 10 and even a 65-year-old man

have come forward seeking help from them. Pillay reiterated in his public address that the Chatsworth Anti-Drug Forum offers counselling and medical treatment and is run by volunteers. They had seen almost 2500 addicts since April 2012.

More recently , in a status update that Sam Pillay shared on his Facebook Timeline, after visiting a temple in the vicinity to spread the message of his movement, he posted the following - “An exciting event at the 706 Hindu Temple. The interesting thing is that I was invited to speak about social ills affecting our community and how combat them. Faith based organizations certainly have a huge role to play in shaping society. Well done Ravi and the dedicated members. Thanks also to our SMART CLUB members from Montarena who operated our ADF Stand. They thoroughly enjoyed their first experience in a Hindu Temple. They realize the importance of embracing other religions as well”⁴⁰.



Figure 2.8: Enriching the Internal Discursive Sphere– Pillay meeting youth at a local a Temple. Photo: Sam Pillay, Status Update. Facebook Timeline, March 1 2015.

This is a relevant example of how collective social action can spread newer ideas in old, familiar spaces and at the same time acknowledge the importance inter-connecting with actors in their natural everyday encounter venues.

⁴⁰ See, <https://www.facebook.com/sampillayZ>. Retrieved March 1, 2015

In his work, 'Anthropology and Theology', Davies (2002) analyses how religious rituals help people to become secure in their sense of identity through the medium of living moments of inspirational meanings and philosophical ideas. His work creates a scholarly conduit of chartering into newer territories for anthropologists, theologians, or anyone interested in religion who seeks new interpretations of familiar themes. For my work, I use the idea differently. I see how gatherings (which may or may not be owing to a ritualistic event alone) in religious places to understand one of the ways by which a micro social movement, can build up its goodwill, strengthen its identity and expand networks. This is done when a MSM effectively spots a religious place as a familiar space and a space where known people, friends, faces elders and children come together.

As I see it, MSMs seldom hesitate to give their message through a readymade inter-generational context (such as a Temple), whose structures and institutions can be used for peaceful interactions and promotion of collective opinion building. In spaces such as these, often times, conversations on common social irritants such as substance abuse and community action on them can come up naturally in a group. ADF is utilizing its social movement agency to strengthen its discursive spheres by connecting the internal as well as the external elements of support around it. The BTF, in India, effectively undertakes a similar effort, as I have shown elsewhere in this section.

PART VIII: SOME CHALLENGES OF USING THE EEA (EMIC EVALUATION APPROACH) AND CRITIQUES OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL, ETHNOGRAPHIC MODES OF RESEARCH

The use of the EEA meant including actors from all sides of the debate. At times, I felt I had suddenly read 'too much' into the situation: At some junctures, I came face to face with an omnipresent, underlying mutual bitterness among communities. At other instances, administrative frictions and differences in world views suddenly turned the dreamy, idealistic excitement associated with ethnographic modes of 'getting dirty' into a nightmare. I also became (partly)suspect when I projected my desire to be associate and seek the views of both or even multiple sides to the conflictual position taking and imaginations around the protest action:

In the case of Rajasthan, I conducted fieldwork dominantly among the Bishnois and travelled to areas important for their movements. Yet, I also interacted with the

hunting communities whom the Bishnois recognize as being on the opposite side of the conservation debate. Bishnois see themselves as the 'protectors' of wildlife and look upon the 'hunters' as the others who do not play a favorable role for promoting the cause of protecting the ecology. When I approached the hunting communities, such as the Bhils and the Ban Bavaris to take their view on the ongoing changes, it was not easy to break the ice between us⁴¹ and nor was it easy to reach these people in remote areas. Undoubtedly however, it was a fundamentally vital step for the resulting insights from my research, as I show in Chapter III. In the paragraphs below, I share a vignette from one of the most challenging moments I experienced during data collection in Durban:

8.1 Suspicions and watershed moments

Though most of my experiences during data collection and interaction with various actors were fruitful and pleasant, nonetheless, I faced some difficult moments as well. There was one distinct occasion in South Africa where I experienced a tense moment created by the dilemma of attending or not attending to my phone call, lest I sabotaged the actor trust (as I describe in a vignette below) in me.

“The Phone” : I accomplished fieldwork with not only the ADF (Anti-Drug Forum) - which is the principal organization fighting the cause of anti-substance abuse, but I also moved in the world of actors from peripheral organizations such as members of a well-known (maybe feared and infamous) vigilante group⁴². I met with the actors over four long sessions of conversations, exchange of views which also included travelling to some suspicious locales (where drugs users could be possibly spotted in action-day or night) of the city together with them. They would always meet me, post 8 PM, at one particular cafeteria called, 'The Moon'⁴³, that is situated on a chic Durban street. They knew of me, through my casual-fieldwork contacts in the Police who had kindly put me in touch with the members of the vigilante group. Over phone calls I informed the group of my research on the anti-drug discourse in Durban and

⁴¹ I have described my encounter with the hunting communities in details in Chapter 3, Section II. I have explained how, I felt like an intruder while speaking with them. But once the situation eased, I did get an access to information- partly as conversational responses from the Bhils and Bavaris and partly through my own observations and reflections while with them.

⁴² Name withheld to protect identity.

⁴³ Name Changed.

my need to explore various viewpoints. They were receptive and obliging to fix appointments with me. Still when we met, the situation was not very comfortable particularly over the first two sessions, which saw a tense interactive ambience between all of us. Very formal at best but very restricted at worst, my open ended interviews went on without any concrete knowledge creation or breaking of the ice. However, in our third session a watershed moment changed the chemistry between us.

This happened when my cell phone (which I had forgotten to put on the silent mode) suddenly rang in the middle of our conversation. I knew from the way that the call lingered on that it was urgent. I resisted from taking the call, sensing that any such move, might just ruin my trustworthiness in the eyes of the actors who obviously had no firm reason to count me out from being a suspicious outsider. Meanwhile my informants too interchanged tense glances as they could obviously judge that my intention to pick up the phone was somewhat obvious. A cold piercing silence overpowered the moment. I imagined all sorts of disaster, especially as I recalled how anyone from the locals who had heard about my meetings with this group, thought it to be an amusing bravado!

So was this moment about to vindicate their assumptions and was I at risk of earning the ire of the organization? Yet, I took to the long distance call from home just to rule out any emergency, but I thought it wise to ask permission from my companions on the table, if I may pick up the call, confiding it was from my children. Very uncomfortably, they nodded a half-hearted approval, though I could feel I was hundred percent suspect in their eyes now and perhaps further interactions would not be possible any more between us, if this moment boomerangs.

I noticed a certain preparedness in their body language, ready to leave the scene in case the need be. This made me acutely aware of the other side of the bargain: How difficult must it be for them, the vigilante actors, to place their trust in me in the first place and come out openly for fulfilling the purpose of my research. I became more worried and ashamed about their discomfort over and above my own at that moment. Resenting my worries about my safety and amid growing doubts- if I would get another opportunity to meet them any further, I, anyway picked up my phone.

Thankfully, the funny conversation that ensued between my children and me proved to be a watershed moment. My children wanted me to settle a banal argument (that they were having with each- other at that moment on the scientific definition of 'friction'), there and then!

I noticed my informants regaining their composure and for the first time, flashing smiles between them and towards me. I had suddenly gained their trust as a 'researcher-mom' attending to a long distance 'kiddo-fight', is what their bemused glances conveyed to me. In the next two sessions, they spoke openly of their experiences in the substance-abuse scenario and volunteered to take me for a round in the city twice. I was taken to see areas where drug users come into action and places where the group donated food cum medicines for some of the very bad cases of addiction.

What started as a restricted interaction leading to nowhere, converted all of a sudden into a series of most informative encounters that I could have ever expected of the situation.

8.2 Dilemmas of Representation and A limited Glimpse

The use of EEA proved critically important for arriving at an open, inclusive, and a comparative opinion of the movement context. Undoubtedly, it imparted a tight focus on representation by keeping in view the multiplicity and diversity of actors. Still there were some challenges that I faced in the position of a researcher. Some of these had much to do with the phase of data collection through the EEA and others played out at the time of data evaluation. My data collection took place amidst distinct kinds of movement ambiances- one, an anti-poaching movement taking up wildlife protection with an overall local ecological well-being in mind. The other, an anti- substance abuse movement craving for a local community welfare, the creation of safe drug-free society. Both movements live in, either a world of conflicting claims or amidst embittered community relations and, struggles with the legal- administrative system.

The first challenge was that the various actors I interacted with, in certain aspects, did not seem to be fired by motives of neither a complete personal gain nor an out and out public good. Rather by virtue of their social movement imagination, they created a tie between the notion of individual welfare and societal wellbeing. So the

local imagination around poaching in Rajasthan and substance abuse in Durban, although going on in micro social contexts revealed a collective force at work. The social movement created a network of imaginations from the philanthropic to the competitive.⁴⁴ Notions of one actor seemed interconnected to and incomplete without the converse notions of the other. Hence, everyone's views became important to analyze the situation as a whole and in part-esp. when imagined from an insider's (involved actors') perspective.

For me the dilemma was, then, how to be able to do justice to all the voices and scales of analysis without compromising on the variety of voices and actors. My quest in the end was, therefore, to reduce information at hand: i.e. firstly, only to include those examples that would help bring out the inter-subjectivity at play between various actors to see how their imagination succeeds in empowering MSMs, and, secondly to analyze challenges that the movement may itself began to represent for other actors.

Hence, I operated, in the field as well as at the time of the quieter phase of qualitative analysis, fully aware of my inability to include all views. This, in my eyes makes my research less representative than the world of the social movements itself. At the outset, it needs to be stated that the movement imagination and the world of the actors is large, complex, spontaneous, fluid, and ever evolving. No matter how consciously inclusive I became by virtue of adopting ethnographic and emic methods, still it was not possible to accommodate all the voices, especially in terms of quantity.

I have, on the contrary, focused on including the maximum amount of diverse voices w.r.t. retaining the quality of building a holistic database. My endeavor to represent the micro social movements' lifeworld is, but a limited analysis which focuses attention on the discursive spheres of collective action. By circularly juxtaposing voices and practices of a multiplicity of actors with each other, I have expanded upon the various kinds of unifying, divisive or the cohesive imaginations that accompanies them. That does not imply that those voices, which I heard but was hamstrung to include, are not a catalyst for social movement agency and momentum.

Representative and ethnographic methodologies while not without their criticism help

⁴⁴ I explain these below in greater details- see part III

the researcher in being as inclusive as possible. However, as we must admit, it remains the researcher's prerogative or compulsion as to how much can be ultimately processed upon. In this work, while I focus on social movement worlds closely, I could bring forward only those findings that were congruent to my research questions.

Hence, I take this opportunity to extend my acknowledgement for the help and time given to me by every individual, group, institution and my constant incidental 'research companion' -actors and informants in the field. I express my gratitude to all those (whether or not I have managed to quote them) who have helped and guided me and without whose informative and trustworthy networks this research would not have been possible.

The postmodern critique of Anthropology⁴⁵ challenges that there is an objective and knowable 'real' world that can be accurately described and this undermines all evaluative criteria. These crises have implications for how we should understand and reach at ethnographic discovery. Ethnographic discovery is a process not only about uncovering hitherto unknown phenomena, but in many instances, discovering the right questions to ask to understand the emic meaning of known phenomena, as well as newly discovered phenomena.

As I comprehend it, an anthropological approach, (also read, Banerjee 2014:p 26) recognizes that individuals simultaneously belong to those varied aspects of social life and, so, to isolate any of them for investigation is to lose the bigger picture.

⁴⁵ The postmodern critique holds so that there are no guarantees as to the activities of researchers or the truthfulness of their statements which is known as the crisis of legitimation. This 'moment' in the development of ethnography is referred to by postmodern critics as the 'double crisis', the first being the crisis of representation. Both challenge the claim that ethnography can produce universally valid knowledge by accurately capturing the nature of the social world 'as it is'. A view described as 'naïve realism', (for this critique of anthropology see Clifford, 1988; Clifford and Marcuse 1986; in sociology see Atkinson, 1990; Atkinson and Hammersley, 1998; Denzin: 1992 and 1997; Hammersley, 1990, 1992; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; van Maanen, 1988). In as much as ethnographic descriptions are partial, selective, even autobiographical in that they are tied to the particular ethnographer and the contingencies under which the data were collected, the traditional criteria for evaluating ethnography become problematic, as terms like 'validity', 'reliability' and 'generalizability' lose their authority to legitimate the data. 'Validity' refers to the extent to which the data accurately reflect the phenomena under study (also sometimes called 'internal validity'), 'reliability' the extent to which measurements of it are consistent, and 'generalizability' the applicability of the data to other like cases (also sometimes called 'external validity').

Ethnography is usually defined as an open-ended emergent process of learning episodes that is facilitated through iterative processes of continual observations, asking questions (interviewing), making inferences, and continuing these processes until those questions have been answered with the greatest emic validity possible. This process of open-ended emergent learning is facilitated through another departure from the positivist approach of following a rigid methodology.

Thus, Social Anthropology attempts to grasp the holism (and the accompanying messing) of social life rather than compartmentalize it into political, social, religious, philosophical spheres of social of society. While employing my research methodology and later in the description of my findings, I have kept that main consideration in. Looking at the protest imagination, witnessing endless cycles of voluntary, self-less, and unaccounted for philanthropic work of the participants, necessitated understanding the peoples' world as they understood it. It also meant seeing how multiple actors and communities come together to discuss newer issues such as large scale substance abuse and poaching.

Moving along with the actors in their daily life events cleared a lot of my doubts w.r.t my research questions and created the opportunities to witness their engagement with each other. The many agreements and disagreements that voluntary collective social action produces and builds within its internal and external discursive spheres help defining micro social movement worlds holistically. Schools, temples, protest sites, offices, family meetings, organization stock taking exercises, staff of nurseries and tree plantation venues, animal rescue centers, roads, streets, villages became some of the repeated sites that I hanged around in, to build on my observations. I needed to travel more in India than in South Africa as I have explained in Chapter I.

Thick Descriptive observations can usually be carried out trying to observe the phenomena being studied in all its vastness. Keeping Spradley's (1980:73, "approaching the activity in process without any particular orientation in mind, but only the general question, "What is going on here?" words in mind during the first few introductory visits was a good entry point. However, close proximity into the actors' life zones was challenging for me and I imagined, it must be so equally for them, for at times, I could not escape the feelings that I got of, 'prying' into their lives. There were also moments in which I felt like an intruder.

PART IX : CONCLUDING ARGUMENTS: SOCIAL MOVEMENT IMAGINATION AS A JANUS-FACED⁴⁶ DISCURSIVENESS, SYMBOLIC OF ONGOING, UNPREDICTABLE CHANGE

I would state on the basis of my findings and results that the world of social movement imagination reflects a Janus- faced discursive formation. The formation's discursiveness traverses between the internal as well as the external worlds of a movement. This double- faced organic and connective discursiveness is the realm of inter-subjectivity between the movement's internal and its external discursive spheres. Seen thus, the social movement Janus connects the past to an imagined future, bridges the old to the new, the stable to the fluid, and the inherent to the transient as well as the occasional to everyday elements of change.

I look at MSMs as not only a moments and spaces of collective social action, but as valuable collective social methods, narrative texts and contexts of change in themselves. In contrast to looking at movements as mere harbingers of a 'grand' change or a declaration of 'something' that is about to change, our study focuses on the meanings and practices within the MSM world that are already significant of *changein-situ* or ongoing transformations. This would put in perspective, evolving (or transforming/changing) collective political imaginations of alternative publics enact a politics of place, space alongside its processes of 'gaze'. In addition, protest action on poaching illustrates how local issues become an articulated comment on the universal in the case of India or; how the new can be creatively linked to the old as in the case of South Africa.

Since my task was to compare emic realms of social action on issues pertaining to poaching in one context and substance abuse in the other, I adopted an open ended, qualitative approach. To arrive at information, questions were asked to the respondent actors as and when required during this research but no formal questionnaires were used. Ethnography refers to a group of methods, which includes participation, observation, interviewing, focus groups and participative mapping. They are usually well suited where the aim is to understand parts of the world as they are

⁴⁶ Encouraging me to advance in my research questions and findings during both my field visits to Durban in 2013 and 2014, Professor Ashwin Desai used the term '*janus- faced*', as I spoke to him about my conceptions. I decided to keep the term as it fits into my finding of a twin -faced discursivity practiced by micro social movements.

experienced and understood. in the everyday lives of people who actually live them out. Cook and Crang, 1995). Critics of ethnography complain that the results such techniques produce are too subjective. Cook and Crang (1995) do not deny this but suggest that neat theories may produce erroneously neat conclusions. In Manns' perception, societies are always messier than our theories of them (in Cook and Crang, 1995) is a founding ideology of ethnography.

My own research pretty much indicates the same. I have qualitative ethnographic methods beneficially for this research. I have maintained an optimal ethics of research both during exposure to the field and while processing my data. The fuzziness of the enmeshed emic has been deliberately retained in my descriptions. Nonetheless, I have tried to organize my data using suitable terminologies to acquaint the reader with my findings and interpretations. However, my work remains open-ended, still ongoing and eager in search for further interpretations of the social world observed in my examples.

In my endeavours to bring out the emic perspective, I therefore privileged not "riding roughshod over the complexities of the social world" (Hammersley 1992:12) and took up the challenge of presenting a comparative ethnography of two differently constituted MSMs across India and South Africa. There are times when interpretative approaches can be viewed as "self-validating" (Geertz, 1973:2), almost disregarding any claims for truth on the basis that interpretations are subjective, and universal acceptance of one viewpoint is never possible. As Willis (2000:113) has accepted, "there is no guaranteed truth connection", and representation of respondent's views, depends upon an assumption that a culture can be read by another (Seale, 1999). Crang and Cook (1995) have argued that the validity of ethnographic truth claims have to be gauged on their own terms; as accounts that are true to those who revealed them, are embedded in wider social processes, which allow researchers to understand the means by which the world is constructed.

Barker (2000), opines that qualitative work should demonstrate robustness, (see also, Lincoln and Guba's: 1985) criteria for qualitative research. Hammersley (1992) captured this in his demands for a subtle form of realism. He claimed that realism is naïve, insisting that description can never be pure as all facts involve some theoretical assumptions, however, questioned the value of relativist's

incommensurable worlds of multiple truths. He extended the debate by moving away from a dichotomous solution of 'either- or'. Instead opting for a revised form of realism based upon his assumptions. Subtle realism assumes that knowledge can never be absolute. Therefore, ethnographers must be reasonably confident that there is an absence of reasons to believe findings are not true. Second, subtle realism asserts that reality is independent of the claims researchers make about it, whilst the final tenet recognizes that the aims of social research is to represent reality, not reproduce it", thus settling for the position that, "there can be multiple, non-contradictory and valid descriptions of the same phenomena" (1992:51). Therefore, my own case studies represent part of what I have observed and part what the actors have explained to me.

By following the involved actor qualitatively, I have pieced together a description on, how the ADF in Durban and the BTF in Rajasthan build up their strength in the internal as well as the external discursive spheres around their movement. Making use of competitive as well as philanthropic imaginations, these MSMs procure voice and insert their practices in the public domain prestigiously. At the same time, we see how both the movements search for and make use of appropriate opportunities to innovatively usurp, traverse and operate from old discursive spaces, such as community temples.

A micro social movement is hence, a medium through which many newer issues can acquire internal and external discursiveness by the use of community spaces, times and imaginations. Thus, raising hope that agitated situations and feelings of crisis may be endowed with a much-needed collective respite as well as a politics of voice that local communities may need to promote their social causes. In doing so the grassroots social action enriches itself and its support system by enacting various kinds of communicative moments. A discursive formation around a MSM can be divided into two kinds of spaces and moments- the internal as well as the external and two kinds of motives and imaginations- the philanthropic and the competitive.

The IDS and the EDS described in this work are different from off-stage, front-stage and back-stage performances of social actors the way that Goffman has propounded. Goffman's metaphors of front-stage and back-stage, give a theatre-inspired notion of behaviour. In his book, 'Presentation of Self in the everyday Life', Goffman (1959)

illustrates the performance which one puts on while in the public domains or when being watched in contrast to the behaviour enacted in the private sphere when no one is watching. Front-stage behaviour characteristically follows a routinized and imbibed social script shaped by cultural norms whereas in the back-stage people, are more 'relaxed' and present their 'true-selves'.

In contrast, the world of the MSMs cannot be front stage or back stage in the way that Goffman's theatre production or an individual 'performance' is. How can many collective entities, people etc. 'perform' in a similar way at the same time and moment, viz. on stage or back stage? For instance, during a moment of protest action (external discursive sphere) there are multiple actors present and participant in the moment. Alternatively, at an internal gathering, there could be twenty to thirty volunteers and supporters discussing the MSM way forward (internal discursive sphere).

MSM internal as well as well as external discursive spheres relate to the two worlds that the movement traverses while doing its 'work': those of its participants, companions and stakeholders, the other consists of outsiders to the movement. Interactions in both domains can be non-public as well as public, or may or may not take place in front of an exclusive external or internal social gaze. Both these spheres remain visible to the movement participants and many others who get involved in these. There can be an element of performance that a researcher or an observer encounters. Or, a MSM member puts up. That is different and cannot be seen as the 'performance' of a social movement/ its members in toto .

The questions to ask, to arrive at my findings, would rather be: What are the core times and spaces that a movement is made of?; Where do the MSM participants go when not present in an active state of protest or a protest site?; What do they do?: My answer would be the internal and the external discursive spheres wherein the movement exhibits social practice imaginations.

In short, I look at the work being performed by social movement actors in their internal, non-public core as contrasted as well as inter-related to their public, external core. IDS or an EDS moment, space and time for the MSM is not front-stage or back-stage exclusively for its participants. I describe the social movement discursiveness, work, practices in relation to, and presence of, many others in both

the spheres. IDS and EDS unfold in fuzzy greys of the public and non-public domains so characteristic of collective micro-social action, as my findings suggest. Therefore, even if I use both the terms (front-stage or back-stage) in a general way, i.e., as descriptive words, they will not connote the front-stage or back-stage 'behavior' or agency of actors as in Goffman's work.

MSMs constantly switch their spaces between IDS and EDS to accomplish mundane tasks or special necessities amidst unpredictable transitions. Both the IDS and EDS have a separate significance for a MSM and perform different roles but they do not exist in silos from each other. Both spheres of discursiveness demonstrate inherent cum changing convictions, inter-subjectivities and practices of individuals.

Chapter-III

ANTI-POACHING MOVEMENT OF THE BTF IN WESTERN RAJASTHAN: THE REVELATION OF A COMPLEX DISCURSIVE FORMATION

PART I: CONCEPT NOTE

In this chapter I elaborate the various collective action domains of the Bishnoi Tiger Force (BTF) as evident by their transformative social and political engagements. I describe how through their collective social actions, the organisation has created as well as become part of a transitioning discursive formation. Centered principally around the idea of protecting and nurturing endangered wildlife species such as Blackbucks (the Indian Antelope)⁴⁷ and lesser vulnerable ones such as *Chinkaras* (the Indian Gazelle),⁴⁸ the Bishnoi movements forward two kinds of social movement imaginations, namely, the philanthropic and the competitive.

Conceiving their philanthropic work for general ecological welfare of wild life and nature dependent communities, the activists have competitively pushed for the establishment of animal rescue centres in their own community spaces. They have encouraged and kept up the pressure on government to cater authoritatively to the growing need of nursing injured wildlife species and preventing poaching related crimes. Their repertoires also include protest politics against de-forestation and illegal felling of trees while at the same time collaborating with state forest departments in plant protection drives.

⁴⁷ The International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) lists the Blackbuck as, 'Near Threatened'. In India, hunting of the blackbuck is prohibited under the Schedule I of the Wildlife protection Act of 1972 (See Annex I). During the eighteenth, nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, Blackbuck (*Antelope Cervicapra*) was the most hunted wild beast all over India. Till independence (in 1947), many princely states used to hunt this Indian Antelope with gazelles and cheetahs. During the twentieth century, Blackbuck numbers declined sharply due to the excessive hunting, de-forestation and habitat degradation. Nevertheless, populations in India have increased from 24,000 in the late 1970s to 50,000, especially in many protected areas and also in zones dominated by the Bishnoi communities in Rajasthan and Haryana (IUCN: 2015 and Mallon: 2008).

⁴⁸ The *Chinkara* is also known as the Indian Gazelle. In India in 2001, populations were estimated at over one million in the country (nearly 80,000 occur in Thar Desert in north-western India), with a stable population trend. In 1994, it was categorised as, 'Vulnerable', by the IUCN. The situation has looked up since then and the classification has changed to, 'Least Concern' in 2003 (Mallon: 2008). However, the way that these categories create newer chains of meanings to define social relationships is interesting: while the status of the species has changed and gone back to almost stable, the dislocated relationship between communities has altered from the previous patterns of inter-subjectivity into newer ones. It is doubtful that the actors can return to any bygone status, unless many other factors change simultaneously.

For staging their philanthropic politics, they work with families and actors living in remote areas of western Rajasthan. At the same time they stage a competitive demand politics targeting the state and others symbols of public domain such as police stations, courts, and media through their social struggles. Aside from this, the field is rife with conflictual social practice imaginations among Bishnois and other non-state actors. With reference to this, I will analyze the transitioning relations mainly between three communities inhabiting the regions of Jodhpur and Bikaner, specifically, the Bishnois themselves, Bhils and the Ban Bawaris. The continual practices of hunting and poaching of the endangered species is a reflection of the pressures on social relationships caused by a shifting political ecology.

This overall discursivity also reveals, how, as social movement conformists or non-conformists, the peoples' philanthropic and competitive imaginations decide whether the actors chose to oppose or support the state policies or each other. In the process a compact discursive formation comes into place over the issue and between the variously involved actors, (as also we will see in case of the anti-substance movement of the ADF in South Africa, in the next Chapter).

Finally, this discursive coming together of the movement world with that of the state and other non-state actors, in turn, mitigates the boundaries between the powers that be and the various kinds of stakeholders. As the two become interactive parts of a daily encounter zone, this meeting point either unleashes or taps into areas of friction and/or alternative partnerships along the way.

Situations of self-practiced silence and voice, mutual stereotyping or 'reference points' and descriptions, dialogues and stalemate, associative and dissociative positioning becomes a part of this practiced imagination. The movement travels to and links up various sites such as temples, desert jungles, villages, Zoos, rescue centres, police stations, courts, districts government offices in a chains of discursive signification. A similar process, though over different sites, situations and among different kinds of actors comes into being in context of the anti-substance abuse movement as well. I illustrate this later, in the next Chapter.

Below I present some glimpses of the anti-poaching movement and the broader discursive terrains building around it. My data illustrates how the anti-poaching movement creates three kinds of discursivities: the Strategic, Collaborative and the Competitive with its demand politics. But first, I strive to present a comprehensive

view of the Bishnoi lifestyles which impact upon their collective social action (i.e., in case of the directly 'involved' actors). But these fall short of defining it wholly. Hence, I propose that the Bishnoi social movements are entities that raise the plea of being examined in their own capacities as well.

Hence, for the sake of a connectively informative understanding on, 'what's going on' (see Chapter II on Methodology for details) w.r.t their collective action forms, I use the term 'Micro Social Movements', (or MSMs for short as discussed in the Chapter I and II). These MSMs of the Bishnois in Rajasthan, just as those of the Indian South Africans (i.e, those MSMs as specifically referred to in this study) are not only embedded in an overall discursive formation around the issue, but their social movement imagination itself leads to and operates by constructing a twin field of discursivity. This Janus shaped discursivity is symbolic of two kinds of interconnected spaces, which I call, the IDS (Internal Discursive Sphere) and the EDS (External Discursive Sphere).

PART II: AN INTRODUCTION: BISHNOIS, THEIR TRANSITIONING VIEWS ON ECOLOGY AND THE EMERGENCE OF COLLECTIVE SOCIAL ACTION AGAINST POACHING

In this section, I take up debates on the historical origin of the Bishnoi Sect. The motive is to briefly sift through the various organic implications relating to caste and religion in this western Rajasthani sect. Some onlooker actors among whom I conducted research, spoke of locating the Bishnoi protests against poaching, tree felling and related social positioning from within the categories of 'caste' and sect. However, just as their political-economic demands w.r.t their caste status are distinct from their internal practice realms as a sect⁴⁹, the Bishnoi 'eco-social movements' complete a different task/s as compared to these two identities, *per se*.

My research, therefore, does not subsume one context under the other neither denies inter-connection between the two. Rather, I present examples showing how categories as caste and religion may shape up parts of the identity of social movement actors, alongside important socio-economic changes such as, the newer farming methods. I will briefly, take up each of these above mentioned points, including a gap of literature as this chapter unfolds.

⁴⁹ Nonetheless, their common institutions and organizations such as the Bishnoi Samaj can discuss and take up both issues in its internal as well as external discursive spheres as and when the need be. It can do the same for the anti-poaching protests undertaken by Bishnoi and non-Bishnoi actors jointly

2.1 Bishnois and changing social landscapes:

The living patterns and lifestyles of many communities' post- tractorisation and post-tube wells in western Rajasthan is different from what they were earlier. In order to fully understand the Bishnoi anti-poaching movement's aims, modus operandi and implications we require a deeper analysis on its evolution, aside from those factors related to development and economics. For instance, the movement has now a formal-legal side to it, whereby public domains of the state such as prisons, courts, rule of law, forest and conservation departments become part of social movement discursiveness.

MSM successes and failures in these places create an articulatory momentum for the protest action to carry on. Other alternative worldviews represented by local practices on hunting, by actors as Bhils and Ban Bawaris (also Bawariyas) as well as poachers are further needed to complete any study on transitional and transformative discursiveness of the Bishnoi MSMs. In this chapter, I take up a brief journey into the MSM discursiveness, as I was able to cover and understand.

The chief spokesperson (in 2012, at the time of my fieldwork) of the Bishnoi Wildlife protection society and a supporter of the Bishnoi anti-poaching protests, Shivraj Bishnoi from Bikaner (Informal Interaction July 23, 2012), articulates the need for the Bishnoi community to present attention to preserving bio-diversity in their 'fields', i.e., in the context of farming. His worries on how his own people, besides the others, are beginning to forget the values of natural soil rejuvenation and health, makes him take up tree plantation drives among schools and promotes folk scientists⁵⁰. As the Bishnoi farmers take whole heartedly to tractors, since the 1980s, Shivraj 'worries', they have left behind 'healthier', manual ways of farming, which though more cumbersome and less productive, were immensely successful in promoting natural bio-diversity.

For tractors to work, the fields go bereft of trees, and healthy nitrogen-fixation weeds, shrubs, thus axing bio-diversity. Similarly, tube wells, widespread since 1980s are a great source of settled and more comfortable living, providing widespread relief to many communities in the sandy terrain of western Rajasthan. The economic growth of Rajasthan state (India) is largely dependent on water, more specifically on groundwater. It is estimated that 71% of the irrigation and 90% of the drinking water

⁵⁰ It is not possible to elaborate here the amount of work that individuals as Shivraj Bishnoi can perform in one single day for promoting a pro-active care of local wildlife. People as him form a valuable support base for the Bishnoi protest politics whose organizational epicenter remains in Jodhpur.

supply source is groundwater (Rathore, 2003). The groundwater pumping for irrigation purpose increased more than three times in the two and a half decade, from 1984 to 2009 (Rathore:2003).

Guha (see, Qureshi, 2007:130) opines that the problem with (changing) resource use is that while it serves the interests of the economically wealthy populations through conspicuous consumption patterns, the brunt is directly borne by the poor in the countryside as peasants, pastoralists, tribal communities and fisher folk. The shrinking land, soil erosion, forest depletion and water based resource crunch, in general, exerts an explicit pressure on communities who sustain themselves directly from such resources. Additionally, it calls for a strong conservation strategy whose burdens are felt the world over.

However, at the level of local communities a paradox appears in the picture. Many of their folk sciences were sidelined in the endeavor to make them 'participate' in their own 'modernisation' and 'development', at times with their consent and at others, their dissent. Now, as environmental aims become more challenging to achieve, one witnesses a reverse partnership moment now: local communities in India, as Bishnois, for whom a conservation ethic did not start with famous Stockholm Conference or the Rio Earth summit⁵¹ are now invited to spread the conservationists' message' of viable, sustainable, alternative development.

Whether or how much the India is acting up its colonial, post-colonial, neo-colonial lineages or westernization tendencies is not the point here and cannot be undertaken for discussion in this work. Rather, I present a paradox in my case study below, which reveals a love-hate relationship between the anti-poaching movement and other state/non-state actors. Different state and not- actors may endorse the Bishnois and its youth efforts to help out in for re-forestation and wildlife protection partnerships. Others may simply judge or reduce the conservation efforts of their organized social movements as either related to the sect's aversion to meat eating (etc.) or its failure to understand the scientific doctrine of 'survival of the fittest'.

This paradox feeds the protest politics as much as it fuels a dissuasive dynamic against it. As the micro protest politics invents ways to thrive in this discursive formation, it keeps evolving in its internal and the external discursive spheres as well.

⁵¹ Qureshi (2007: 122-136) explains this elaborately in a study on conservation and community participation in India.

2.1 The Anti-Poaching movement of the BTF: A Gap in Literature

A striking feature of Rajasthan is the continuing close relationship of people and their habitat. Many communities still hold on their territories in spite of instances of small scale migration. This is remarkable because Rajasthan is one area which at least for a thousand years has been in a state of turmoil. Migrations from North to South occurred of the Rajputs and allied communities and from West to East of many other communities. The degradation of the Aravali eco-system has had the most disastrous impact on the economy of marginal communities; even so there is no marked incidence of large scale migration, according to the present state of information. For at least two hundred years many communities have maintained their well- defined ethnic and territorial boundaries, (Singh, 1998: Foreword XVII).

The migration of some major tribal groups have been minimal- for example, while the Bhils have settled down in stable places of residence by and enlarge, many Ban Bawariyas continue to shift in the forest and change their sites of residence (Singh: 1998). Some, like the families I interviewed for this case study, (see the sections on *Ban Bawaris* and *Bhils* below) are beginning to settle down.

The total population of Bishnois is not more than 600,000 nationwide. That of India stands at approximately 1.271 billion people in 2015. Population of Rajasthan according to the 2011 census (2011) stands at about 68 million approximately, making it the 8th most populated state in India (Govt. of India: 2010 and 2013). Rajasthan, which is the largest state in the country in terms of area has a total population of 6.86 crore (an increase from figure of 5.65 Crore in 2001 census).

Around 75.11 percent live in the villages and rural areas and 24.89% of the population lives in urban regions, though urbanization is on the increase. The total Population of Bishnois in Rajasthan is around 32600 approximately. They live in rural as well as urban areas of Western Rajasthan predominantly. In the current context, Bishnois typically own varying amount of land and are settled pastoralists. They practice a variety of professions from farming, selling milk, working with the forest departments and the police, dealing in property and transport to being bureaucrats, leaders and teachers (Census, 2011).

'Bishnoi-sm' as a sect and its ecological traditions have been documented in various studies, but the series of sustained protest action emanating from the community

since 1990s has comparatively received lesser attention. However, in both kinds of works, scholars point to the scarcity of analysis on the Bishnoi community. One does encounter numerous newspaper reports; you tube videos or films which provide a glimpse of incidents of protest action and the community's aggressive zeal to save trees and animals.

Jain's ethnographic work (2011) provides details of the community's religion and its ecological customs. He (see, Jain, 2011: 52) speaks of how important environmental studies in India (such as by Gadgil and Guha 1992) entail a passing reference to the community. Gold and Gujar (2002) briefly mentions Bishnois in her work on 'nature' in Rajasthan. Authors such as Dwivedi, Vandana Shiva (1999), and Chapple (2011) have also spoken of the Bishnois in their works, but only to remark on their extreme commitment to the environment; none of these authors provide details about the community's ecological work (See, Reichert: 2015).

Reichert herself tries to provide an ethnographically interpretative analysis on Bishnois, placing their actions, a bit apart from purely religious considerations and ecological romanticisms. She includes information on Bishnoi rescue centres in temples (page: 47). A few incidents of protests briefly mentioning how the Bishnois can follow up environmental crime cases in courts also feature in her work. However, there is no mention of the 'systematic', 'strategic' movement-like efforts being undertaken by entities such as the BTF (Bishnoi Tiger Force activists) in Jodhpur.

My study hopes to fulfill this gap and analyse the protest movement of the BTF activists who themselves refer to their overall endeavor, in Hindi, as an *andolan* (movement), while differentiating it from numerous other terms such as '*muhims*' (campaigns). *Muhims* become the movement's offshoots (Group discussions with head activists Rampal, Ramniwas and a group of other volunteers: July 2012 and December 2013).

The descriptions below will show how social movements of the BTF, besides using community links and resources, unfolds in and provokes the creation of broader discursive spaces. These spaces condense the gap between the rural and the urban, the state and the non-state actors. The movement raises pertinent questions over rule of law, brings innovative solutions to emerging issues and ends up using

different kinds of spaces for this purposes while antagonizing its detractors further. I was able to stay and collect information from the BTF activists and supporters at a variety of informative sites.

I covered the Jhajiwaal village and Temple; Khejrli Memorial site; Guda watering hole and eco-village; Lohavat Village and Temple and Phaloudi; Administrative departments in District Nokha, Nokha Mandi, Nokha Police Station, Nokha Nursery; Police and Forest Departments in Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner. I traveled with the BTF activists to attend gatherings at pilgrimage sites as Mukam, Samratal Dhora, Pipasar, Jhangarao and Rotu, Churu. I accompanied the activists to villages of Martyrs (i.e. those killed while protecting the endangered species from poachers) Chaillu Singh Rajput and Ganga Ram Constable.

Upon my incessant requests, the activists helped me chalk out contacts, logistics and plans to meet, their so-called, 'opponents' in this social debate. They provided me with volunteers to traverse to Ban Bawaris/ Bawris and Bhil Villages so that I could accomplish data collecting. The BTF also showed eagerness to 'understand' why these tribes continue to hunt the endangered species despite stringent laws banning such adventures. Hence, they helped me whole-heartedly in the expectation that if I could get some first-hand impartial views of these,- 'opponent actors', the Bishnois struggles would also benefit from that information base. The predicament that these communities now share with each other as an aftermath of the Bishnoi social movements is that, a natural stalemate has come into existence between the hunting communities as Bhils and Ban Bawaris and the Bishnois.

Before describing the collective action of the Bishnois and the positioning of the hunting tribes in this transformative discursivity, I bring into focus a few general 'identity' milestones of the Bishnoi community, as I mentioned in the concept note to this chapter. Formation of their sect and its rules, its memories around the Khejrli Massacre are a few important internal landmarks, which, can get mirrored in the vocabularies and expressions of the movement actors. Hence, a brief journey into this context at the beginning of my analysis may prove convenient for the reader.

2.3 Bishnois- an eco-religious sect⁵² and the code of 29:

There are a few prominent debates over the spread and the religion of the Bishnois and their evolving identity. Maheshwari⁵³, who has written on the sect extensively in consultation and in consent with the Bishnois organizations and scholars, calls them a Hindu sect formed in areas of Jhangaroo, Pipasar and Mukkam in what is now known as Rajasthan (erstwhile Mewar/Marwar). They later spread to northern India especially in select pockets between Rajasthan and Punjab such as Barmer, Naguar Bikaner, Jodhpur and Ganganagar. There are others as Khan (2003), who argue that the Bishnoi traditions and rituals actually reflect a Muslim state of being (during the origin and founding of the sect) as they not only remain away from idol worship but also bury and not cremate their dead. This resulted in interesting as well as vested debates on whether to situate the Bishnois within Hinduism or Islam in the earlier period of the formation of the sect.

For my study, I take the view that in the times of its origin, the propositions forwarded by the Bishnoi sect were a mixture of the old and the new, forming a unique synthesis of transitory ideas (see Jain: 2010, for debates on mixed, transitory origin of Bishnois). Historically, the origin of the sect coincided with (some) philosophies of the saints pertaining to the Sufi movement (which preceded it) and the Bhakti movement which remained strongly influential during the period of founding of the sect. Viewed thus, such a coming together of ideas in the Bishnoi Sect becomes contextually easier to understand.

It would be good to recall therefore, that Sufism reached India in the 12th century A.D. Its influence grew considerably during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A notable contribution of the Sufis was their service to the poorer and downtrodden sections of society. While the kings and priests often remained a bit distanced from the day to day problems of the people, the Sufi saints maintained close contact with the common people, laying emphasis upon free thought and liberal ideas. They were

⁵² While the historical usage of the term "sect" in other contexts, such as that of Christendom, may have had pejorative connotations, referring to a group or movement with heretical beliefs or practices, in India, the term 'sect' does not denote a split or excluded community. Rather it refers to an organized tradition, usually established by founder with ascetic practices. (See, Wilson, 1982: 89 and Michaels: 2004)

⁵³ Activists and scholars from the Bishnoi sect informed me that the most complete work on Bishnoism was compiled and translated by Professor Maheshwari. Although a certain section of the community's intellectuals insist that their relics have not been interpreted in totality, yet Maheshwari's work remains the first detailed scientific work on the origins and activities of the sect based on its own written records.

against formal worship, rigidity and fanaticism in religion, (Anniemarie, 1975; Abidi, 1992; Raziuddin, 2007; and Alvi, 2012).

On the other hand, Bhakti movement was a socio-religious movement that opposed religious bigotry and social rigidities. It emphasized good character and pure thinking. At a time when society had become stagnant, the Bhakti saints infused new life and strength by newer modes of thinking. These movements awakened a new sense of confidence and attempted to redefine social and religious values along with reordering of society along egalitarian lines. Their call to social equality attracted many a downtrodden (Kieckhefer and Bond: 1990; Nelson, 2007; Government of India, 2011 Pechelis, 2014; and Hawley, 2015). The interaction between early Bhakti and Sufi ideas alongside the previous influences of Jainism and Buddhism in the region laid the foundation of more a wide variety of social formations in the fifteenth century.

Bishnoi Sect was one such one such formation. This helps us understand the mixed religious and social features of the Bishnois, which to borrow Turner's (1967a and 1967b)) concept, may very well be reflective of 'social' liminality: Evolving in a difficult period of Indian history, the Bishnoi sect found a new identity in their ecology inspired religion. According to folklore, local traditions, and vernacular literatures, Jambhaji (as the Bishnoi Guru is popularly known) had an uncommon attachment to nature. Some say that being disenchanted by the struggles over political power between Hindus and Muslims, he sought ways not only to reconcile them but also to put before them an example of a heightened moral sensibility; others opine that a long period of drought moved him to seek protection for all animals and plants (Lal: 2005). Negating none of the two, learning as well as borrowing from Hindu and Muslim cultures, Bishnoi faith formulated an innovative concept of humaneness.

This humanitarian as well as ecological philosophy appealed, or was devised to appeal to the peoples' consciousness in and around the Marwar region of the then India. For instance, one such philosophy that flourished around the same time was that of Jainism which is inherently against killing of any living beings. At the turn of the 20th century, there was still no single take on Bishnoi religion and rituals, except their self-recognition as a sect. Owing to this, their faith came to be affiliated to Hinduism in some records and to Islam in other documents/archival observations. Besides, in the 1891 Census of Marwar, Bishnois were classified as Muslims.

However, after the 1950's, all written records of India and district gazetteers talked of the Bishnois as a Hindu sect. Effectively the only way to explain this development in

the post- partition era is that as the Hindu and Muslim identities suffered further polarizations, Bishnois were promptly "Hinduized", as Jain (2010) maintains. They were made an explicit part of the majority community just like many other marginal communities of India. Bishnois have a sizeable population in areas of Utttar Pradesh, Haryana, and Uttarakhand as well.

This community, which is said to have had features of both Hinduism and Islam, yet not completely given in to either, now, is evidently and completely within the Hindu fold in state records. Besides as far as its original memory and self- identity is concerned, Guru Jambeshwar, the founder himself was a Hindu, (Khan: 2004 and Maheswari: 2011). So while cherishing its mixed origins and innovative environmental responsibilities, the community holds itself as falling within the fold of Hinduism.

Historically speaking, the Bishnoi sect was formed by Guru Jambheshwar in the aftermath of a severe drought in Marwar (erstwhile Rajasthan) region of north-western India in 1485 AD. The Bishnois considered that their guru was a reincarnate of Vishnu (an Indian God). Guru Jambheshwar gave a set of twenty-nine principles to be followed as edicts of day-to-day life. The sect's religious philosophy was written down in the form of poetic literature and is available in a compilation called, *Jamasagar* (it elaborates rules and advices for a just, humane, non-violent, truthful, simple as well as vegetarian lifestyle). Based on such an origin and its associated belief system, Bishnois came to form a distinct religious sect. The name "*Bishnoi*" (or Bish- Noi i.e. Twenty plus nine)⁵⁴,` represents the number of principles espoused by Jhambheshwar.

Despite being born a Khsatriya, the second highest Hindu caste, he disapproved of the caste system and desired to create a classless (i.e, in relation to caste) community into which all were accepted. Advocating the worship of Lord Vishnu, Jambeswar strictly prohibited animal killing and cutting of trees. Born in 1451, he is said to have practiced a spiritual engagement towards social and ecological

⁵⁴ Bishnoi, is the literal word that stands for number 29, i.e. *Bish* implies, 20 and *noi* means 9 in terms of numerical values- as expressed in the local dialect.

problems of his times, since early youth. In 1485, he founded the Bishnoi *Sampradaya* (a sect) in Sambarthal (located on a sand dune called Samrathal Dhora in the District Nokha) in the western Rajasthan state of Bikaner. Regarded as a great saint, he preached love for all living beings through his '*shabads*' (sayings) which are known to be approximately more than hundred in number⁵⁵.

To be a Bishnoi the exclusive requirement was to live by these twenty nine life principles⁵⁶ including no killing or eating of animals, no cutting down of 'living' trees or their 'living' (i.e green and growing) parts and no alcohol consumption. All castes and communities, who agreed to abide by these rules, were welcome to join the sect and did so. This was in itself a groundbreaking membership provision in the times that it was proposed and practiced.

Post-Jambha's death in 1532, his Shabads continued to draw many supporters and followers, (See, Bishnoi and Bishnoi: 2000; Chandla: 1998; Dalal: 2014, Chapter J; Tobias: 1988; and the Bishnoi Homepage). In the temples at Jhajhiwal, Khejerli, Rotu, Phaloudi, Mukkam, I interacted with the priests who explained the significance of the rules of Bishnoism in terms of leading a sustainable lifestyle in the Thar.

A striking feature of these temples is that all of them contain elaborate pictorial depictions of the twenty- nine tenets. These rules and scriptures were meant to be seen, read, recited equally by everyone and were equally applicable for all who came into Bishnoism or were born into it. Temple walls around the main shrine, inside the temple complex where the deity⁵⁷ is installed or the sanctum sanctorum of the temple, usually have a picture chart or a painting of these rules.

⁵⁵ These were collected and compiled by Vilhoji, one of Jamabaji's follower, who live during 1532-1616.

⁵⁶ Though Bishnoism has not been expanding in terms of new membership, the Bishnoi respondents consulted for this research, interestingly co-incide with their opinion, that anybody who agrees to abide by Jambaji's code of 29 principles, could be welcomed by the Bishnois as a part of their community

⁵⁷ The Bishnois keep a picture of Jambheshwarji in the shrine.



Figure 3.1: A poster depicting some of the 29 rules of Bishnoism-as put up on the wall of the Bishnoi Temple at Rotu Village, Rajasthan. Photo: December 21, 2013.

People from the community will usually recite these rules from memory. In many conversation contexts during my research, I noticed how this ‘code of 29’ appears frequently in their vocabularies. Out of a total of twenty -nine principles compiled under a text –document called ‘Jambovani’, eight tenets are exclusively devoted to the preservation of bio-diversity, including the promotion of good animal husbandry.

Certain written rules and norms relate to their own personal ‘well- being’ (i.e. from within Bishnoi conceptions) and include a strict focus on vegetarian, simple living, cleanliness, good behavior and worship of Lord Vishnu. Rules on abstinence from alcoholic and other inebriating substances and simple food habits set the tone of their vegetarian, quasi-ascetic living.

Bishnoism as a sect has not only proposed, but over the ages, has also learnt to internalize a daring conservation ethic in the Thar Desert. The nineteenth and twenty eighth rule pertaining to the ‘code of 29’, ingeniously call forth for the protection of wild life (plants as well as animals).



Figure 3.2: Daily evening prayers at the Rotu Temple, Distirct Naguar. The rule chart showing 29 rules can be seen on the wall behind the Vedi or the fire altar. Photo: December 12, 2013.

The community usually remains very attentive to environmental well-being in the areas surrounding their houses and fields. Individual incidents of martyrdom in the protection of wildlife have been reported in 1603 and 1643 AD. However, it was the massacre at Khejerli that displayed for the first time how seriously the Bishnois can take this calling. In the year 1730 (see details in Vardhan: 2014), the king of Jodhpur sent his army out to cut trees to build his palace.

When his army started to log a Bishnoi forest, they staged a non-violent protest, offering their bodies as shields for the trees. The army's axes killed 363 before the king, hearing of their courage, halted the logging and declared the Khejarli region a preserve, off limits for logging and hunting. Honoring the courage of the Bishnoi community, the then king, Maharaja Abhay Singh, apologised for the mistake committed by his officials. He issued a royal decree engraved on a copper plate (or '*tambra-patra*' in Hindi) prohibiting the felling of trees in the Bishnoi areas. This account is recalled in many contexts, when the Bishnois as well as non-Bishnois refer to the '*tambra-patra*' declaration as a victory of peoples' efforts towards conservation.



***Figure 3.3: A Khejri tree cluster, behind the Khejerli Massacre site.
Photo: July 13, 2012.***

Till date, the Bishnoi community commemorates the sacrifice and the symbolic victory at khejerli by maintaining the place as a heritage site. My informants apprised me of how the community organizes an annual fair at the location near Jodhpur, and maintains a functional temple. Precious relics are preserved therein. These include paintings, old musical instruments, rule-charts and other ceremonial objects required to complete devotional rituals.

In 1988, the Government of India commemorated the event formally, by naming the Khejerli Village as the first National Environmental Memorial (Clarke, 1991). A cenotaph now stands at the site as a memorial to the Bishnoi lives lost at the massacre site, which is collectively maintained through community funding and at times by private donations. Under the BTF micro-politics, the site receives newer discursive dimensions. The movement, in its attempt to legitimate its contextually imagined ecological obligations, evokes this earlier instance of sacrifice for stirring support among its community audiences. Such actions help them fortify their IDS.



Figure 3.4: Drums at the temple in Khejrli. Used for the ritualistic morning and evening prayers during special days. Copyright Author: July, 10, 2012.

The incident has ensured the Bishnois, as historian Zurul Khan Mehr opines (Informal Interaction, Jodhpur, December, 20, 2013) an eminent place in modern Indian history, besides having generated a web of community narratives around it. In the pre-British times as history was recorded by royal scholars, understandably hardly any mention of Khejerli incident gets made. While many subsequent scholars have questioned the veracity of the incident, historian Mehr explains that 'Khejerli Massacre' already lives in alternate sources, i.e. in the Bishnoi oral narratives. It does not need to be 'certified in writing'.

In this tale of Bishnoi martyrdom could also be read a narrative of resistance to Rajput or upper-caste domination, though the story is colloquially more often adduced as an illustration of the conservational ethic and wisdom of the Bishnois (See, Lal: 2003; Fisher 1997; Gadgil: 1999; Sankhala and Jackson: 1985). For the community however, the incident is symbolic of resistance and conservation both, as my respondents asserted. The Khejerli village incident represents memory of pain, loss, victory, protest voice and oneness of the community. Currently, it is also lifted as a symbolically appealing frame by mobilisers of collective action

As I explored the relics at Khejerli, on July 14 2012, Poka Ram Bishnoi⁵⁸ recounted a well-known statement for me, eagerly adding that it is etched upon the community's memory system: "*sir santhoon roonkh rahe to bhi sasto jaan*", ('if a tree is saved even at the cost of one's head, it is worth it'). His words echoed through the silences at Khejerli and got intermingled with its green cover that the Bishnois have taken upon themselves to maintain



**Figure 3.5: Painting I at the Khejerli Temple: The first, 'martyr' from the bottom right is a woman called Imarta⁵⁹ - (name written in Hindi).
Photo: July 17, 2012.**

⁵⁸ P.R. Bishnoi was one of my key informants in Jodhpur. He works in the forest department and is sympathetic to recent Bishnoi activism on poaching.

⁵⁹ Often mistakenly called Amrita Devi in Hindi accounts - as the Bishnois and non-Bishnoi historians in Jodhpur pointed out to me. They reason that the Hindi name, Amrita could not have been prevalent in the 18th C Marwar/Rajasthan. Amrita is more likely, as Sona Ram Bishnoi (Interview 19 December, 2013) explains, a phonetically confused version of Imarta the latter being a name closer to the local dialect of those times. In some paintings it may also appear as Imarti, as the one below.



Figure 3.6: Painting II at the Khejerli Temple: The second martyr from the bottom right is a woman called Imarti⁶⁰ - (name written in Hindi). Photo: July 17, 2012.

These were, incidentally, the last words uttered by Imarta/ Imarti Devi⁶¹, first woman who died in defense of the *Khejri* ((*Prosopis cineraria*) trees during the 1730 khejerli Massacre, explained Priest at the Khejerli Temple (Interview, July 14, 2012). Her martyrdom at Khejerli⁶² instantaneously prompted other 362 fellow Bishnois to give up their lives in protest of the deforestation ordered by the royals in khejerli. Interestingly the Bishnois, village after village that I travelled to, repeated the story for me orally whenever I asked them of the inspiration behind BTF eco-activism throughout the state.

The narrative freshness that one encounters over the incident is not restricted to the Bishnoi doorsteps alone. People all over Rajasthan consider it as a part of their collective heritage and a critical annotation regarding the *eco-consciousness*⁶³ of the common people. The only difference is that Bishnois proudly relate to it as their 'own' contribution. As one traverses through the Bishnoi pilgrim sites, one comes across the saying in numerous forms.

⁶⁰ Refer to footnote thirteen above.

⁶¹ Explanation given in Footnote thirteen above.

⁶² The village of Khejarli still exists and is situated about 30 km south of Jodhpur.

⁶³ This term will be taken up separately in the succeeding pages.

Encountered in the garb of a painting in temples, as a sign post on highways, as a mural in the open public spaces, on an educational chart, in school books or bulletin boards, or as a framed adornment in government run nurseries and public offices, the sentence can spring at you from the oddest places including road-side tea stalls and posters. Imarti's last words, which have lived on to capture the Bishnoi ecological imagination, continue to reverberate as an environmental conservation stance throughout the state.

For the BTF activists, too, this is yet another part of their identity, though it does not cover their whole activism. Below I include a photograph of the entrance gates of the Rescue Centre services organized by the Bishnoi Community. Imarta's famous sentence, associated with her last words before she was massacred at the sight of Khjerli protest, are painted on the wall.



**Figure 3.7 : In a Bishnoi community supported Rescue Centre at Mukkam, Rajasthan . Imarti's famous last words painted on the right-hand wall.
Photo: December 23, 2013.**

2.4 Bishnois as a caste-like social formation:

The next way to understand Bishnoism is as a caste-like social formation. Even though, in everyday perceptions of the self, Bishnois actively define themselves as a caste neutral Hindu sect⁶⁴, it is relevant to state that some of its practices are very much caste-like. While it is a well-recorded fact, (refer to debates above) that the sect disassociated with caste system and considered it as one discriminatory social evil that they would opt out of⁶⁵, yet they did not leave Hinduism, *per se*. This means that naturally, they continued to follow some aspects related to the caste system. Endogamy, restrictions on commensality and heredity are important characteristics of caste as a social formation.

Bishnois were once upon a time an open group (meaning thereby its membership was expanding) and hence, the rule of heredity allegiance were still not the only way to become a Bishnoi. One could convert to Bishnoism. By the early 20th Century, however, the Bishnois as a sect have stabilized, as V.V Bishnoi (previously an advocate, now a judge), SR Bishnoi (senior scholar), JS Bishnoi (established politician) from Jodhpur analyse. One does not hear of conversions anymore. However, the sect remains open to welcome those who abide by its twenty-nine principles. Members are now predominantly born into the sect, retaining its belief systems as a 'given', rather than being converted to them by choice or adopting them at different stages of their life.

Bishnois trace their descent from eight endogamous sections, namely, Jats, Baniya, Brahman, Ahir, Sonar, Chauhan, Kasibi and Seth. These castes correspond to the social category that the original and later member and/ or converts belonged to and do not define set social-discriminatory boundaries as of now. Of significance is the fact that these castes represent a mix of 'high' and 'low' social divisions. However, even though the sect maintains the same rules for all Bishnois, no matter which their descent be, they still carry over the *gotra* systems from the 'caste' scheme of social life.

⁶⁴ This comes across in my interviews and conversations with the Bishnoi actors belonging to the anti-poaching movement and outside of it. When asked how much influence caste assumes in their life, they are quick to insist how their point of origin as sect was an *evolutionary* (meaning thereby that no political rebellions were staged, so to say) protest against discriminatory social conditions, out of which caste system was an important one.

⁶⁵ The Indian caste system, writes Bhatt, has no grip in the Bishnoi philosophy, in which generally equal rights between the sexes also prevail. See Bhatt, R: http://www.ymparistojakehitys.fi/susopapers/Background_Paper_10_Rakesh_Bhatt.pdf

A *Gotra* exogamy means that they marry into no family so long as any tie of a relationship is remembered, (Blunt, 2004: p.134). Other important aspect carried over from caste system is that, as a rule Bishnois marry among themselves, though a few exception have now started to occur. In this sense its caste neutrality would therefore signify that internally, the sect does not discriminate or initiate inclusion or exclusion processes/politics as they all, technically, identify themselves as 'Bishnois'. This serves explains the close-knitted nature of the sect. In this feature again, it begins to resemble a caste in general.

In the rules governing birth and marriage ceremonies, they practice the Hindu system of *Gotra* identification at the time of name giving and marriage. Besides the above stated rituals of baptism and *gotra* imitative/derivative from Indian caste system, the other factor is the practice of restrictions on commensality or inter-mingling with other, 'caste'. This applies to socialisation or accepting food and drink from people of the other, especially, lower castes, so to say. While the practice is now waning in urbanized contexts, till date the very orthodox among the Bishnois hesitate inter-mingling with people/communities of a lower caste status. Hence, we see that in specific social life norms, they have continued to conduct themselves as caste and/or caste-like social formations may do.

Nevertheless, as my actor-informants all over Rajasthan have repeatedly stated, they conduct themselves differently from a purely caste based social order. For them, 'practicing' a politics of ecology divides their social attention equally as abiding by the philosophy of their sect. Caste and religious stipulations are, in this sense, only one part of their life-world. They would be insufficient to explain 'all' other political (or otherwise) activities undertaken by the community. The eco-activism depicted by the Bishnoi Tiger Force along with its repertoires and arguments are rooted in and cater to, a much broader socio-political context, over and above religion.

Therefore, in the following sections, I bring into focus my analysis on Bishnois as social movement actors. I illustrate how MSMs are not subsumable under the categories of religion, caste, or their status as sect. Neither by placing Bishnoi activism in any of one of these categories nor by placing it as pertaining solely to all of them together can we understand the new strains of politics emerging in the MSM context . The movement politics brings in newer features, questions and issues than the ones taken up by caste, religion or philosophies affiliated to the sect (for more on

the questions that Bishnoi eco-movements pose for the Indian state and democracy, see Luthra Sinha: 2016a).

2.5 : BTF and its Competitive discursivity: From 'eco- consciousness' to an 'eco-activism'

An organic eco-Consciousness: I take up this point as the social movement actors frequently co-relate their social action as stemming from a bridge between one and the other identity. Possessing an eco-consciousness as part of social upbringing, they still felt that alone their love for ecology would not ensure its overall protection. Therefore a group of young men decided to form an organization called the, 'Bishnoi Tiger Force' or BTF, which is registered as a voluntary, non-profit and is associated with activism since the late 1990s in Jodhpur. However, its epicenter being one particular state, does not deter it from reaching out and travelling all over western Rajasthan.

In the performance of its environmental activism, the members remain ever ready to spare time out of their routines. Their personal life are not sustained through activism. The youth members may get some of their expenses from traditional livelihoods. Generously, their families and friends in the villages may support by providing for their daily allowances, despite their absence from farm labour back home.

Significantly, the Bishnoi women⁶⁶ encourage the men to wage struggles and protests in the pursuit of environmental justice, never mind the dangers or resources that this implies. Supportive community members in the city and towns may extend various kinds of professional help. Bishnoi community is known to own transport houses and many drive vehicles free of charge for the BTF cause or may provide fuel. Also known for having diversified into the legal profession, one of the biggest source of voluntary advice for the BTF, in legal court cases on environmental issues are the lawyers from the community.

Thus the activists are able to tap into their community resources effectively. BR Bhado, from the forest department is another such resource person for the BTF activists. As an alert officer who has become well known for thwarting many an environmental crime not only helps the causes that the BTF fights by guiding the

⁶⁶ This work will not be able to do justice to the evolving the role of Bishnoi women who share courage and solidarity with the activists. I do reiterate this as a key area for research: see Chapter V.

organization on forest laws and procedures. Bhadu states, (Conversation over phone, July 2012, Jaipur and Informal Interview, December, 2014, Jodhpur), gives his version of the Bishnoi fervor to which the activists whole heartedly agree:

“You can consider our actions towards wildlife protection and a preparedness to die in its defense, if need be, as an obsession and a part of our upbringing. It comes to us partly, because we carry a corporeal, folk memory of the conditions in which our sect originated and partly from our collective memories of the massacre at khejerli. Together they symbolize our fears and our hopes for survival in the desert. Not only this, they inspire some of us to don the mantle of collective action more suitable to the present times. Poaching is a crime that happens in clandestine silences that are potent enough to drown the voice of laws in India. Therefore the Bishnois actors who participate in protest politics, to register upon the Indian society and state, fair and square, based on past and present experiences- a concern, a fear and a hope for a public, village based environmental well –being.”

The turning point in Bishnoi Imagination: new activism amidst familiar community discourses

Here I return to what Jain (2010) states, more elaborately, as he reiterates a fundamental point:

“Similar to post-independence ‘Hinduisation’ of Bishnois, Bishnoi community has been undergoing, ‘Ecologisation’ since 1980s. Although, their sacrifices for ecological resources are embedded in their history, environmentalism is only a small part of the whole tradition laid down by Jambesvara. However with all this limelight that they are getting from the media, they have started calling their tradition as, ‘Bishnoism: An eco-Dharma’ (*Dharma* in Hindi means religion/duty).

I agree with Jain’s broader analysis regarding the dearth of studies on Bishnois and, their environmentalism. However I differ with him on the suggestion that this environmentalism is but, an organic ‘part’ of the ‘whole’ Bishnoi tradition. My work on the MSMs of the Bishnois leads me to suggest otherwise. Not every action undertaken by their movement vis-à-vis environmental issues is related to their identity as a sect. I would rather propose that those from the community who have become eco-‘activists’, are significant of a new and evolving political self-gaze.

Also for some reason if the community chooses to refer to itself differently (as Eco-

Dharma, for instance), I would consider it a viable point for beginning a dense research on this changing imagination. Hence, I propose that we need more studies to see how some members of the community were able to turn their organic practices into an inspiration for micro political action, embedding themselves in and raising newer terms and issues in the wake of their actions.

If its activism is explored further, a bit distant from all –encompassing /overpowering religion, caste, sect considerations and closer instead, to an analysis of social action and activism, we could perhaps begin to understand why (some) from the community feel the need to add a new description to themselves. Hence, alongside its history, the evolution of its environmental Bishno-ism, so to state, over the recent years would be a fruitful point to start from. To this end, Jain himself has included an informative section on ‘Ecological Protection by the Bishnois’ in his informative article.

I substantiate my point of the new eco-activism amidst the old eco-consciousness by showing how the BTM activists bring discursive energy into temple spaces, to effectively use them as nodes of communication, besides places of worship. In their principal pilgrimage site in Mukkam, one of their important rituals relates to the day before the new moon that they observe as the Sabbath and a day of fasting, doing no work in the fields. They also perform ‘*Havan*’, a special ceremony performed with a centrally lit fire in their temples around this time and attend it in large numbers.

Participating in this monthly ritual and donating food every month is a part of the special cyclic duty of their sect (Gazetter of India, 1983), and here they reiterate their regard for animal life which is such that not only will they not themselves kill any living creature, but they do their utmost to prevent others from doing so. The activists use these moments to inform their curious community elders and leaders of their struggles and successes.

Bishnoi activists have use temples as rescue centres (where there is dearth of/ delay in the provision of governmental infrastructure) such as the one in Jhajhiwal. Aside from big centres as Mukkam, local temples can also act as exchange of information opportunities between activists and the larger community. It would be apt to point out that the Bishnoi social struggle picks up the evocative imagery around martyrdom, as a symbol to express solidarity with its own community internally as well as project this as a motivation for continuing the struggle for justice externally. Placating the sacrifice of martyrs for surviving family members by campaigning for some basic allowances for them and negotiating the state so that offenders face the rule of law,

are aims that derive instant sympathy. A chain of campaigns and politicking consequently keeps the activists busy.

Of late, the community encourages a systematic demand politics on such issues as, providing well being for the families of those who died in protection of endangered or vulnerable wildlife species. The Bishnoi activists assert, in many cases unless the movement raises voice, procedures of law remain mute. From 1947 to 1963, there were only six cases of 'wildlife martyrs' as is stated in the 12th Birding Fair Report (Vardhan:2009). Between 1977 and 2015, my informants apprised me of 5 more such deaths⁶⁷. Bishnois as well as non-Bishnois have died at the hands of poachers. With the progress of time, the Bishnoi protests have demanded formal recognition of such acts as 'bravery' and the cash awards that accompany such awards go the surviving families of the victims. Cases, which have helped, galvanize the Bishnois activists over a period are mentioned below:

Birbal Bishnoi from Lohavat died when he was shot at (by poachers) while saving *Chinkaras* (Indian Gazelle) in 1977; Nihal Chand Bishnoi died in Bikaner *Tehsil* (District) while trying to catch poachers in 1996. Owing to massive protests around the incident, he was awarded the national bravery award *Shaurya Chakra* posthumously by the President of India on 22 Oct. 1999. Narayan Ram Jat from Barmer was killed in 1999 and conferred the Amrita Devi Award posthumously (with cash reward of Rs 25,000) by the Government of Rajasthan. Ganga Ram Bishnoi died in 2000 in District Osiyan while apprehending the poachers red handed and who in turn shot him dead on the spot. His next of kin were given Rupees 10,000 from Chief Minister's Relief Fund, Rs 100, 000 with a citation by the National Welfare Board, Rs 11,000 by the Tourism & Wildlife Society of India (TWSI), Jaipur. Chhailu Singh Rajput from Village Bhomiasar in 2003 in Post Himmatsar while pursuing armed poachers. He was awarded Padamshree Kailash Sankhala Award 2002 and

⁶⁷ Penalties related to the Wildlife Act 1972 are prescribed in its section 51. Enforcement can be performed by agencies such as the Forest Department, the Police, the Wildlife Crime Control Bureau (WCCB), the Customs and the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI). Chargesheets can be filed directly by the Forest Department. Other enforcement agencies, often due to the lack of technical expertise, hand over cases to the Forest Department. Much depends on the kind of crime that occurred at the site of the incident: if an endangered species is harmed or killed, the forests and wildlife departments can register the crime. If on the other hand, there is an ensuing struggle, scuffle, tension between communities or a person gets killed during such a crime or an attempt to execute it, the police and courts need to step in. (See Annex 1 for further details of the act). The Bishnois, however point out that many in the forest departments remained under trained for registering such crimes and dispensing justice. The police system and judiciary may have their own loopholes while functioning. Bishnois hence feel the need to articulate their collective social practice imaginations around the cause.

Amrita Devi Award posthumously (see, Reichert: 2015, for more details).

Due to the well-known incidents of martyrdom, the Bishnoi began to be perceived as bold protectors of trees and wildlife by both independent observers (Gaedtke and Parameswaran, 2012) and local people (including some of the non-Bishnoi respondents approached for this research). The practice and the 'bloated' imagery around daring men and women prepared to give up life trying to prevent/foil acts of poaching is enough to create a sense of 'difference' between Bishnoi activism or other forms of activism, environmental or otherwise⁶⁸. We therefore see, that certain values that are inherent to the community such as a spirit of nursing dying, sick wildlife as well as preventing any harm to it become a basis for critically informing the discursive spheres around protest action- internally as well as externally. However there are newer socio-political elements that these protests introduce and practice.

Values of customary ecology are an important description of the Bishnois. But there is a catch. They are not adequate for understanding the protest action of the BTF. Moreover, many martyrs in the above list were from a non- Bishnois background. So, the BTF campaigns in the memory of such sacrifice rise above the consideration of caste or community. In this way such deaths tend to energize the internal and external layers of collective social action, in familiar yet newer ways. The BTF anti-poaching movement, thus crosses the boundary of old community beliefs/inherited values or structures to either impart to them a new meaning or push them into newer roles.

The BTF activists confront the state over its legal apathy, in case adequate follow up is not done. Additionally, while the voice of protest raised by youth unites the community in its sense of pain. It ensures that when needed, the elders go all out to help the BTF who take on the state in cycles of persuasive demand politics. A death is followed up by a protest to register report correctly, in case not so; activists then inspire their own community organizations and state political leaders for compensating the concerned family with awards, citations, money or allowance. In case of a national bravery award, other advantages to the village of the martyr can also follow, such as construction of roads, supply of water and so forth. This may serve as a inspiration carry on a philanthropic politics for the family even as demands for posthumous recognition and awards to 'martyrs fulfill the role of a competitive politics. Therefore, we see that besides an organic eco-consciousness and a

⁶⁸ However, if the preparedness to die in defense of a cause is not stated, it does not mean other activists have to face no physical threats or challenges or do not end up dying for the sake of their cause in India. They do.

spontaneous will demonstrated by the community down the ages to protect wildlife, there is a new vigour towards organized action against illegal hunting.

At the same time, one witnesses an extension of the activism to a post-martyrdom phase. In this last aspect, a lead role is being played by some Bishnoi youth under the banner of an organization called the Tiger Force (BTF). The organisation has taken upon itself the task of spreading local awareness for protection of trees and wildlife on the one hand and protesting against poaching of certain endangered species in Western Rajasthan, on the other. Below I attach a picture of the BTF membership form.

॥ श्री जम्भेश्वरदास जय ॥
 तारीख: मं. JDR/33/07-08
 ॥ श्री 363 शहीदी की जय ॥

विश्वनोई टाइगर वन्य एवं पर्यावरण संस्था (रजि.)
विश्वनोई टाइगर फोर्स

प्रधान कार्यालय : 369, तलाववाड़ा अन्ताराष्ट्रीय जर्बोलेपी, हनुमान नगर, जोधपुर, राजस्थान (भारत)

संस्थांक संख्या **3259** **प्रवेश-पत्र**

पंजीकृत मुख्यालय-01
 संजीवनी मुख्यालय-99

"शिरि सति संक व वन्य जीव धरे तो भी जरती जान" बीटीएफ

संस्था के
 कार्यवाहक
 संजीवनी
 फोटो

मेरे नाम _____ पता _____
 जन्म _____ शहर _____
 पता _____ जिला _____ राज्य _____ का है।

मैं परमात्मा को सर्वोपरक मानकर इच्छित करता/करती हूँ कि यदि मुझे विश्वनोई टाइगर वन्य एवं पर्यावरण संस्था विश्वनोई टाइगर फोर्स का सदस्य/सदस्या बना दिया जाये तो मैं उस संस्था के उद्देश्यों, नियमों का पूरा पालन करूँगा/करूँगी। मैंने उस संस्था के उद्देश्यों, नियमों का स्वाध्याय कर लिया तथा मुझे व समझ लिया है।

मैं किसी ऐसे कार्य को नहीं करूँगा/करती, जिससे उस संस्था को हानि पहुँचाने की सम्भावना हो। मैं इस संस्था को प्रतिबन्धनी बनने हेतु किसी प्रकार प्रयास करने नहीं करूँगा/करती हूँ। मैं यह प्रण करता/करती हूँ कि अज्ञानित प्रश्नों प्रति विश्वास व सम्बन्धित रहूँगा/रहूँगी।

मैं सामुदायिक सेवा करता/करती हूँ कि संस्था प्रदान करने की उपरान्त मैं किसी भी प्रकार के बहिरी पदार्थ का सेवन नहीं करूँगा/करती। मैं उस संस्था की सुचना पर कानून-अनुपारण में किसी भी समय सहिष्णुता होने के लिए तैयार रहूँगा/रहूँगी। मैं संस्था के परामर्शियों व अधिकारियों की आज्ञा का पालन करूँगा/करती। मैंने इस संस्था की ओर आकर्षण करने में सहिष्णुता पर संस्था द्वारा जारी परिचय-पत्र संस्था अधिकार सम्भार प्राप्त करना और अनुमति लेना। मैंने इस संस्था के सभी नियमों व उद्देश्यों का अध्ययन करने पर अनुत्तरदायकता करीबकी की जा सकती है।

दिनांक _____ विदेश के इलाका _____

Figure 3.8: BTF membership form, with the image of Guru Jambheswar in the top left hand corner, image of flora and fauna on the top left hand of the form. Photo: From Bishnoi Files. December 2013.

The form, which is legible if magnified, states rules about membership. It is clear both men and women can join the BTF which remains open to diverse individuals. The disqualification grounds are cited as illicit activities such as substance abuse, disobedience to BTF rules and norms. Nowhere does religion get any specific mention. However, we see, that first on the top left corner, the image of Jambhaji appears and second, just above the blanks, appears the statement associated with the Khejerli Massacre. Except that on its form, the BTF adds to it a new term,

i.e., - 'wildlife' alongside *trees*. Thus the statement reads, "The loss of our lives is well worth it if trees and *wildlife* can be saved". This reflects how BTF adds newer definitions and values through its emerging agenda.

2.6 BTF Repertoires: Connective, Communicative and Competitive Discursiveness

An interesting event that took place on October 10, 2010 was the plantation of a Khejri (*Prosopis Cineraria*) sapling. Maharaja Gajendra Singh of Jodhpur planted a Khejri Tree at the premises of AFRI (Arid Forest Research Institute) in Jodhpur. This was a symbolic gesture by the royal head to express the solidarity with the Bishnoi values system around Khejri while at the same time an act which was interpreted as an informal apology for the infamous royal error at Khejri in 1730. BTF activists played an eminent role to coordinate this occasion with the AFRI.

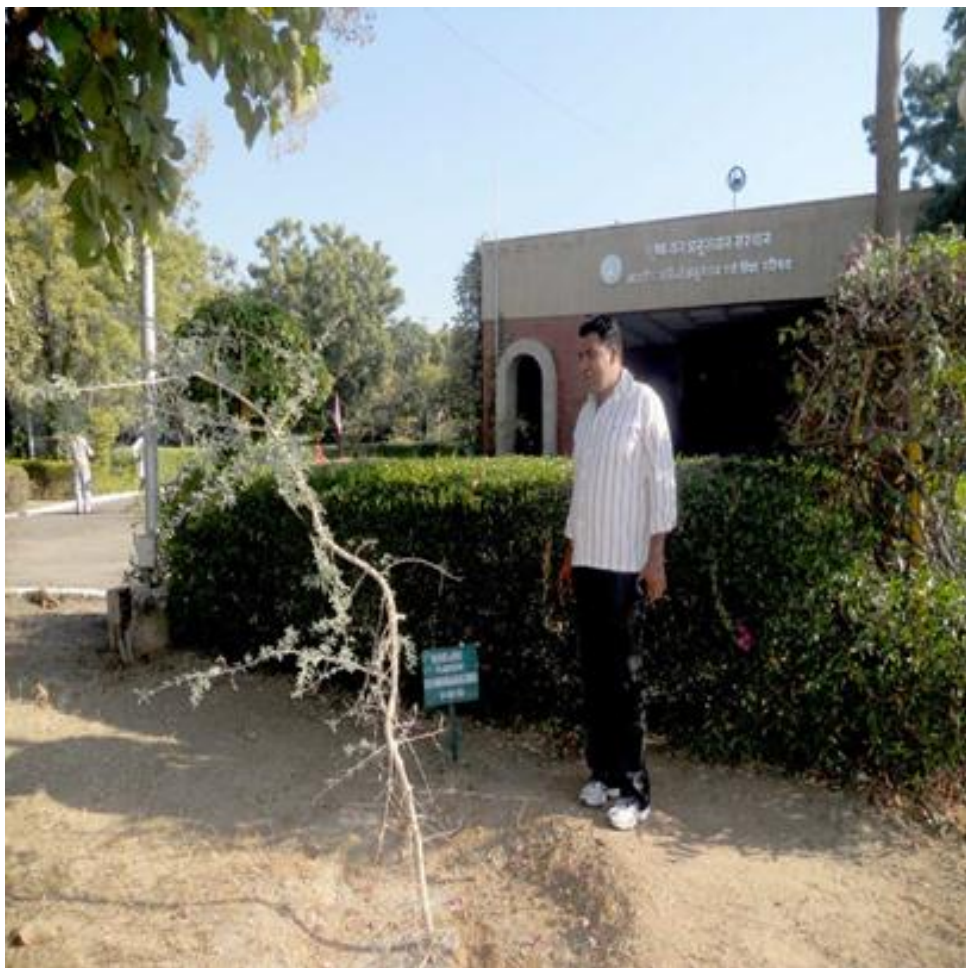


Figure 3.9: BTF Activist, Ram Niwas smiles as he showed me the Khejri tree planted by the Gajendra Singh (Maharaja of Jodhpur), at the AFRI premises. Photo: December 10, 2013.

In this regard, it is essential to see how the Bishnois try to insert themselves in the mainstream public spheres.

Ram Niwas B⁶⁹ (Informal Interaction, December 16, 2013, Jodhpur) fetched me two files full of paper cuttings from the house of a friend who keeps these records for helping out BTF. Also, aside the time required to do the filing work, the BTF does not have a separate office space. The file contained a lot of paper cuttings from newspapers, especially the vernacular ones in Hindi. There was another small bag packed with paper cuttings as well as some organisational records and memorandums. The cuttings were related news of those local environmental issues in protest of which the BTF activists have taken action in the recent past three years. I mention a few examples below:

In January 2011, the Bishnoi activists heard of green trees having been cut at the behest of the local municipal authority for construction work. They arrived in a small group at the site to register their protest and the newspaper (Tarun Rajasthan, 2011) reports, 'when the environment loving Bishnoi activists arrived at the site, all workers escaped.'

On January 24, 2011, (Dainik Bhaskar 2011) the BTF led a protest march in Jaipur utilising the occasion of the city Marathon, where the environmental activists got angered at the warm welcome accorded to Salman Khan, a Bollywood actor charged with hunting three black bucks and one Indian Gazelle. The activists, who were joined by the Bishnoi community in large numbers, were subjected to police *lathi* (Baton) charge.

The Rajasthan Patrika (2011) carried a news about rescue centre demands spearheaded by the BTF. Bishnoi activists as well non-bishnoi supporters had taken up the issue to provide veterinary care for rescued and injured animals such as the Black Bucks, the Indian Gazelle and Deer. In collaboration with certain supportive GOI (Government of India) officials such as B.R Bhadu (belonging to the Bishnoi community and ever supportive of the BTF activism), and other environmentally concerned members of the team the activists pointed out how the Umed Udhyan run rescue centre reported a high incident of deaths of *chinkaras* (Indian Gazelle) and

⁶⁹ Ram Niwas Bishnoi, is the chief spokesperson of the BTF. I am indebted to him for letting me participate in and observe daily activities of their movement. Here I attempt only a brief analysis of the newspaper reports that he bought to me as a sample of the way the organization works, gets reported and talked about in various spaces.

deer between 2006-2010. Out of 1488 rescued creatures, 1069 had died.

Referring to Bishnois as –environment lovers in general, the newspaper reports did not relate the Bishnoi activism to religion. Interestingly during my own fieldwork, many government officials from forest and wild life departments, police pointed out it was the BTF activists who can be clearly credited for this change and evolving awareness. Many of the officials I spoke to reflected that the issues raised by the Bishnoi activists were valid as there was indeed a gross inadequacy of rescue centres. Despite the creation of posts to have medical practitioners at Rescue Centre, there was a shortage of incumbents. Consequently, BTF activists took up the cudgels to solve the matter and made sure that there was a steady pressure created by their work and ideas.

The movement's intensity, opined the Assistant Conservator of Forests (ACF) present at Jodhpur Zoo (Interview, December 19, 2013), forced the government to re-visit the issue with empathy. Consequently, now the few available rescue centres are run with great dedication and success, though much still needs to be done and understood, collaborated and agreed upon between the activists, the locals and the government bodies. Thus we see the discursive spheres of information on ground do not negate the movement activism of this group. For instance, the wild life officials at the Jodhpur Zoo Rescue centre, openly admired the BTF role in maintaining vigilance on state and campaigning for protection and care of injured wild life species.

In yet another incident, The Rajasthan Patrika (2011) reported that in Jodhpur's UIT colony, sector 20, a 30 decade old *Peepal (Ficus Religiosa)* tree was cut resulting in a three hour protest by a local resident Bhavar Kavar and her daughter Reena, who got hurt but despite that their protest continued. According to the local people, in the name of lopping, thousands of green trees have been cut in the area. As usual the news caught the attention of the ever conscious 'flying squad of the BTF', who arrived on the spot along with another Bishnoi organization, *Guru Jambeshwar Vanya Jeev Sewa Samiti* and a local environmental NGO, *Paryawaran Vikas Sansthan*. Both the organizations sent their workers on the spot to support the BTF demand for carrying out strict legal action against the offenders.

In the above descriptions that the movement receives from the media and governmental sources, religion of the Bishnois is not spoken about as much as words

such as, *environmental awareness, movement activism, protest consciousness, Bishnoi flying squad*. These compel us to understand the BTF endeavors as a social movement with ever evolving repertoires of protest. Religion is important in the context of Bishnois movements, but only in view of understanding how this community practices environmental protection as a lifestyle 'given' in its private spaces. But the way the Bishnois propel into action due to instances of, what they describe as, '*jeev hatya*' or 'killing of living beings' (here the term, refers to, killing of endangered wildlife, be it flora or fauna) in the current context requires a different socio-political understanding which certainly goes beyond their religious texts.

Vegetarianism of their sect for instance, is related to an instinct to protect animal slaughter for either hunting or poaching. This is a direct value emanating from religious beliefs; admit the Bishnois of Jodhpur and Bikaner. Awareness and commitment to desert ecology are the hallmark of this community (Srivastava, 2001). Therefore, they protect the entire ecosystem that exists in their villages. Animals like blackbucks and *Chinkaras*, and birds like vultures, partridges, peacocks and even the endangered Great Indian Bustard, find the Bishnoi village a safe haven. Not only do the Bishnois nurture these animals but also consider the Black Buck as reverend because they link them to the soul of their ancestors.

The Bishnois, (like many others in India), believe in re-birth and imagine that the soul of their elders returns to them through animal bodies. As a community, the Bishnois actively participate in helping the wild creatures lead a life of plenty so as to organically protect ecology. By allowing them to graze freely in their farmlands, by keeping stone vessels near their home that are always filled with water; and even hanging water-filled pots from the branches of trees for the birds to drink from (Menon: 2012), an ethical compassion is practiced in small meaningful ways. These are lifestyle options intrinsic to the community and its private domains.

In contrast, the BTF's protest actions specifically concern legal questions (about rule of law provisions regarding environmental crimes and court procedure) as well as a concern for protecting endangered species from poachers. The BTF method and styles are insertion tactics that address and respond to rapidly changing circumstances in recent times, such as, post- independence politics of modernization, growing education and political awareness, growth of hospitality industry, commercialization of hunting, pressures on land and expansion of poaching

networks. The organization fights for remedying environmental crimes by (r)approaching the state for its slow and over burdened system of justice (Conversations with BTF activists and supportive lawyers: July 2012 and December 2013). It links its expectations of the Judicial system honouring the constitutional provisions and environmental laws to one of the basic rights accruing to citizen belonging to a democratic state (Luthra Sinha: 2016 a).

The above-discussed political and legal transitions have no mention in their religious texts which pertain to a different historical era and could not have foreseen the evolution of the Indian state or movement activism as it stands now. Jodhpur based advocate Vijay Bishnoi (Interview, July, 21, 2012) explains that the actual increase in the pressure on land which stems from shrinking of the traditional 'givens' such as common grazing lands and wildlife habitats in the recent years is made worse by the commercial demand that finances, protects and sustains poaching and hunting activities. This makes the wild animals more vulnerable and visible targets as they are forced to feed closer to human settlements. Bishnois want to create a wider ecological awareness and win a broader support to save common property resources and endeavour to conserve the desert ecology by trying to activate mechanisms of justice available to them through the provisions of Indian constitution and the penal code.

Today larger populations, settled lifestyles and more defined private property boundaries are putting pressure on the Rajasthan desert dwellers such that the equation between communities is registering corresponding changes. Incidents of drought and depletion of common property resources brings additional hardship in the inter-subjectivity between local communities. Bishnois and Bhils, even though with opposite belief systems, for instance are communities that have existed in harmony since long. But now, owing to depletion of the forest cover, as communities are forced to live closer to each other permanently and as their practices unfold within 'visible' distances, conflicts are starting to emerge (see, Soule, 2003).

The crux of the emerging conflictual social dialogue between the two is not entirely based on religion or sect or caste based imaginations alone. It is rather, more closely based on certain social (settled living, commercialization of agriculture and hunting are only some examples) and environmental changes amid rule of law interventions to those situations. Shiv Narain Bishnoi, a forest guard from Nokha, explains how the

arrival of tube wells encouraged a more settled lifestyle. Instead of living far from each other, the Bishnoi *dhanis*⁷⁰ came to be build closer to one another, in search of convenient proximity to joint sources of irrigation.

Despite the changing ecology, Bishnois, out of reverence for and attachment to the creatures, let the Deer and the Black Buck graze on. They also provide food and water for the wild creatures. This hospitality, as it continues, even in more clustered living patterns, attracts more gazelles and antelopes hanging around the Bishnoi *dhanis*. At the same time, the shrinking forest cover combined with the presence of the wild creatures near the *dhanis*, provokes the hunters to venture closer to the Bishnoi areas, especially during the night as these are thought to be an easier ground for game.

This visibility is not one sided: it has produced a mirror effect on the Bishnoi as well. The actions of hunters/poachers and the hunting communities (as elaborated in the next section), have started to become more visible to the Bishnoi actors. Introspectively speaking, the MSM actors feel as if they, owing to their Bishnoi origins which encourage the wild life to feel safe in Bishnoi areas, were personally responsible for the problem.

In the next point I take this dilemma up in more details. That this realization for them is anything but easy was clear in the charged body language of the activists, at once showing compassion and firmness. Words spoken were full of regret as well as resolve. The expressions bordered from pent up rage at seeing animal cadavers near their place of residence to calmness that accrued from successful execution of wildlife protection plans. This mix of emotions and actions enthuses in them the spirit of their social movement practice and keeps them going full on.

⁷⁰ A dhani as understood in north-west India, is the smallest conglomeration of huts. All families living in a Dhani are relatives of each other or at least are of the same caste, clan or community. Dhanis are in reality, ancillaries to the village. Those who want to live in proximity to their fields make their huts in the field and are able to take care of their crop in a better way. The crop when ready is a valuable asset and needs to be properly guarded from stray animals and enemies, (Gahlot, 1986: p.4; Jain: 1975 and Singh: 1986).

2.7 Imagination from below: BTF activists explain their sense of crisis

Why do the Bishnois feel pained, involved and provoked personally at the growing incidents of hunting/poaching, even though, these take place owing to many factors beyond the control of Bishnois? I asked this question to myself repeatedly during my research and writing.

As a probable answer, the qualitative data I acquired on one particular instance of field-work at the Temple of Jhajhiwal⁷¹ on the outskirts of Jodhpur stands out and stays fresh in my mind. This held a fundamental clue that I could gather on Bishnoi social movement activism, - as related to and very much derivative of their personal introspections. Below I include a vignette of the same:

One relevant example of a Bishnoi belief rooted in historical consciousness but which has become an immediate provocation for raising the rhetoric against the corrupt officials as well as poachers since the past two decades is the Bishnoi narratives of trust and faith. A group of Bishnoi activists who accompanied me to the temple at Jhajhiwal (Jodhpur) explain how the poachers' illegal actions despite the elaborate state machinery debases their day to day notions of trust as individuals of a community as well as citizens. RN, Dhoru (July 17, 2012) explains that for the Bishnoi community the Black Buck and Deer are sacred animals by virtue of their many qualities such as a gentle, non- harmful, timid and herbivore nature. They let these creatures graze around in their fields, catchment areas, grazing lands and temples, providing them safety, food and shelter.

But the rising incidents of poaching which reveal an elite-criminal network, or death of animals via natural calamities, feral dog bites amid lack of adequate administrative infrastructure force the activists to rescue and treat these animals of their own accord. Owing to the kindness and nurture that the animals become habituated to, they roam around in an aura of complete trust near about and within the Bishnoi

⁷¹ Searching for clues to my research question and concerns, I used to return to hang around the same places as many times as I could. Though I traversed 600 Kms through western Rajasthan *per se*, yet I did that three times over during separate periods of research between 2012-2013. In each visit, I observed and participated in the life-world of the community at their important heritage sites (besides the everyday of their homes and fields)- twice or thrice.

fields. It is this inbuilt habitual judgement of the unsuspecting wildlife (deer, peacocks and antelopes) amongst others that makes them the scapegoats of poachers in the night. These animals are caught off guard in areas where they least expect to be attacked by virtue of habitat patterns related to age old faith in Bishnois.

Many criminals get away from the clutches of law despite the fact that hunting of endangered species is strictly prohibited under the Indian Wildlife Protection Act of 1972 which is a sweeping package of legislation with highest penalties to be imposed on offences pertaining to animals in Schedule I and Schedule II of the act (see, Annexure I). The Black Buck is one such species.

Visibly, this binds the activists in various chains of action –such as campaigns, protests, or fraternising the administration officials to coax veterinary facilities into action.

However, at the level of an internal discursivity, the activists have come closer together on their dedication to collective action as the death of wildlife, especially, due to poaching defies the sense of normalcy in the activists' life. It constitutes a 'triple breach of faith' for the Bishnois,

As PR Bishnoi (July 17, 2012) analysed for me, *first*, they hold themselves guilty of conscience and very remorseful for the death of the very wild creatures that were reverend to them but killed owing to immense faith of grazing in and around Bishnoi zones. *Second*, they regret that the very system that should be safeguarding the common property resources and habitat is virtually caught sleeping (most hunting incidents are nocturnal) and in many influential cases remains apathetic to nabbing the criminals or lodging active FIRs against them. *Third*, since the 1990's Bishnois have been waging long legal battles in the Judiciary, to make their point felt and bring the guilty to book, yet many cases just hang on endlessly. Punishment remains elusive in majority of the incidents. Trust is breached at multiple levels and hence, their protest movements carry on against this loss of faith in the system that accentuates their antagonism towards the poachers.

When I listened to the above narrative, I probed my informants, "How are you so sure that the wild animals that I can see grazing around in your areas actually have trust and operate fearlessly under a notion of faith, as you claim?" Or, "What if I, as an outsider to this area, to put your doctrine to test, go and touch your animals, would they not run/fly away?". Unexpectedly, the Bishnoi youth as well as the temple assistant, invited me to mingle and "socialise" with the wild animals. The creatures would let me touch them, they assured, just by trusting that if I was a person on the Bishnoi areas, I would not harm them. When I approached the animals, well I was given (by the animals), a complete "right of passage," to say the least. Deer, Black Buck and Peacock are shy animals by nature but faith and trust can win their shyness over and make them social, as Bishnois would say. As I gazed at these 'wild' creatures letting me pet them, feed them and thoroughly invade their privacy, I suddenly realised how important this doctrine of faith and trust could be for those like the Bishnois who practise it.



***Figure 3.10: Author - An experience of the Bishnoi idea of Trust.
Photo taken by Poka Ram Bishnoi. July 10, 2012. Copy Right: Author.***



Figure 3.11: in Bishnoi areas, the wildlife becomes habituated to safety and feelings of trust in human beings, explain the Bishnois. Photo taken by Madandan. July 10. 2012. Copy Right: Author.

For a moment, I had almost stepped into the Bishnoi shoes. I understood the Bishnoi viewpoint by virtually stumbling upon it. For the first time during my fieldwork, I figured out how easy it was for the poachers and hunters to capture the trusting animals and birds by night.

Escalating vocalisation of protest actions in the past two decades can perhaps be explained by this chasm around Bishnoi notions of trust and faith. In people's everyday discourse, trust features as a high point in their expectations of the state's performance with respect to protection of their environmental security and ecological rights. "Coercion of the State should extend to enforcement of law and not mere declarations of rules and regulations, it should extend to assuring security of a peoples habitat, places of living and not just the nation's borders," says RP Bhavad from the BTF. Speedy and effective notions of justice form an important Bishnoi vision related to their idea of state.

The same motivation that inspires the activists to fight for implementation of the rule of law also earns them support of temple chiefs who completely endorse the leaders and activists struggling with the state or its bureaucratic representatives for bringing the offenders to book. Its more, some temples have offered their physical space to run animal rescue centres where the activists bring the injured and traumatized animals. Once the animals have recovered in such rescue centres, they are returned safely to the wild. Mohan Das, the priest of the Jhajiwaal Bishnoi Temple in Jodhpur, explains that the perceived threat to common values serves to inspire Bishnoi activism. Ethical values of non-violence, care, cure and nurture are an important part of the value system of not only the Bishnois but many other local communities. But it is the former, as District Forest Officer (B.R. Bhado), explains, who have translated their values into a quest for legal justice and in the process a door has opened for persuasive demand making upon the state.

It is interesting to note that the growing alertness and social action for saving the endangered species of which the BTF actions are but an eminent part, has earned them a favourable edge in many government quarters (though with a pinch of salt, as I explain the views from the police later on). Official reports have acknowledged that the Bishnois have been far very competitively effective against poachers in the region. Wildlife census figures for these areas were not easily available before (see, Hazarika, 1993). In this, they derive help from the BTF activists who voluntarily devote more time while at the same time networking for their movement. Official conservation efforts duly recognize the, 'unofficial', Bishnoi number counts in their localities. For instance, the report on, 'Capacity Building Programme on Wildlife Crimes for the State Forest Department, Rajasthan' admitted that in 2010, Bishnois in the Nokha sub-district of Bikaner alone reported eleven incidents of black buck poaching (Tiger Trust, 2011: 20).

The picture below sourced from the private collections of SS Rathore, a veterinary officer at Nandari in Jodhpur. He used to work at the veterinary Zoo Rescue Centre where he met the BTF leader RP Bhavad and its other activists. Rathore, in his long-standing association with the activists, agrees that aside from their faith, the youth have been able to put community resources innovatively for a broader socio-political work. For instance, the BTF activists are one of the first to offer voluntary work in government wildlife conservation & Protection programmes. They get involved as part of their organizational endeavor to perform what they preach. Their protest

orientation does not lie passively at the point of breach of trust. Rather, the activists hope to rope in the community, state or experts in active protection of nature, whether separately or in partnership of one another.



Figure 3.12: Seen here is the BTF leader RP Bhavad sitting next to a Bishnoi priest, both engrossed in voluntary work at a Governmental Wild Life Programme in Jodhpur. Photo: Sourced SS Rathore of the wildlife department, Jodhpur. December 21, 2013.

This is not to say that, for social movement formations and success, factors such as a growing education, relative prosperity, changing notions of grassroots participation and arrival of peoples' alternative forums are not important. The changing social practice imagination as demonstrated by the BTF definitely benefited from all of those factors too. But my intention is to contextualize and bring in the specific, "shadows of imagination", to use Carpanzano's (2004 and 2003) term, that accompany human beings in such endeavours and help define their imaginative horizons.

Perhaps the breach of trust and faith is such a shadow in the imaginative horizon of social action groups? BTF politics, that campaigns for and demands delivery of

criminal justice, shows how once a breach of trust occurs (as explained above), their philanthropy begins to acquire a competitive thrust. This needs to be elaborated separately, hence, I take it up in the next point. The sum of my argument is that the changing material and political conditions, plays a part in changing the Bishnoi world-view on social action as the case of BTF shows. Nevertheless, the activists' emic perceptions of why they organize themselves thus, is the key to an ethnographic understanding of this unfolding transformation.

PART III: MOVEMENT ACTORS AND THE CREATION OF AN ALTERNATIVE PUBLIC SPHERE: THE INTERSECTION OF A PHILANTHROPIC AND A COMPETITIVE IMAGINATION

As discussed above, *Bishno-ism* is no doubt a unique eco-friendly (Bishnoi, 2000) way of life but the activism emanating from people of Bishnoi background is a separate phenomenon w.r.t .its socio-political repertoires. All who are born as Bishnois would relate exclusively to Bishnoi faith as insiders but as far as activism is concerned one needs a different 'route to membership'. Not all are automatic members of the BTF, though they may be/become its distant support system. Those who participate in and give keep up with the Bishnoi activism directly can belong to a variety of associations, backgrounds. These actors enrich the internal as well as the external discursive sphere of the movement and its related agendas for spreading the message of environmental awareness, including the facilitating the development of conservation skills. The movement's practice of protest tactics, methods, networking styles as well as the language of the discourse has evolved on basis of lived political experiences and raising of public debate.

3.1 BTF makes poaching a Peoples' issue and an arena of collective thinking

Aside from practicing a keen pro- environmental philanthropy, the chief articulators turned a competitive edge in their social practice imagination when they began to organize themselves to protest and dialogue with state and non-state actors over the issue. They travel to remote areas and sites of protest where illegal hunting incidents have taken place create awareness towards forest and environment laws. The local people in villages such as Lohavat, Phlaoudi, Rotu, Jhajhival can hold eloquent conversations on court procedures and legal provisions being ignored in poaching crimes. The activists invoke a collective preoccupation with their work. People speak of and plan ways to counter the poaching nexuses or create pressure on the legal

machinery of the state. This shows how MSMs can become a vehicle of constructing viable, alternative publics by taking up a political issues.

Whilst an interesting twist in Bishnoi activism flows from their identity as a religious sect (vegetarianism, non-violence), yet in accordance with my findings, their social movements cannot be described from the tight window of religion alone. Their lifestyle is closely related to their religious obligations but their debates with the state over legal propriety offer a storehouse of information to discuss and analyze the issue from other social, political, ecological aspects. It would be a great information loss if the Bishnoi MSMs against poaching are overshadowed or romanticized as a phenomenon pertaining solely to the realm of religion.

Take the example of the Salman Khan poaching case (see, SIFY: 2006; TOI: 2011: HT: 2012: Patrika Group: 2014), which became a turning point in the Bishnoi social movement discourse. Khan, a well-known actor by profession, was accused of hunting three *Chinkaras* (Indian Gazelle) and a Black Buck during his stay in Jodhpur in 1988. Even the tardy way in which this high profile case has proceeded is thanks to the Bishnoi protest movement. Bereft of this source of pressure, perhaps the case would have easily pushed into the file of state oblivion.

Eight years after the incident, finally, on 17 February 2006, Khan was sentenced to one year in prison for hunting the endangered *Chinkara* (Indian Gazelle). The sentence was stayed by a higher court during appeal. On 10 April 2006, he was handed a five-year jail term and remanded to Jodhpur jail until 13 April when he was granted bail. On 24 July 2012, Rajasthan High Court finalized charges against Salman Khan and his other colleagues in the endangered blackbuck killing case, paving way for start of the trial. On 9 July 2014, Supreme Court issued a notice to Khan on Rajasthan government's plea challenging the HC order suspending his conviction⁷².

Till date (i.e at the close of my fieldwork in December, 2013, when I last visited Jodhpur Highcourt), he has pleaded, 'not guilty' to the charges that he used an 'unlicensed gun' for the killing of the endangered *Chinkaras*. Despite the presence of an eye witness named Poonam Chand Bishnoi, whose alertness led to the recovery of animal trophies and a blood stained vehicle used at the shooting site (As narrated

⁷² The details of this case are available at the Jodhpur High Court.

to me by the Bishnoi activists and a Jodhpur High Court lawyer M. Bishnoi in July 2012 and December 2013).

M. Bishnoi points out that the presence of a witness in the forest makes it a complaint case meaning that it already has a charge sheet with pre-charged evidence at site of crime. In such cases when the court 'frames' charges, the process is simply re-started. Poaching crimes can be booked under legal proceedings through two sources, police as well as forest officials.- whether prima facie evidence is established or not. The case has been going on for more than 18 years. M. Bishnoi assumes that probably the accused is using his influence to delay till two more years, when the case completes twenty years. He may then finally come in for being granted mercy on compassionate grounds, for having to deal with the case for twenty years of his life without a verdict.

Ironically, it is well known in the Bishnoi activist circles that the eyewitness, Poonam Chand Bishnoi has already appeared fifty two times in various courts and on various occasions either by himself or with the help of Bishnoi activists. The accused, in contrast, has appeared in only six times in the local courts in the past eighteen years. This shows how much skewed a law can become for an eyewitness and also for whom, the pursuit of justice can actually can acquire a nuisance value. Each visit of eyewitness meets new manipulation in the courts but ends up fueling the passion as well as the compassion of the BTF, the larger Bishnoi community, supportive lawyers and onlookers even more.

The BTF activists keep the momentum for expediting the process of justice alive. Yet the manipulative logistics of the hunter-poacher-elite nexus have made the Bishnois turn hostile towards the high profile Bollywood actor's self-defense stunts. His plea of not guilty and 'ignorance to the law' has created a number of protest marches and demands even at the slightest hint that the actor is visiting the state. Says a charged, RN Bishnoi (Interview, December 21, 2013):

"Agreed that he is a celebrity. That is what makes the actor doubly responsible for his acts in the 'public domain'. We are not concerned with his private affairs. Our protest is about his highhanded killing of an endangered species, stealthily in our jungles against national law. That he is still a role model for many (not us!) makes the social innuendo of this high profile poaching even more lethal. Many youngsters and nouveau-riche are 'wannabes' in his footsteps now. It has been a long journey. We

want the case to be settled and will continue to protest till justice is done”.

Bhatt (2010), a scholar on Bishnoi ecology, raises an essential question. Even though the Bishnois, he asserts, are presently protected by their very own wisdom, a disturbing question remains open all the same: How will a fast spreading urbanization in all corners of the world eventually affect any hitherto religiously pursued ideology of sustainability? Will such unique traditions (like that of Bishnois) flow through the changing times or will they dry off in this age of global warming?

In my view, Bishnoi youth have already responded to the crisis by evolving into a micro social movement. In building a legal, political discursivity around the issue of environmental challenges, Bishnois have taken their ‘assumedly’ given lifestyle into yet another evolution. Also by protesting against situations of crime as concerned citizens, they are organized very much like their counterparts elsewhere in the world. In the succeeding chapter on the anti-substance abuse movement from South Africa, I provide a glimpse of such a movement that is able to weave discursive spheres through competitive and philanthropic social movement imagination.

3.2 BTF practices ‘strategic’ discursivity with party politics and the state

By virtue of the dynamical relation between its own discourse and the prevalent anti-discourses around poaching, this movement clearly addresses the discrepancies as well as the unsuitability of many state policies and procedures. Although the Bishnoi eco-movements and eco-activism are completely loathe to the idea of joining politics, yet they are clear about the fact that in order to be relevant and fruitful their movements must operate in a political space and master the politics of successful methodology. The pressure tactics are meant to activate cooperation from administrative bureaucracy on the one hand. Activating judicial recourses to push for correct implementation of declared policies is one of their goals, on the other hand.

In case this does not happen, sitting quietly to face environmental crimes is not on their agenda, is what the Bishnois have shown through their new mobilization strategies that they like to refer as, ‘eco-social movements’. The Bishnoi activists can bargain with the state and local political leaders to assert their own anti-poaching politics. However, this does not imply that in overall relations they negate these forces. In fact, they wisely maintain a ‘strategic distance’ from the two. This strategy brings it many local successes in its environmental activism.

While Bishnoi activists and movement leaders in both the states are averse to external funding (esp. through NGO's) and negate any political role for themselves, yet they have a certain expectation from their elected or/and aspiring politicians.

Even while maintaining as much of distance from state politics, consciously, as the latter maintains from them, Bishnoi activists are able to promote their cause and at times gain appreciative reviews from local politicians on their eco-activism. However, the overt complexity of 'compromising their vote-base' (Group Discussion with activists on role of Politicians, July 17, 2012) prevents the politicians from openly accompanying movement activists in apparent protest politics.

Bishnoi politicians however do not hamper credible social movement actors and remain proud of the contribution of these youth to the community causes. In my interview (July 26, 2012, Jaipur) with Vijay Lakshmi Bishnoi, an elected woman politician from the Congress Party, it was clear that this community remains supportive of its environmental activists who are able to knock the corridors of justice to check crime. Relations between protest actors as well as community politicians remain cordial, at least on face value. None of them want to merge boundaries, as of now. The local politicians have close contact with the community but they seldom raise direct voice (over the acts of poachers and other offenders) to avoid controversies owing to their public positions.

The overall relations between protest actors as well as elected community politicians remain cordial, at least on face value. While the grassroots actors work voluntarily and committedly by investing their own time and resources, the politicians cater to electoral and professional relations with the state. While the actors have no fixed working hours and are available on '24-hour call' to wage their protest politics (as and when the need arises), the politicians have a state- centric routine. Yet, both abide by community principles and both parties (i.e., Bishnoi Politicians and Activists) do not want to sabotage the others work. BTF activists in Jodhpur opine that they do not expect the politicians to participate actively in protests as they, 'prefer to reserve some members of the community to be involved in the process of power seeking and elections as well'.

In addition, MSM activists/members may owe allegiance to different political parties and exercise independent voting behavior. The Tiger Force activists admit that social movement actors as well as politicians fulfill separate roles: while the former

negotiate the Indian democracy through compromise and cooption (esp. electoral politics), the latter negotiate it through conflictual positions and discursivity amidst a refusal to mitigate their unique, need-based demands. Knowing fully well that their own struggle practices non-violent and democratic tools and methods, they feel that the community's political leaders should come to their aid by at least furthering their cause and giving recognition to the Bishnoi martyrs who have given their life in the protection of wildlife.

Former Minister of State for Forests and a Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) from Rajasthan, J.S. Bishnoi, narrated how he had helped the movement cause by writing to the Prime Minister of India and appealing for an award constituted for those Bishnois who have sacrificed their life for the cause of environment and ecology. The Environment and Forest Minister Jairam Ramesh announced other awards such as the Gaura Devi and Amrita Devi awards on April 14, 2011. He stated (Jairam Reddy, April 14, 2014), "The Bishnoi community has played a pioneering role in fostering ecological consciousness and its example must be emulated by others in our society. The Wildlife Protection Act, 1972 is now being amended to make punishment more stringent for offenders."

Using democratic freedoms and constitutional liberty (for more on Indian Constitution, see, D.D. Basu 1993; Also, Part III, constitution Of India) to organize and hold viable non-violent protests, Bishnoi movements struggle against the 'softest' part of the Indian State. This refers to the propensity of the state to become readily compromised in certain areas of governance. Fair implementation of legal mechanisms to protect peoples' resources and their community rights are the first to go when the power hungry elite, the corrupt in the police and forest departments as well as administration cover up crimes. In Gunnar Myrdal's famous analysis, powerful interests that exploit the power of the State or government to serve their own interests rather than the interests of their citizens dominate "Soft States". Policies decided on are often not enforced, if they are enacted at all, and in that the authorities, even when framing policies are reluctant to place obligations on people." (See Myrdal, 1969).

However, Bishnois make use of this very softness of the Indian state to expose it, put pressure on it through their public protests by pulling the state up through the procedures of legal justice. If at the grassroots level the corrupt are easily available

and well networked, the good news is that so are the fair and virtuous people in the forest and police departments. By the turn of the 21st century, the Bishnois by virtue of their voice have been able to tap into this unexpected agency: with the support of sympathetic police and forest officials, the Bishnois have gathered enough ground to make their movements noticed and bring on many successes. Though the challenges remain, yet the Bishnois know how to put the state in a tight spot, where it becomes increasingly difficult to invalidate Bishnois voices against poaching.

3.3 BTF renders known structures and institutions, a movement identity:

To understand the contextual space and the time related to the evolution and demands of these micro social movements, speaking to the actors individually and travelling to villages or urban sites spontaneously for collecting random data and impressions was not enough. The movement is scattered over a vast area in the desert and struggle sites can be spontaneous, remote, and inaccessible.

In other words 'one time poaching sites' where Bishnois or the administration reach on sudden tip-offs come to life at the time of crime or intended crime. These spaces become alive with the ensuing chase between Bishnois and/or police and the poachers. These sites that register moments of incidental scuffle, shooting or altercations, become silent and forgotten/unused once the episode is over.

So, as a researcher how could one gain formal information that becomes submerged in or lost, at such sites, once a crime is over? As many in the information chain may have gone missing, oral narratives were important but not therefore, enough. Two such unconventional sites that emerged from my fieldwork for further follow-ups on the actors' account were temples and police stations. The reasons for the same are explained below:

A: Temples as sites of social movement Narratives and BTF supported Rescue Centres

During my research, I covered important sites where the Bishnoi gathered for their monthly rituals in order to understand the Bishnoi way of life. It was noticeable that in sites where the community gathered in bulk as in temples during festivals and rituals, they also ended up debating, sharing information on known events around each-others villages or cities and planning on the movement methods and techniques in casual conversations.

Bishnois can practice mass updating of each other on their scattered protests in their community spaces such as temples. The community meets regularly once a month on new moon day in local temples or twice a year in Mukkam (February and October, in general) which is the main important holy temple for the Bishnois. There are annual events organized by the larger Bishnoi community such as the annual commemoration fair at Khejerli Massacre site, which houses yet another temple of importance for the community.

The BTF activists use such occasions to keep the momentum alive update people from all over western Rajasthan on their wildlife protection campaigns and struggles.

This is an example wherein the movement realizes the importance of as well as builds up the terrains of its IDS (Internal Discursive Sphere). Hence, the local village temples or religious places of pilgrimage or '*Dhams*' alongside the previous ritualistic importance have acquired, during the course of the movements, a new significance for networking and exchange of information. Memories, build on a regular exchange of information near these temples, help keeping the stories alive, especially of those events *where there is no state record* or where no one was caught or injured.

The new moon day monthly meetings in local village temples which I could attend as well as participate with help of the Bishnoii activists and informants were: one village temple in Jhajiwaal (Jodhpur) and the pilgrimage site of Mukkam (Nokha, Bikaner). Both have become favoured sites of debates and support- gathering venues from where the actors update each other on techniques and methods of resistance used by one another. Going back to the early 1990's when the Bishnoi movement politics was taking birth, it certainly makes a lot of sense if we understand that in those times accessibility to cell phones was more or less an elite-urban privilege in India. In the common every day, people go to temples separately and according to their own time schedules/commitments. However, the difference on religious days such as the new moon, which holds ritualistic and philanthropic importance for the Bishnois, is that all of them gather collectively, more or less between 8 am to 12 noon.

Hence, more people have the probability of meeting each other and usually hanging around for a late lunch together at bigger premises such as Mukkam. The agenda for discussion could be political and religious matters and more recently, matters relating to Bishnoi struggles. It is in places as these where collective oral narratives are exchanged cordially and at times in an emotionally charged way. These temple spaces and meetings remain open, accessible, peaceful as well as safe for women.

Once the temples entered the protest movement discursivity, activists began to use them as rescue centres. They would bring the injured/rescued animals and the

temple staff extended its help in nurturing them to health. Others followed suit. Whenever the community men and women rescued such wild creatures, they would usually inform the BTF activists who would encourage them to bring the creatures to the nearest temple staff -operated rescue centre. Especially in zones where official centres or veterinary care was non-existent, non-functional or far away, this became a useful trend and continues so till date. The BTF contribution in this endeavor is that one of the activists takes the onus of finding an empathetic donor from the community or otherwise who provides for animal feed and care once a month. Then another takes over to find a new one for the next month and so forth, this cycle unfolds in all places which have rescue centre across western Rajasthan. Although the space and finances here may belong to the larger community, the BTF are able to coax the temple staff and common actors into newer roles.

The priest at Jhajhiwal (Interview: July 14, 2013) says, 'As long as the BTF and our youth are doing nothing wrong, we can open our space for socially constructive tasks. Their activism does us proud. Besides, if the wild creatures are not rehabilitated and nurtured back to health, then the social work performed by the environmental movement would go waste. Given they have many other tasks to follow up and little resources to establish rescue units, we can contribute by using our space and caring for the peacocks, the antelopes and the deer.'



**Figure 3.13: The Bishnoi Priest at Jhajhiwal Temple in Jodhpur with one of the rescued animals. Activism provides new meanings to an old space.
Photo: July 13, 2012.**



**Figure 3.14: Rescued Animals are allowed to move freely in Temple premises.
Photo: July 13, 2012.**



**Figure 3.15: Evening care at the Rescue Centre, Jhajhiwal Temple: Priest intern holds down a Khejri shrub to let the animals graze.
Photo: December 19, 2013.**

Not only do the BTF activists worry about animals in their community rescue centres, the activists do their best to ensure that the veterinary centres at public Zoos can be helped when they fall short of infrastructure. Ram Bhavad, leader of the BTF explained (Interview 17 December 2013) that in one instance the organization has gifted a jeep to the Jodhpur Zoo to facilitate staff mobility.

The rescue centre at the Jodhpur Zoo did not have an adequately functional vehicle (owing to government rules of strict time bound replacements of existing stock). So they organized one for the Zoo authorities. Such a vehicle can serve not only to rush to poaching sites but also tackle another growing menace in the region- injuries to black bucks and gazelle owing to attacks from feral dogs or natural calamities such as heat. BTF explains that even if its members are able to rush to a poaching site , if the animal is already injured by then (for instance in a trap), they still need to take it quickly to a rescue centre for it to receive first aid. Considering this, BTF activists have been demanding the Government to set up gazelle rescue centres at two locations around Jodhpur to minimize the driving time to the zoo. In one particular hot week they collected nearly 35 blackbucks and gazelles, which had died due to heat and put them before the forest office to make the authorities take stock of the situation. The Bishnois have been demanding the Government to set up gazelle rescue centres into two-three places near the Zoo to avoid that rescued creatures die enroute.



3.16: A Black Buck recovering in a makeshift Community Rescue Centre in Rotu village near Nagaur. Photo: December 23, 2013.



Figure 3.17: Indian 'gazelle' in another section of the same rescue centre as in the picture above. The Bishnoi activists maintain information links with communities in remote areas and make sure to visit when possible. They encourage and support their own fellowmen to look after injured wildlife. Rotu Rescue Centre. Photo: December 23, 2013.

Shravan Singh Rathore, is a veterinary doctor whom I visited in his residence 60 kms from Jodhpur. He voluntarily supports and collaborates with BTF activists in many of their animal care drives. He confirmed that when he worked at Jodhpur Zoo in 2010, he would receive five to seven injured (by feral dog bites/attacks) gazelles daily. Rathore- treated these animals, which were mostly bought in by the BTF activist networks, from administering injections to stitching wounds. Those, which recovered, were usually reintroduced in the wild and there were dozens of them each month.

Animals, which recovered, were usually those bought in by the Bishnois -carefully and in good time. If the dog attack happened in a non-Bishnoi region, the predators would have their “kill”. Other communities, he says, are compassionate but do not have activist networks as the BTF, says Rathore (see also, *The Hindu*: 2010). According to recent estimates, there are a thousand cases annually of dogs attacking and killing gazelles, the State Animal of Rajasthan. Bishnoi are just beginning to turn their energies towards the progressively emerging issue of Blackbucks and *Chinkaras* dwindling owing to predatory feral dogs.

B: BTF activities make Police Stations, VCNBs and FIRs as discursive domains of protest

The BTF activists wanted that I read the Village Crime Notebooks (VCNB's) and First Information Reports (FIR) in the various police stations where environmental crime including a Bishnoi or non-Bishnoi death had taken place. According to them, these state documents hold proof of their hard work as in many instances without the Bishnoi protest action no such records would be available or if they were- they would be tampered. Part of BTF vigilance entails bringing these reports up for debates in the public domain.

It was challenging at first, but later exploring the ‘eye witness’ accounts and other written information in local police stations in the presence of Bishnoi activists, emerged as an interesting methodological tool for me especially in cases where state record existed. This was a relevant technique of data collection owing to two reasons:

First, it came in handy in instances where criminals had been caught or others injured or died. The procedures that come to apply in such a case, do so only once Bishnois trigger off a public debate. Hence, perusing through the official record of

events proves as a way of knowing how much impact the Bishnoi protest are accustomed to making in such a political space.

Second, it helped to discern a pattern in the protests. Almost everywhere, the confrontation between the system and the movement actors originated when successful or unsuccessful hunters-poachers caught at the site of action tried to manipulate law once caught. Bishnoi objections are not based on protecting community resources such as trees plants and animals alone. Wondering, how also criminal-elite nexus can stage an open defiance of constitutional laws, Bishnois demand that law should take its due course in punishing the offenders.

The Indian Wildlife Act 1972 prohibits hunting (Indian Wildlife Act, 1972, chapter III/9) of endangered species and also other creatures as the national and state animals. In Rajasthan Black Bucks for example fall under the list of endangered species. “Why aren’t the poachers bought to book by the system? why cannot the system function?”, were some questions raised throughout the 1990’s. Gradually the protest movements matured into another concern during the past decade as the actors started asking, “Which loopholes are utilized effectively by the poachers?” And, “how can we help in bringing ourselves the justice we so demand?”

VCNBs give a firsthand account of the crime. FIRs are those important instruments on the basis of which criminal procedure in the courts can be taken up or so to say, the case is admitted or becomes framed as a case. Conversely, if the FIR is dismissed or in other words unless this account is written with fair precision, court procedures will fail to perform their role in securing justice, reiterate the movement actors. Till early 2000’s, assert the Bishnoi activists, most such cases became skewed at the time of registration in the local police stations. Bishnois therefore wanted to solve such discrepancies by raising ‘collective voice’- which, by virtue of experience they realized, is fairly hard to ignore. The BTF activists know that sit-ins outside police station looked at from an administrative angle do have a ‘valuable’ nuisance value in projecting social movement voice.

Bishnois struggles have made their mark in many instances wherein the local police stations, fearing controversies, produced correct versions of the crime. One such example is the protest that took place following the death of Nihal Chand on 10 October 2010. Nihal Chand had died while chasing the poachers near Nokha. The villagers gathered outside the police station and insisted on lodging of the FIR. Based

on the correctly written account of the crime and the corresponding FIR by the then Sub-inspector Beru Saal Singh, the case stood registered. The details in the VCNB (No. 277/96) and the FIR (277/96) at the Nokha Police Station, Bikaner were congruent to the account of a Bishnoi eye witnesses named, Ram N., a forest guard, whom I met at the Nokha nursery with the help of the forest department in July 2012.

VCNB and FIR records available at police stations thus become important owing to the literal (zones, spaces) as well as figurative (demand for justice) content of the movement. In the VCNB, crime gets noted in terms of who, when, what, how and why. In the FIR, the crime is identified according to the law flouted and the exact section of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) that comes into play in accordance with the crime. Therefore the version of the Police in line of its duty became significant in the movements cause as improper registration of crime at police stations can weaken the chances of legal redressal. The movement is conscious that, as it promises the pursuit of justice towards the overall cause and for the sake of its audiences, it loses face each time its pressure tactics fail, (see Fig. 3.18 and 3.19 below that shows the police registers of the Ganga Ram case. Also, see section 4.2 below)

If this happens it compromises the community's sense of justice. Bishnois therefore protest outside police stations so that police can be forced to write a fair account of the crime in the VCNB. Over more that fifteen years of its existence, BTF has learnt how to trigger a chain reaction in the system through, 'sequenced actions', (barring of course, in the case of high profile cases which tend to linger on):

Foil crime with or without police/forest officials help; approach police, insist on correct entries in the VCNBs and equivalent IPC charges in the FIRs; follow up the case once it goes to court; raise public awareness on it and continue further protest action until case is dealt with properly. In the Nihal Chand death case for instance, the Bishnois refused to bury the martyrs body till the police registered the case properly (Series of Interviews with villagers at Nokha; BTF Activists in Jodhpur; and Politician Vijay Lakshmi Bishnoi in Jaipur: July, 2012 and December 2013). Political leaders were called in at the local police station where the case was being taken up. Activists joined in by mobilizing protest action and following the case up-philanthropically and competitively. Activists not only travel to such sites to add numbers but also contribute political weight to the cause.

The actors in many areas between Bikaner and Jodhpur and their adjoining villages

and districts such as Lohavat, Jhajiwal, Mukkam and Nokha Tehsil, while talking of the struggle, repeatedly mentioned the importance of the, 'Maukaye Vardat' (site of incident/crime) which in this case illegal hunting related chase/scuffle as well sites where man or animal is killed/injured. The classic site of action in the Bishnoi struggle is deep in the desert around their 'Dhanis'. Dhanis are small independent houses within the farms/ fields bishnoi families. A chase could also take place in the 'Orans' which are the common grazing lands in Rajasthan where the endangered species such as deer and blackbuck are targeted (as narrated to me by a Bishnoi Priest and a Political leader in Guda Bishnoiyan, near Jodhpur: 17 July 2012) in disrespect of of Wild life protection Act of India (1972).

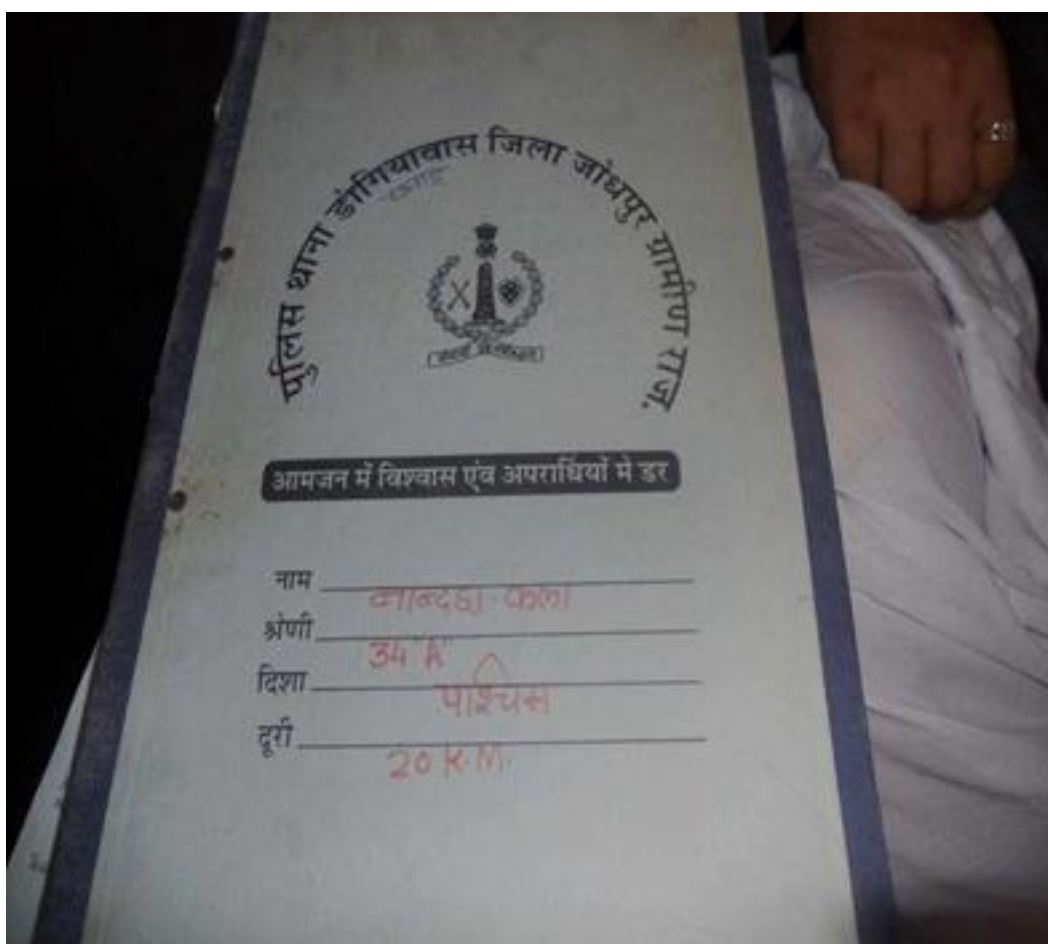


Figure 3.18: Cover of the FIR Register with the details of the Ganga Ram case at Police Post Dongiyawas, District Jodhpur. Photo: December 19, 2013.

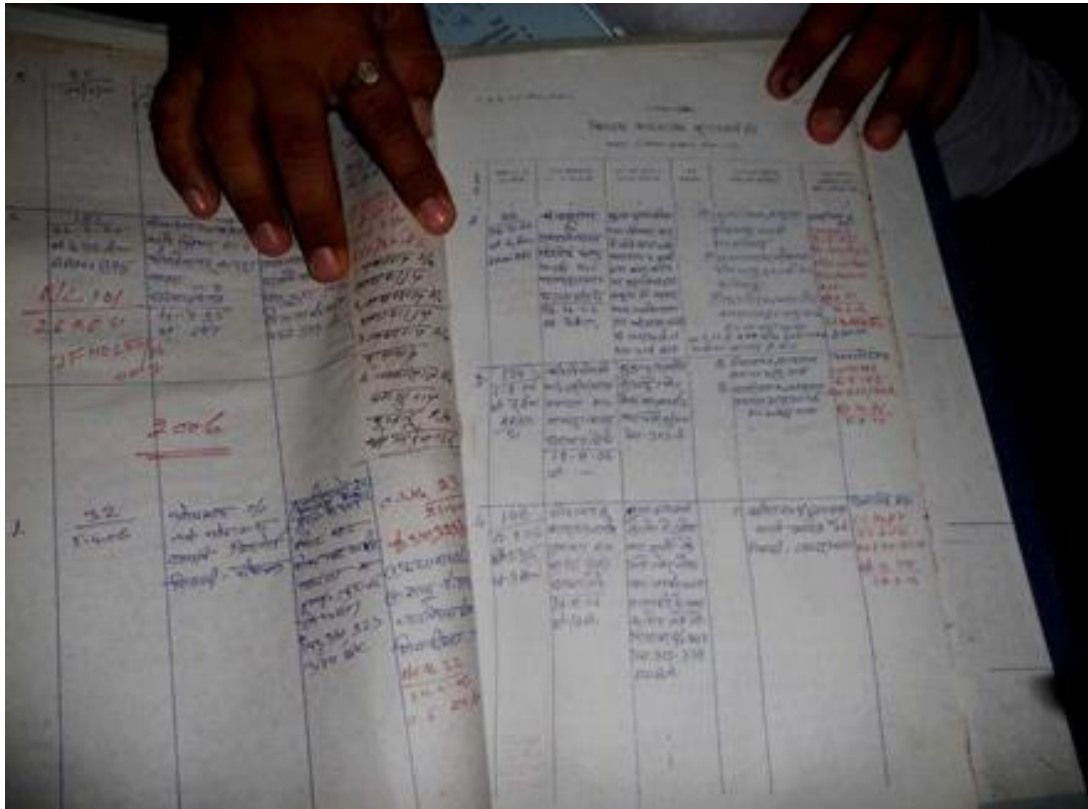


Figure 3.19: The VCNB at Dongiyawas Police station near Jodhpur, in which the details of Ganga Ram Constable case of 2006 were registered, even while a protest lead by the BTF unfolded right outside the police premises.

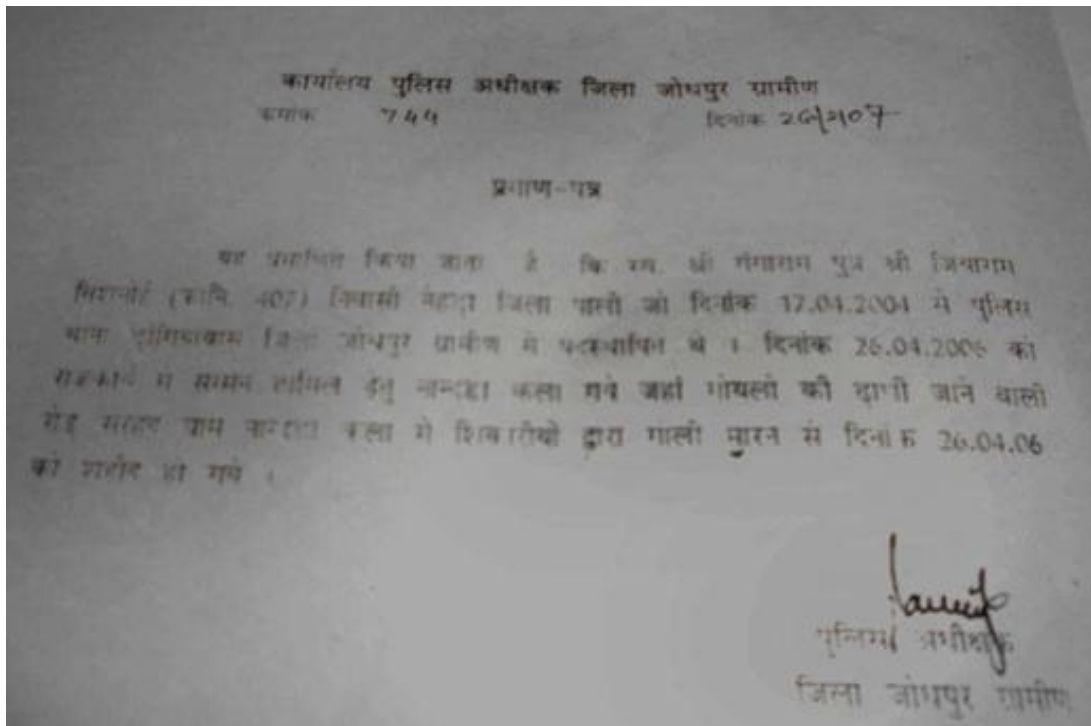


Figure 3.20: Police Letter of Testimony certifying Ganga Ram's death on duty owing to gunshots fired by Hunters.

In agitation of the fact that animals are shot within their vicinity, the Bishnoi's not only mobilize support within each other to chase these hunters away from their areas, but also inform the BTF activists who network into an operational 'Flying Squad'-imitating⁷³ the state machineries for checking environmental crimes in various regions.

In cases of poaching, usually the Bishnois reach such crime areas first because criminals zero in on non-working hours to commit crime. It is the voluntary action groups as the BTF who maintain first hand watchfulness during such hours. This may suit both ends- the social movement agency to build voluntary domains of power and also the state which may benefit by retaining its comfort zones of time. For the state to fulfill its complete responsibility at such a scene of crime, the Bishnoi social activism has become a must in many instances. Additionally the 'Bishnoi flying squad team' derives the legitimacy to speak on the crime as it converts into a kind of a collective eye- witness by interacting and upholding the view of those who may have been present at the site of crime, but fearful of raising voice alone.



Figure 3.21: Three BTF activists on their visit to late Ganga Ram Constable's village. A hurried snack at a highway eatery.

⁷³ Studies, which take up the issue of how individual agency turns into a collective agency or how peoples' institutions begin to imitate the state for creating alternatives to hierarchical social orders and governance regimes, may be relevant to understand this. For more details on how embodied practices, through the power of sensory experience and mental images, become a source of articulation and significant of a changing social imaginary, See, Koechlin and Förster (eds.): 2015

PART IV: EVOLVING TRENDS AND VALUE SYSTEMS UNDER THE NEW BISHNOI ACTIVISM

4.1 BTF as Police Informants: Changes in the External Discursive Sphere (EDS)

Slowly, in many zones, the Bishnoi activists and /or their extended families/friends emerged as trustworthy informants in busting 'eco-crimes' in Jodhpur and Bikaner. Hence, we see how through the medium of their movements actors were able to graduate from protestors, antagonized from the authorities to honorable police informants.

The District Superintendent of Police (DSP), Police commissioner in Jodhpur and Bikaner and the SHO (Station House Officer) at Nokha Tehsil Headquarter Thana/ Police Station provided many descriptions of the emerging role of Bishnoi informers. The officials confirmed that owing to their skills and dedication, Bishnois are now one of their major information milieus. They not only bring to notice cases of illegal hunting and poaching in various zones, they also accompany the Police, into the deep desert- which is a hostile place for the non-local policemen, but a familiar terrain for the Bishnoi informants. Grounded knowledge backed by community zeal and an emerging relationship of trust with the Police (unlike before) all combine to formulate a sense of purpose and endorsement into spheres of activism.

Movement politics acquired a more persuasive contour when apart from chasing the potential offenders away, the actors began to help the police in getting them arrested. Earlier, arrests did not solve the matter without street marches, strikes and *dharnas* (sit-ins) which were needed to start a proper procedure of law at Police Stations. More recently, when BTF men turned informants (where possible) implies a co-incident respite at both ends. No more protests to handle for the Police. BTF activists in turn, could speak cordially with the police to insist that they desired to see the offenders punished and behind bars. In such cases the ice is broken and a communicative relationship sets in. Through the medium of their movements, actors were able to graduate from antagonized protestors to trustworthy police informants. To help bust 'eco-crimes' across many zones in Jodhpur and Bikaner, this arrangement seems to be working with many successes.

This shows how a social movement can change the status quo between state and non-state actors by building relations of trust and cooperation. It also shows how the

state alone is not sufficient in many situations that necessitate vigilance. The District Superintendent of Police (DSP), the Police commissioner in Jodhpur and Bikaner and the SHO (Station House Officer) at Nokha Tehsil Headquarter Thana/ Police Station over informal interactions with me, during my first fieldwork trip to Rajasthan in July 2012, confirmed that owing to their skills and dedication Bishnois emerged as major police informers during the past decade. The Bishnoi Tiger Force activists and their support networks are usually the first one to bring to notice cases of illegal hunting and poaching in various deep desert zones or provide help when people raise an alarm.

In this way the EDS (External Discursive Sphere) of the movement remains vibrant with competitively evolving practices and procedures. Simultaneously, in its internal realm, the politics acquires a different character as I explain below.

4.2 Meeting up families of Martyrs: Philanthropy in the Internal Discursive Sphere (IDS)

There have been some landmark cases each in Jodhpur, Bikaner, Nagaur, Nokha, JhaJhiwaal, Lokhvat and Barmer. Details of protests, procedural delays and judicial efficiency or otherwise are part of the social movement narratives. Formal documents and records aside, in each of the places where an incident has occurred, there is a narrative freshness on it, even if years have passed by. The BTF inter- connects politics of memories and hopes with its work that it undertakes with the families there.

Owing to the way the activists conduct periodic follow-ups with the local eye-witnesses as well as families of Martyrs, the movement builds up a one to one communicative sphere. I saw how in places near Mukkam, Lohavat, Nokha Thana people came to the activists to express solidarity with the movement as soon as they heard about their arrival.

I accompanied the BTF activists to the Villages of Martyr(s) Gangaram and Chaillu Singh in December 2013. I witnessed an intense interchange of information and cordiality with the activists.



Figure 3.22: A BTf activist adjust the garland on the statue of Martyr Ganga Ram at late Ganga Ram's family farm. Photo: December 15, 2013.



Figure 3.23: Late Ganga Ram's brother holding the certificate of honour issued by the All India Bishnoi Community, with the help of BTf support. Photo: December 15, 2013.

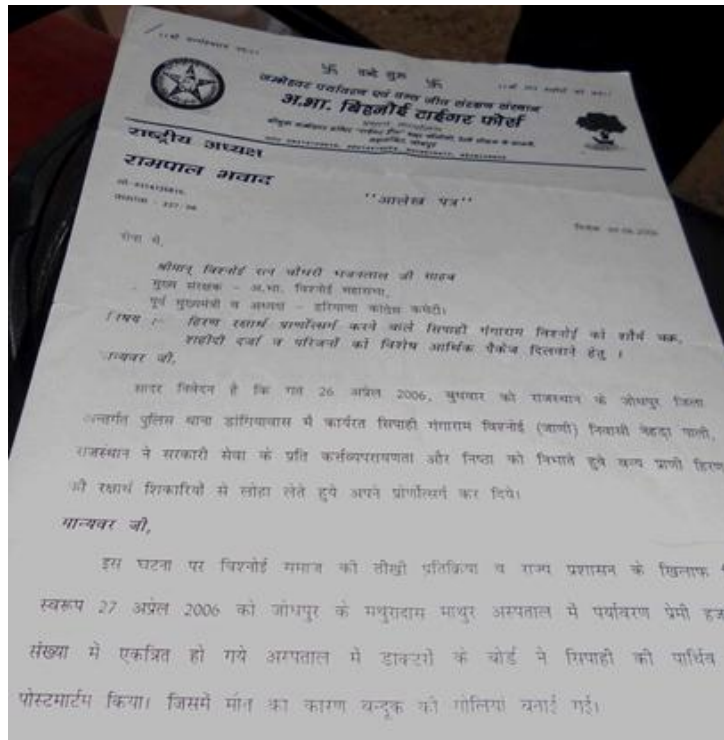


Figure 3.24: A letter written on the BTF letterhead by the chief activist, Rampal Bhavad. Addressed to a well-placed Bishnoi politician in another state, it is an appeal to help declaring the dead Gangaram as a, ‘Martyr’ and for securing financial help – for Gangaram’s family. Photo: December 15, 2013.



Figure 3.25: Ganga Ram’s widow with her grand-child. Photo: December 15, 2013.

When the activists and the local people start chatting with each other on the course of police and judicial action/inaction over the incidents, the air becomes thick with reminiscence and pain. On occasions when activists visit the families affected by poaching either due to their involvement in the movement or by virtue of having suffered a tragedy, they establish internal successes. Philanthropic considerations and warmth spread over such interactive moments. At the local level in general, one sees a stronger resolve to help protect common justice if and when the need arises. These communicative subjectivities with its audiences grant the Bishnois its potential volunteers and support bases.

Conversely at the level of participants, one sees how these sentiments are able to infuse vigour in them to carry on. In the picture below, that I took at Chaillu Singh Rajput's Village in Nokha, Bikaner, we see a commemorative burial site that was built on his family land. Now it is open for the entire community to visit. This serves as a way of inviting people to connect over tragedy while perpetuating internal memory and resulting bonds.



Figure 3.26: In memory of martyr Chaillu Singh Rajput- pride and pain as social movement resources. Photo: December 21, 2013.

Below, follows the picture of Chaillu Singh's widow holding the bravery award, posthumously conferred on her husband.



***Figure 3.27: Rajput Chaillu Singh's wife, in their family home, Nokha: with her late husband's Padmashree-(a National bravery award) in hand.
Photo: December 21, 2013.***



Figure 3.28: BTF volunteers maintain solemn relations with surviving families of the martyrs. Seen in picture above: Chaillu Singh's Children hold his portrait. Photo: December 21, 2014.

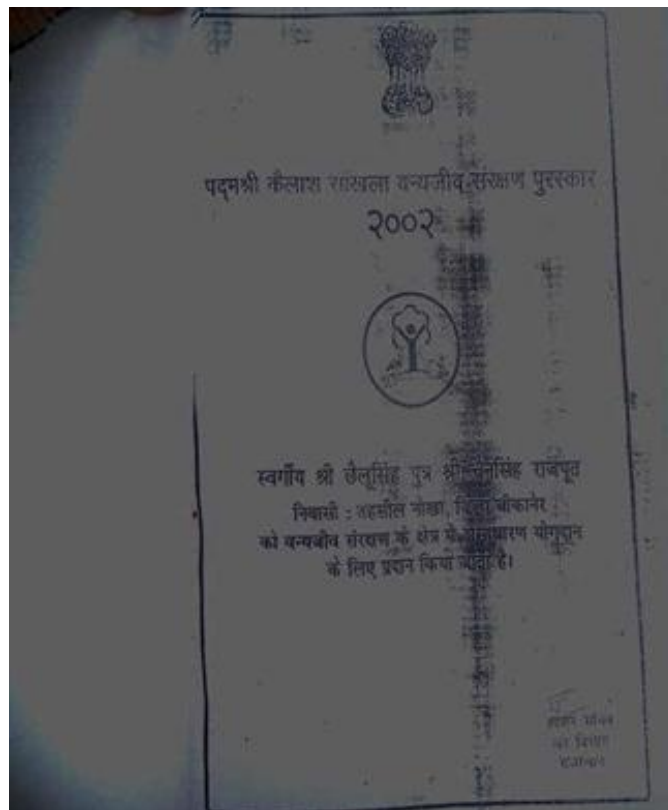


Figure 3.29: Treasured Motifs for the MSM Publics: Certificate of the National Bravery Award, 2002, issued posthumously to Chaillu Singh Rajput. Photo: December 21, 2015.

In the picture above, we see a copy of the bravery award issued by the GOI (Government of India) in honour of Chaillu Singh. Despite being from the Rajput community, Chaillu Singh, a Police official died in line of duty while confronting poachers. The Bishnoi activists galvanized into action to demand the recognition of Chaillu Singh's martyrdom. The BTF activists have also taken up with the issuing of such certificates of for many others who died confronting poachers. At times, they have also prompted formal organizations pertaining to the Bishnoi community to get certificates to the family issued. One witnesses in such an action, the process of 'formalization of grief' at the community level. MSMs thus become adept in practicing philanthropic tasks with competitive imaginations.

On close participation in movement activities and by following the involved actor, one finds that there is indeed a systematic methodology behind this grassroots activism. This extends beyond the much hyped emotionality of spontaneous preparedness to die, if need be in the protection of wildlife. The movement performs a 24-hour drudgery to become visible, viable and valid first for its own insiders- such as those who have lost family members in defense of the endangered animals.

In their external discursive spheres, they like to conjure their mobilization strategies as 'eco-andolans' or 'eco-social movements'. These 'eco-activists', at this juncture, are neither driven towards, nor want to become coopted in party politics, i.e. in the path of solving the issue at hand. However, these actors are clear that in order to be relevant and fruitful, their movements must operate in a political space and master the politics of successful methodology. This would mean exercising a strategic, competitive as well as a collaborative partnership with various institutions. Passionate, as they are about making the bureaucracy function and activating judicial recourses, sitting quiet does not seem to be on their agenda.

Therefore negotiating the government and judiciary for the correct implementation of policies is very much a motive behind their moves. The question then arises, what efforts do they make at 'inserting' themselves in mainstream public spheres? Are there efforts at creating alternative public spheres, one way to answer the question posed above? Or, what external and macro utility does/can their alternative discursivity hold for them?

PART V: MSM AND MOBILISATION OF ALTERNATIVE PUBLICS- A POLITICS OF VISIBILITY IN MAINSTREAM PUBLIC SPHERES?

5.1 MSM imaginations lifts symbolic reference frames

The discursive relationship that has emerged between local communities and the state is firmly context based in some intrinsic senses, but to fathom this influence we need to undertake a subtle journey into the space and time of the Bishnoi world as embedded in the larger context of Rajasthan.

The general ambience of courteousness, hospitality and pride so characteristic of the desert-province coupled with unity that the Bishnoi communities enjoy, on the face of it seem to be different aspects of social life. However, when seen 'operating together' in a social movement context, these provide an interesting twist to the MSMs.

For instance, the well- known feature of the Rajasthani sense of pride, in day-to-day behaviour, mingles smoothly with confident oratory skills of the Bishnoi participants. The traditional Rajasthani practice of affording a warm welcome to visitors and guests is reflected in the courteous way that the Bishnois capture the attention of their audiences when networking in public. The activists tap into their rich Rajasthani folk art spirit by combining an oral vivacity with an expressive performance when they speak and go about spreading their message.

Each time they address an audience, the networking is accomplished through a set of shared meanings and oral reference points. The social movement actors insert their discourses by using this native combination of space and time. BTF effectively build upon folk memory and narratives⁷⁴. Operating with the of spirit of the

⁷⁴ It is well known that Folk media are being used by the state and other private interests for disseminating information and working with the people, helping to reach more than 20 million people across 9,000 panchayats (village councils) of the Rajasthan and assisting action on ground. (Deva 1972 and Prasad, 2013) The folk or traditional arts of India, have from ancient times been used for moral, religious and socio-political purposes. Rarely have they been resorted to for pure entertainment alone, though they are often packed with spontaneity, boisterousness and humour. Indeed, they have been, down the ages, schools of learning, courts of justice and discussions for a representative public sphere. In contrast to the modern mass media, the traditional media are personal, familiar, and more credible forms, with the majority of literate and illiterate identifying with their everyday formats, genres and contents. They can consist of lyrical folk songs of numerous types. Ballads; heroic poems and epic lays; folk opera prose narrative such as fairy tales, legends and myths; proverbs and mnemonic formulae; riddles; and a variety of magical formulae and incantations. However, these forms need to be used with understanding and sensitivity in order to strike the right chord with the people. I argue that the Bishnoi Social Movements (BSMs) are effectively performing such a communicative role to disseminate their messages widely. For a discussion on Rajasthani folk arts and forms of expression, see, Prasad (2013: page 2).

ceremonious welcome that echoes through oral narratives of the region, the participants exude a sense of ownership (of resources and historical experiences) while adopting the role of 'hosts' to win local (the social, political and economic) support.

The social movement uses its folk inheritances as part of its methodology to build up its alternate public sphere. It descends its legal-juridical arguments in the age-old variety and content of the oral traditions of India. By the adoption of this strategic alignment (evolving and grounded knowledge), the movement performs two functions. First, it carries its discursivity towards a larger social acceptance of its messages. Second, it reveals the complexities of an intensely organic terrain that it must negotiate to make successful articulations.

As I observed the wildlife awareness speeches and social work undertaken by the BTF activists, their sense of belonging to Rajasthan became palpable. It served in illustrating how this perpetual show of an organic belonging can turn into an asset for a micro social movement: The Bishnoi participants weave their discourses on poaching by virtue of holding forth a peoples' politics over 'endangered' species. Travelling extensively through western Rajasthan with the attitude that this zone/belt 'belongs to them', they convert their protest action into a competitive claim making.

However, in doing so, they remain fully aware that they share this common 'comfort zone' with others. Hence, they are, as the BTF leaders have explained to me, repeatedly, in search of amicable solutions to look after the regional ecology. Not inclined towards condemning either the system or the marginalized hunting communities in totality, they raise their voice only against those practices that clash with the wildlife protection- as a law as much as a practice. The Bishnoi cultural imagination of well-being in the desert means passionately living out changing ecological necessities. Not just talking about it or making laws on it. They expect the state to take 'embedded' measures to save it: i.e. it must be found out how to integrate the hunting communities in this scheme, if at all the environmental policy means to succeed.

Many native communities, migrants and neutral observers that one comes across in Rajasthan, recall with a sense of pride how their ancestors survived the desert heat and dust alongside the divisiveness of its royal and feudal past. In the same breath that they narrate the living conditions stories and folktales, the Rajasthanis also take

pleasure in narrating their rich heritage, the music, the dances, and the customs: But their heritage they say, does not stop at the arts of particular communities. Their ecological awareness and survival techniques too constitute one of the most ethereal spaces and times that they share together.

Singh (1998: Foreword) points out that Rajasthan has had a glorious tradition of protecting the flora and fauna through community efforts of the Bishnois and that this model needs to be developed further. The Bishnoi social movements indicate how the model has actually travelled further evolving to adapt itself in the garb of a social moment by bringing in innovative ideas, and collaborating with other institutions in the debate. Most importantly, while the Bishnoi actors have their distinct beliefs as do others, the idea where they converge unilaterally is their spirit of hospitality and the proud subaltern culture of survival through desert hardship. This is one feature, which is said to cut across the memories of the various communities and set the tone for permanent relationships of cooperation despite religious and community divides (Singh, 1998: Foreword)

But, looking at the way various social groups are getting involved in ecology dialogues there is a subtle distinction in the current concerns and the previous concerns: Earlier ecological consciousness was more restricted to an inward gaze practiced individually among communities and or extending to combined survival efforts in times of big natural disasters such as famines or other calamities. Now the support that BSMS have acquired as well as the counter dialogues that their movement faces indicate that environmental considerations related to local ecologies have become broader political questions in inter-community relationships, subjectivities and imaginations.

The Bishnoi Social Movements have not arisen as responses to huge environmental calamities or disaster. They are rooted in incidents and events representing situations of low key crisis and transitions emerging over time. Controversies over the protection policies on endangered species are just one example. This discursive formation on environment is no longer restricted to faith systems or intra-community considerations in western Rajasthan but represents an inter-community and inter-institution positioning. I take up these points in the parts below.

5.2 BTF imaginations put a Competitive discursive ecology in motion:

The Forest Official at Tal Chappar Sanctuary, in Churu, (Bikaner) where I went to explore state views on conservation, revealed a political take on the Bishnoi movements. Whenever he answered my questions, the officer spoke rapidly in English, to the consternation of my Bishnoi informant. SK Bishnoi, who had accompanied me to Churu only understood part of the replies that the Official -in-charge at the Sanctuary gave for my benefit. Though he spoke at length, I attach a small excerpt of the conversation below: (Interview at Tal Chappar. December 22.12.2013),

"Species becoming endangered are not a new reality. Many such phases have been seen by humankind before, so why the fuss, now? Or, why should a community (indicating the Bishnois) protest over something which is a law of nature? The Bishnoi activists raised a hue and cry in 2009 when the sanctuary recorded the tragic deaths of around fifty Black Bucks after a huge cloud burst. Earlier, the sanctuary — which falls under the country's principal arid zone and receives erratic rainfall — used to get flooded whenever there was heavy rain. Not now with salt mining going on in the watershed, hardly any rainwater falling on the hillocks now reaches the sanctuary. The off-season rain had been a blessing in one way, it had helped replenish vegetation of the forest's *mothiya* (pearl-shaped) grass, the black bucks' staple diet. Nature takes away with one hand and gives back with the other. If the animals had not died of the rain, they would have died of some other cause. The weaker creature has to perish as only the fittest survive. The Bishnois can have their views but science operates differently. Their protests over this incident cannot be seen as a 'part' of any movement".

Precisely this is what my own question is but exactly in the opposite sense, if a particular community such as the Bishnois creates resistance politics against the disappearance of a species, why must that not be studied? Not all from the community are organized activists, but those who are, what are their reasons for taking the issue up? Why does their movement get local support- tacit, or otherwise, even amid discredit or aversion?

One cannot help thinking of an immense contradiction that arises in this particular stand point: on the one hand the state is guided by 'distant' systems of knowledge to conserve a species by making sanctuaries, announcing legal procedures against its

hunting and so forth. On the other hand, its representatives and policy implementers do not fail to repeat that in nature only the fittest survive.



Figure 3.30: Spontaneous Vigilance to guard common resources. Seen inside the Churu sanctuary and speaking with its guard are BTF activists in white shirts. Photo: December 24, 2013.

While 'survival of the fittest' is a scientific doctrine, it does not explain, in totality, the local discursiveness on ecology. Social movement politics around the theme begs that we also locate ourselves in realms of transformative social agency to understand this local relationship. Hence, the situation merits a socio-political analysis due to the following reasons:

- First, it is worthwhile to explore what and how much has changed on ground that has necessitated the creation of a peoples' movement.
- Second, while the statist ecological perspective is important for analysing the environmental debates in western Rajasthan, one also needs to build a social analysis of the peoples' voices, of which organised Bishnoi activism is definitely one solid example.
- Third, such an analysis needs to be enriched with contemporary ethnographic studies on the situation to register the nuanced way in which ecological relations and politics between communities is changing on the ground.

- A holistic approach can help in tapping into the imagery behind conservation - as policy and politics of the state as much as a collective practices of the non- state actors on ground.

In reference to the 2009 incident mentioned by the official at the Tal Chappar Sanctuary⁷⁵, Churu District of Rajasthan, over 50 blackbucks had died out of shock, following an unexpected cloudburst and thunderstorm (Talukdar:2009). The Bishnois allege that these deaths were understated and could have been avoided with better care, drainage and management systems if the government had paid attention. It proves that Bishnoi alertness clearly irks the system⁷⁶ in such instances and that official versions and peoples versions can be different from one another.

The Tal Chappar incident raised much dust between local conservationists, experts and the state. In accordance to the forest officials' version, the animals, fabled for their shy and timid nature, apparently died of heart failure, frightened by the sudden thunder and lightning, rare in the arid region. The dead ranged from seven-year-old adults to six-month-old fawns. Some wildlife experts, whose opinions the BTF activists had sought on the incident, said it was hard to believe that all the black bucks had died of heart failure, but forest officials denied any possibility of deaths caused by drowning owing to blocked drainage and heavy flooding. "There cannot be over-flooding of the forest because when the water level reaches two feet, it drains off. Whatever rainwater is left, collects in small, seasonal ponds" (see, Talukdar, 2009).

In this respect, the Bishnoi contestations and interpretations of/ on the same issue are a motivated interjection and prove in their wake, how a discursive formation on shifting ecological realities receives perpetual momentum in western Rajasthan.

⁷⁵ The Sanctuary, located on the fringe of Thar, the expansive Indian desert, is spread over 1334 square kilometers. It is the home to nearly 2,000 blackbucks. The sanctuary is also home to migratory birds like demoiselle cranes, harriers and short-toed eagles.

⁷⁶ The attitude of the officials in many instances as this, reflects an overtly bossy attitude towards the public, complain some activists. They carry a chip on their shoulders and behave as if asking, 'who are the you (Bishnois) to ask us, how many animals have died or not?'



Figure 3.31: Gazelle, Black Buck and Antelope, Churu: Frames of a discursive vigilance. Photo: December 19, 2013.

5.3 BTF constructs relations of Collaborative ecology:

The BTF activists have also built collaborative relations with the state conservation departments, even if certain frictions enter the context, as the example above. Nonetheless, a part of Bishnoi activism has been the effort to depute volunteers as collaborators with forest institutes and nurseries in western Rajasthan that devise formal reforestation drives. Movement activists operate by converting many local givens into smart, operational movement assets.

The spirit of hospitality and pride over their conservation ethics, and practices is aligned in the tradition (lingual, expressive, musical, political), the famed Rajasthani 'welcome'. Together this produces an impact producing narrative for movement oratory. This appealing oratory makes the Bishnois as one of the most motivating among local communities, as per the views of scientists and officers at forest research institutes and state forest departments. Given that their spirited participation is convincing, they become assets for many small scale greening drives undertaken by such organisations.

Movement activists extend their local talent of playing 'host' to provide a sense of warm hospitality to the listeners. Their PR strategy, which involves building a

powerful narrative on saving the environment, is carried out by claiming ownership upon arenas of discourse. Bishnois use shared frames such as protection of the famed *khejri* Tree (which provides nutrition to man, animals and enriches the desert soil) to win over endorsement from many kinds of actors who approve of or want to make use of the Bishnoi expertise and willingness to work in local partnership endeavours.

Scientists at Jodhpur-based Arid Forest Research Institute (AFRI) have assessed that Khejri mortality ranged from “18.08 per cent to 22.67 per cent with an average mortality of 20.93 per cent” in Jodhpur, Nagaur, Churu, Sikar, Jhunjhunu and Jalore districts. (Dhar:2014). Dr.NK Bohra, from the Arid Forest Research Institute (AFRI) opines that the Bishnois can be called the, 'Khjeri Tree Savers' as many farmers in the Bishnoi zones still remember the traditional methods of yielding better seeds for plantation. It is a veritable challenge for the AFRI to activate conservation measures as a daily practice without involving locals in effective partnerships. The Bishnois are one of the most enthusiastic communities to come forward and motivational efforts of BTF youth activists in Jodhpur plays an important role. Bohra states (Interview, July 16, 2012),

"The Bishnoi activists can be good partners in conservation projects as they keep their communities tuned to ecological efforts to save indigenous plants and animals. In contrast to many groups and individuals who bluntly ask, 'what will we get by cooperation?', the Bishnoi zeal towards wildlife leads to an enthusiastic support base for us. Two Bishnoi villages, which are noted for their healthy plants and tree saplings and from where, have take samples from, are Rotu and Nagaur. The institute recovers better quality *Khejri* seeds in Bishnoi areas as compared to elsewhere. In many of our programmes, we find that the women and older persons support us in our rural action plans. while men in their forties make the second best layer of support in villages. However, the Bishnoi youth form the Bishnoi Tiger Force (between twenty to thirty years of age). These enterprising youth, who are generally not available back in the villages ... (being constantly on the run for carrying their movement forward in destinations where it takes them), can help us connect with the communities in cities and villages and also in between. More modernized and city oriented than their families back home, these youth who have learned to negotiate the city as a bastion of politics, also become our most active partners in urban ecology programmes. These plant loving youth activists are assets for the movement

as much as for organizations such as ours. Recently they became equal partners in a workshop organized at our premises."

Bishnoi acts of cooperation and protection towards flora and fauna serve in linking the social to the institutional while their demands of adhering speedy dispensation of justice on poaching crimes link the social to the legal. This strategic aligning helps build their confidence to work even more for inserting their discourses within the local public sphere.

Their customary attachment to nature converts into a determined physical negotiation of the forests for the purpose of their movements. Further, a grounded historic knowledge of the Thar and philosophies of survival therein lead them to question the lapses of administration in the desert zones. "Why is a (non-bailable) wildlife protection law announced, if its breach is legally inconsequential?/ what is the difference between having a law and not having a law over a particular issue, then?", asks, Poka Ram Bishnoi, a forest department official of Jodhpur (Interview, 18 July 2012) who endorses the BTF in creating collective protest action over the issue. This shows that the MSMs are not willing to render an uncritical collaboration with the state.

When the general know-how of the activists gets broken up into the contemporary particular practices of micro-social movements, it unleashes significant, though small key processes of positioning on ground. Here, it does good to remember that the Bishnois are not alone and the context of change is shared by many kinds of actors who operate on common ground who may not be agreeable to the Bishnoi methods. They have plenty of detractors and it needs to be acknowledged that local perceptions on the Bishnois and their 'Andolan'/ Movement are not purely appreciated.

Those who favour hunting practices or those who make use of hunting networks do not mind if these activities cross the line between poaching and hunting. So while the Bishnois do operate by creating an empowering discursiveness around poaching, there are others who counter position themselves, overtly or covertly on the same issue. Bhils and the Ban Bawris whose case we take up in the last section of this chapter demonstrate different dilemmas and world views.

PART VI: BISHNOI ACTIVISM AMID ITS CONTEXT RIDDEN PROBLEMATIC:

In the following paragraphs, I will take up how Bishnois can be sometimes alone in their fight as the popular imagination goes judgmental or they face challenges from within the collaborative discursivity that they share with representatives of the state:

6.1 The Popular Imagination on the Bishnois: Many people express a resenting curiosity, others a resenting admiration while some make no pretense in negating any contribution that the Bishnois have made/ are making through their action. When referring to the Bishnois, often three kinds of stereotypes the non-Bishnois insisted on 'quoting' anonymously during my conversations with them (and would be annoyed when they felt I have not noted them down!) were more or less spoken in a dismissive way and were as follows : a) "The Bishnois? oh! They are known more to consume opium (a practice that has historical roots in the region) than for their movements". Even a woman medical practitioner, hailing from Jodhpur, opined in favour of the 'Bishnoi Opium hypothesis' when she narrated how during her MBBS training days, the anesthesia students would observe that for Bishnois they had to administer a higher dose of anesthesia during surgeries as their body was so accustomed to Opium b) "Bishnois are very aggressive and loud. They have the natural clout to take up their issues. They make sure what they say and do gets noticed, though what they are saying and doing is nothing new. In Rajasthan many of us respect nature!" c) "The Bishnois are so rich and prosperous. Why do they even need to wage a movement?" or more starkly, non-Bishnois hailing from urban belts of Rajasthan would ask me bluntly, "The Bishnois? why must anyone do research on them? They are not even poor. They own tractors and have land. They do not die of starvation or disease. You should conduct research on poor Bhils and Ban Bawaris instead."

I mention these comments to highlight how local stereotypical notions on one community continue to hold strong even while speaking of its movement for the protection of wildlife- a realm of action unrelated to suspected opium use, for instance. My analysis on the Bishnoi social movements does not extend to Bishnoi personal habits or traditional consumption patterns of intoxicating or non-intoxicating substances, as I found no such co-relation in the field.

Bishnois can appear assertive owing to the activists' penchant for fearless self-expression (to the extent of confronting poachers/criminals in remote areas without

hesitation) over environmental causes, provokes fear among other onlookers. At times these judgmental assessments may also be used to either 'play down' the Bishnoi contributions or exclude them from social interactions⁷⁷. Thus we see that, many mutual identities may come into play locally- caste, community, power relations, economic status to name a few.

As a researcher, in my earlier two weeks of interaction I got influenced by such comments in a way (not owing to notion of one caste/community over the other) but reasons of my own safety. I felt unsafe with the activists. However, I soon realized that these young men speak in a loud, communicative zeal when speaking of environmental crime, not to threaten the onlooker or listener. Rather, they render an adrenalin driven narration of their own 'adventure laden' role and daily struggle in crime prevention.

An observation that surfaced repeatedly in my data, relates to the ongoing discourse on Bishnoi prosperity. Whilst it is true that Bishnois are looked on as prosperous community, yet, whether seen in absolute or relative terms, what does this prosperity imply in the real life space and time of the Bishnoi social movements?

Here I recall the views of an erstwhile scientist, SM Mohnot, from Jodhpur (conversation on December 19, 2013). He reminds that, "it is part of the common knowledge here for the local communities that in the desert a good ecology means a good economy. This is based on age-old experiences of ecological hardships experienced by many communities alike and modes of survival and care developed for surviving the desert. As the Bishnois work hard to maintain a good flora and fauna in their prosperity stands out and, in a relative sense they experience less economic hardships".

This prosperity therefore denotes an ecological fervor and related richness of lifestyle in the deserts which inspires the Bishnois to strive hard to maintain it. They feel that without their enriching flora and fauna, besides the other things it implies, it would also mean that the community will suffer poverty of resources. As they are known to survive desert hardships even during periods of draught owing to their environmental thrift, the Bishnois feel insecure at the prospect of human crimes such as- illegal hunting or felling of trees.

⁷⁷ It is not possible to share detail of all my observations but I do give some examples below.

In the second instance, this 'prosperity' also enables the Bishnois to raise support. Living in environmental harmony, many families, share similar outlooks. Hence, may feel encouraged to contribute their spare resources- energy, support or even permissions (if they are parents) to 'let' the activists be on the track of their maverick, larger than life struggles⁷⁸. Besides, many prosperous families donate generously to the Bishnoi movement by providing vehicles, or maintaining the animal rescue centres (all over western Rajasthan) where the activists bring rescued creatures, (See, Otte: pdf online⁷⁹ for Bishnoi lifestyles, Bhattacharya: 1998, for practices of ecological thrift and aggressive defense of nature)

6.2 Bishnoi Rebuttal: 'lathi' as social movement practice

It is a challenge to ignore the quotidian emic gaze that the communities endow on one another in the everyday emic of the MSMs. This is a realm interspersed with greys more than neatly separated categories. Interestingly, the Bishnois are aware of peoples' conceptions against them, acknowledge the regrettable use of opium among the vagabonds from their community, especially some misled youth but they are quick to ask, "which community or society does not suffer from vices or youth gone astray?".

In terms of 'aggressiveness', Bishnoi activists admit that without using strong oratory skills and clear arguments (which means quoting sections of the Indian Penal Code and Wildlife Protect Act of 1972 with precision), they are not going to win their way through. The Bishnoi activists who operate between and bring to life a fuzzy rural-urban, state and non-State actor zones in Jodhpur and Bikaner are not interested in being shy, fearful or inaudible while communicating their protest actions.

For instance, at many places I would be surprised how they bought my Dictaphone closer while speaking to let me record uninterrupted, even in the distant villages of Rotu, Lohavat, Phaloudi and Nokha. With their towering size (the average Bishnoi Men and women are almost six feet tall which they attribute to their traditional diet), they know that their penchant for speaking and expressive gesticulations, can bring on negative descriptions. Saving the environment they assert is important and if one needs to be loud, so be it.

⁷⁸ Special significance is the magnanimity of the Bishnoi women, but I am unable to share my preliminary data here owing to restricted space

⁷⁹ http://www.bishnoism.com/uploadPDF/Book.People%20dieing%20to%20save%20trees%20&%20animals_PDF_.pdf

In the same vein, Bishnoi activists also upheld their own enduring commitment to non-violence. Their organization opposes physical high handedness or threatening tactics. They admit that in moments of active defense of wildlife, the actual resistance action (such as chases in the desert forests) and encounters (on the spot of hunting) with poachers or hunter can end up in a conflictual situation. It is not surprising, they say, that when an environment crime is foiled, arguments with the hunters or poachers may turn bitter. There have been instances of scuffles (obviously the hunters or poachers as the case may be, want to flee the spot without leaving evidence), bitter arguments, chaotic chases over sand dunes. But the activists insist that its members may speak loudly at scenes of crime but are not involved in any kind of violence.

At times fleeing poachers (who as a rule, are armed) are known to have fired shots, as a result of which mainly the Bishnois (not known to keep weapons) have got killed. Lawyer M. Bishnoi and BTF leader Rampal Bhavad point out that in the Ganga Ram (Constable) case, Birbal Bishnoi case, Chaillu Singh (Rajput) case, Nihal Chand case, Ganga Ram Choudhary (Jaat) case, Bishnois or non-Bishnois all have died because they dared to face/chase the poachers.

The BTF men reflect that the only 'weapon' (so to say), that many people in rural India keep on themselves is a '*lathi*' (a thick wooden stick that people may keep and carry for self-protection in remote areas. In official parlance, a similar stick is called a baton, though a police baton in India being five feet is longer than a common man's *lathi*). In case they receive a call from activists to gather at a suspected poaching cite, they carry their *lathis* with them. RN, an activist from the village Jegla near Jodhpur (Interview, 13 December 2014), says,

"During chases, everybody knows that we Bishnois carry no weapons as it is non-violence is one of our important world-value. This knowledge makes the hunting parties even bolder. They always have weapons on them and they know that the Bishnois practice non-violent resistance action fearlessly. They enter areas near our dwelling places. However, in the deep desert zones, we know that it is us who would be the first to reach, even before the police can access the area, because many times these incidents happen when the 'bureaucracy is sleeping- in the dead of the night!'. So when we hear of any such incident, whichever time of the day or night it may be, we go prepared, at least with our *lathis* (sticks) in self defence: '*agar ek garib kissan apne bachav ke liye apne pas lathi bhi nahi rakhega to door daraz ke shetro*

mein apni rakhwaali kaise karega?' (If a poor farmer does not even keep a 'lathi' on his person, then how is he expected to assure his self-defence in remote areas?). Professional poachers keep guns for shooting and can use them in times of scuffle. Just as our *lathis* act as a self-defence weapon for us, their guns inadvertently play the same role for them. At 99.9 % of such scuffle sites, if somebody has died, it is obviously the 'unarmed' Bishnoi. Where incidents of firing at such sites have led to Bishnoi men having gotten killed in defense of the Black Buck or other creatures, the dead person has been recognized to have attained, 'martyrdom', thanks to the efforts of our movements as much as the will and support from the community as much as the state".

6.3 BTF Protest Actions- Administrative critiques amidst appraisal:

Thus, the Bishnoi movements succeed in turning the tables on the discourse of the state officials. If collective action such as self-inspired chases in the deep forest zones comes under the strict purview of law, as being tantamount to taking the law in one's own hand, then, the Bishnoi are quick to point out, what does the state's inability to register an FIR correctly be interpreted as: flouting of the state's own duties, laws and rulings?

Thus, social movements and administration do not exist in a compartmentalized vacuum from one another in India. The Bishnoi MSMs provide ample evidence of how overlapping and proximal these categories and divisions are in everyday life. Interestingly then, even though the Bishnoi have turned the statist discourse upside down, they have gained empathy from the forest officials as well as the police, primarily because their actions talk of a public good.

Many sceptics in positions of authority opine that a partnership between the administrative spheres and social movement action may be desirable but may not be bereft of encumbrances. For instance, explaining the limits of partnership, a senior Police Officer from Jaipur (Interview, July, 23, 2012), on conditions of anonymity, states, "if someone dies or gets injured or the whole situation becomes a huge protest site, it is as the state's law and order machinery that we are obliged to spring into action and not as social movement partners!".

District Superintendent of Police, Bikaner: (Interview, July 19, 2012) explains,

"Even though the action may have been meant to protect the environment and serve the cause of the nation selflessly, still these Bishnoi *andolans* / movements can

cause an increasing 'headache' for administrators. By tracking crime in remote areas, the activists do make our task easier in one sense. But owing to the ensuing social positioning or due to the casteist and / or religious innuendos that matters here can suddenly acquire, we cannot say to the Bishnois, 'thank you very much and well done!'..... We cannot favor or disfavor anybody; our task is to remain neutral while solving law and order situations. It is for the law to decide the further course of action. But we do appreciate the Bishnoi vigilance for they provide reliable information to us".

The Assistant Conservator of Forests (ACF) Jodhpur spoke of how the Bishnoi movements up the ante for tackling wildlife crimes head on. PN Lodha narrated two incidents (Interview, December 12, 2013):

"In June 2012, I was posted at our Balotra Range Office. The received a call from the BTF activists that a hunting episode has been witnessed whereby animals prohibited by the wildlife act have been targeted. Some of the animals named pertained to the schedule IV of the act. Therefore, the forest officials immediately conducted a raid. They found a woman chief of a hunting community in possession of four *Chinkaras*/ Black Bucks (schedule IV), two rabbits and some reptile skins. Two teams were formed to investigate the crime. A post mortem was conducted on the dead animals. In twenty-four hours all the concerned perpetrators were arrested. They were found to be habitual offenders by the High Court, which refused them bail. Had the Bishnois not become so active, many of the information networks and collaborations that have erupted locally might not have been functional and the hunting cases, which now come into light, would have gone unreported. Similarly, in the summer of 2013, carcasses of nine antelopes were found inside jute sacs near Barmer. This was again a case where the hunting communities took up bulk hunting. However, some of the group managed to flee as a BTF activists had arrived on the scene. On grounds of evidence collected from site of crime in the shape of the Jeep number noted down by the Bishnoi eyewitnesses, some hunters were tracked down and a case was registered. It is *sub-judice* as of now."

In yet another example, S.Singh, DCP (Deputy Commissioner of Police), Jodhpur states (Interview, July 26, 2012) and analyses:

"Mostly the Bishnois who keep no arms, in case of a violent chases (from the start or when neither of the party relents), have more reasons to face injury and/death on the spot. The poachers/ hunters on the other hand can seldom function without weapons and arms. The scuffles between one group and the other, which have become the

hallmark of the movement politics, lead to defensive violence practiced by the fleeing poachers and corresponding measures of self-protection extended by the Bishnois. To their credit, there is no case where the Bishnois have been charged or even known to have been involved in shooting crimes or keeping arms. In fact, the Police and the Bishnois have moved from assumptions of doubts against one another, from the time of the initial phases of the BTF activism, to relations of mutual trust. We used to look at the Bishnois as an aggressive community, when speaking its views out, acting in front of the poachers and the administration fearlessly. With the rising awareness against poaching and consistent Bishnoi protests against it, gradually, the police started changing its views on the activists. They are devoted environmentalists for sure, but the information network they began to provide for the sake of their movement as well as for helping the local administration, became their strength in winning bureaucratic appraisal. The Police now banks upon the Bishnois as their informants in many cases. The only problem is that no matter whichever good that they are performing, at times when they impulsively decide to follow the fleeing poachers all by themselves; undeniably it is an action which can be legally interpreted as taking the law in one's own hand. In our view, it would be enough to inform the police."

6.4 Social dynamics: Protest action and Caste as opposing discursive entities

The above given Bishnoi statements portraying the relevance of the '*lathi*' in Bishnoi imagination helps to understand conflictual actor positioning in the social movement context. It also helps to know how the community practices social action on the basis of a collective imagination.

The one question that the chief articulators of the BSMs asked repeatedly was: "What incentive can law abiding citizens (like us!) continue to have to carry on the good work and even achieve martyrdom, when others who break the laws escape scot free?". Bishnoi activists from Jodhpur and Bikaner opine negligent handling of the cases on the scene of crime that makes the poachers successful. What adds to the 'body' of the growing sense of resentment shared by the Bishnois is the invisible politics that unfolds around the issue once it comes to light. This politics is not so straight forward, friendly or easy to understand unless the social layers around the local politics are fruitfully deconstructed.

RP Bhawad of the BTF (Bishnoi Tiger Force) speaks of a case that occurred in 2006 in Pali District and how despite the help provided by the forest department the case

remained unsuccessful. When I approached M.S. Rathore (ACF), the forest officer in charge at Saari Gaanv in Paali District in 200 and posted in the Jodhpur Zoo at the time of this research, he recollected the incident for me thus, (Interview, December 19, 2013):

"Ram Pal Bhavad landed at a hunting spot, in a field at Saari Gaanv, that was located in the Revenue Land (non-forest area). Here a Black Buck had got stuck in a strategically located trap. It was evident that it was a silent, clever and covert hunting measure adopted by the poachers in contrast to making use of guns that make a sound and give away the crime, besides inviting Bishnoi protest action. It so happened that the injured animal had freed itself from the trap and run away to the nearest Bishnoi *Dhani* (residing area) where it fell dead. The Bishnoi family informed Bhavad and he followed the track of the creature up to the place where the trap was discovered. The BTF activists contacted the forest department immediately. The ACF (Assistant Conservator of Forests) ordered a Post Mortem, which established that the Black buck had died of excessive bleeding. The repercussion was that the five hundred to six hundred Bishnois agitated against a 'probable accomplice' - the local village headman (*the sarpanch*), and a, "probable suspect"- the headman's help. The *Sarpanch* was himself a candidate of the powerful Patel community and had a domestic help from the Bawri community. Bishnois alleged that the 'Patel' *Sarpanch* was giving cover to his Bawri help. The Bishnois lodged a complaint with the forest department against the suspected hunter from the Bawri community, on grounds of which the 'assumed culprit' was reportedly arrested and produced in court. He was put under judicial custody and received bail but the case dragged on for some years amidst the 'rising' mistrust in the communities. The Bishnoi witnesses were unable to give 'convincing' evidence or statements in the court and finally the Bawri suspect was exonerated from the case."

Hence, there is a casteist resentment and grouping which may come to inform, in part, the shape that collective action takes, over and above the concern for saving the wildlife. It is incidents such as that make the movement gather legal knowledge over the years as they feel the need to become smarter to expose poaching 'networks' and crimes. They began to raise voice when non-complaint officers refused to register crime reports or intended to let the case go unreported or drop it.

Bishnois mounted pressure on administration till the FIRs began to be recorded with

precision. The Office Manager at the Bishnoi Pilgrimage Centre at Mukkam (Interview July 25, 2012) in Bikaner, recollects that initially when the movement started in the last 1990s and the Bishnois passed on information of planned hunting operations in remote areas, the police would hesitate to venture in these 'inaccessible' terrains alone or many times no arrests were made.

In face of rising Bishnoi vigilance since the late 1990s the hunters are now switching over to more 'silent' methods such as laying traps instead of using guns, explains MS Bishnoi (Interview, December 12, 2013), an advocate in the Jodhpur high court. Thus, the dynamics of the social movement has changed the dynamics of hunting and vice-versa. Both practice realms have been steadily operating against one another. At the same time, newer issues to caste antagonize the scene further. MR Bishnoi (Interview, December 11 2013), an observer of the BTF activism, forwards a critical observation. He cites a recent case to show the changing inter-community dynamic between the Bhils and the Bishnois in the region especially in wake of the face-off between them in hunting/ poaching contexts. He states,

"Finally, there are two kinds of '*Shikaaris*' (Hunters). Those who hunt endangered species for the commercial benefits of the activity, or for entertainment (example, Salman Khan case or Nawab of Pataudi case) -for placating their taste buds or their elite position in the society as opposed to those who practice hunting as a customary practice or a livelihood need. Bhils and Ban Bawaris pertain to the latter kind of practice. These traditional inhabitants of the Rajasthani forests for instance, are neither educated nor integrated fully into modern lifestyles. Majority live in isolation and may completely rely on their own subsistence knowledge systems. Where the government failed to make them aware of the changed laws, the Bishnoi Social Movements (which has created attention from the media, police and the state) have succeeded, at least partially. The Bhils and the Ban Bawaris are now changing, they are more aware and getting 'alert' because hunting of certain endangered species now means its 'poaching'... in modern legal parlance. On the other side, the justice system, pressurized by Bishnoi 'self-less' service to check any harm to the endangered species shows intentions of punishing the offenders more than before. But on the ground the communities face a different set of challenges while facing each other's collective action or collective denial whatever it is- for instance, when RNB (one of the main spokesperson of the BTF) participated in a protest against a

Bhil poaching incident, the tide turned polemic. One of the Bhils falsely implicated RNB of having called him a '*Bhil-ada*' (addition of the suffix, 'ada' converts the term into a condescending way to refer to the Bhil community). As a result, the Bishnoi activist (RNB) was booked under the SC/ST (Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe) act and is facing certain encumbrances owing as the matter is sub-judice"

RNB, with whom I spoke to in Jodhpur, (Interview, December 20, 2014), too denies the veracity of the allegation against him and opines that, "the suspect, knowingly used this 'vocabulary-weapon' in order to divert the attention from poaching and make the case sound like a verbal casteist offence. Everybody knows⁸⁰ that use of condescending, casteist language is punishable under the law in India".

At the time of my interaction with him, RN Bishnoi's attention was divided between court procedures, which he was obliged to undertake (such as being present on the dates of hearing), and his participation in movement politics. Therefore, we see that the mutual imagery between communities can also take a bitter turn in the wake of the raging controversies over hunting.

As social movement action becomes adept in the use and the knowledge of the 1972 prohibition law, one witnesses the simultaneous proliferation of self-defense tactics and position taking between the communities. It also helps us see that criminalisation of peoples in India is not exclusively a colonial affair⁸¹. The continuation of stereotypical legal provisions, laws and governance categories in post-colonial India reflects the extent to which the current state politics has much to answer for.

The bottom-line is that the 1972 Wildlife (protection) Act by its own self seems like a toothless and a brainless intervention to those unwilling subjects whose world it attempts to interpret and be applicable. It divides the local world into two kinds of changing social practices: while one group of people from hunting communities and/or locally powerful groups continue to 'flout' it openly till date; others such as the

⁸⁰ Article 15 of the Constitution of India prohibits discrimination on grounds of Religion, Race, Sex or Caste. To protect the civil and political rights of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, the Schedule Caste and scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities Act) was enacted in 1989. For more on the need for affirmative action among the de-notified and marginalised communities, see Nomadic Report (http://hicsarp.org/documents/Nomadic_Report.pdf) and National Advisory Council Working Group on Denotified and Nomadic Tribes Report (http://www.nirmanindia.org/Report/dnt_draft.pdf)

⁸¹ For a detailed discussion on conservation politics and poaching- hunting debates, rule of law, colonial canons as well as post-colonial lapses vis-à-vis the hunting communities of the Bhils and Ban Bawaris, see Luthra-Sinha: 2016b and 2016c.

Bishnois, their supporters and/or independent people continue to wage social struggles quoting the same law. As far as it failed to take into account the potential of peoples' dialectical imagination on the one hand and caste/ community implications on the other hand, this law has acquired a disputable meaning in western Rajasthan.

Over time, the movement actors have learnt to bring information to the police, accompany them as well as the forest officials into the remote crime zones or help out in all ways possible. Through this collaborative discursiveness each has had a sense of gain- the activists gained satisfaction that the police/state officials was performing its duties, while the police gained risk bearing companions. But the movement has still to learn to wade its way through the murky waters of caste in India.

PART VII: THE ANTI- DISCOURSE: VIEWS FROM THE 'OTHER' STAKEHOLDERS- BHILS AND BAN BAWRIS

In order to conceptually embed the Bishnoi Social Movements in accordance with the local realities, it is important to examine which other actors get directly or indirectly affected by the movement. Bishnois, as I have elaborated above are an animal loving sect with a special dedication to the protection of local flora and fauna. Bhils and the Ban Bawris. These tribes⁸² belong to hunting-gathering communities and have been following their customary food habits since, as historical evidence permits us to state, thousands of years. In the changed ecological circumstances, the desert zones face an array of inter-linked changes such as increasing industrial activities, shrinking free-lands, dwindling common grazing lands, newer varieties entering into the endangered species rooster.

7.1 The Ban Bawris of RaRod Village: of Pulse- Healers and Alternative world views

The biggest challenge during my research was to be able to establish contact with the Ban Bawris. 'Reputed' to be fierce and violent, reaching them in their remote desert zones, was something nobody was prepared to help me in particularly

⁸² The term Adivasi, in turn, literally means "first inhabitant," and was coined by tribal rights activists early in the twentieth century to express their claim to being the indigenous people of India. The Indian government does not recognise Adivasis as being indigenous people, but defines Adivasi communities as belonging to the category of Scheduled Tribes as per the Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the Indian constitution. The Fifth and Sixth Schedules (schedules are basically lists in the Constitution that categorise and tabulate bureaucratic activity and policy of the Government) provide an array of protective legislation, special entitlements and reservations for Adivasis (See, Nilsen, 2015).

because news had spread that I was conducted research on the Bishnois- the opposite party in question!. None of the locals were happy to trudge along with me into the Bawri zones.

The irony is that many reports have studied how the Bawariyas themselves face much trouble at the hands of administration and local attitudes owing to various kinds of discrimination-social, political as well as casteist. (Nomadic Report and Motzhafi-Haller: 2015). Traditionally they are known to be hunters, trekkers and trappers and supplement their livelihood by selling their catch in the local villages. In Rajasthan alone their population numbers an estimated 31,903 (Dutt, 2003). During agricultural season, the Bawris set up temporary settlements in the fields of their employers. In Rajasthan they are classified as Scheduled Caste (Nomadic Report).

When all endeavours failed, I went to the Bishnois again. I requested the Bishnois to help me reach, for after all, the Bishnois are known for their bravery. The Bishnoi Tiger Force relented but sent in a lesser-known activist from a place called *Jegla* to accompany me. Two kilometers before we reached the Ban Bawria settlements, I noticed that the activist 'disguised' himself swiftly, tying a cloth on his forehead and wearing sunglasses. This was done as a measure of precaution and out of fear that if the Ban Bawrias were to recognize a Bishnoi on their terrain, they would either turn violent or just refuse to converse or shun us away. I entered the Bawria abode, uncomfortably, with my companion in an impromptu disguise in tow.

Marveling at the emptiness of the terrain, I was surprised that there was nothing that one could even stumble against here. However, the difficult simplicity of Bawri way of life and their rich narratives, eventually did make me stumble. What an intruder like me mistook for nothingness, was a load full of Bawri space and time and ironically meant the world to this community. From what I saw, their wholesome nothingness was their proud possession and demanded their complete attention. They went about busily in their jobs- the nine children loitering about and playing in the sand with elusive lambs and their kids, hopping around all over. Young mothers rushing about in preparation of making food for the evening and looking after their humble animal farm (goats and sheep only). All happy in their desert home.

Suddenly the camel came swaying in and appeared on the horizon accompanied by its tired owner. It was close to sunset. The young Bawria man was coming 'home' after watching the fields, where he worked. His entry almost coincided with our

arrival. This young vigilant man, Sitaram, told me later that he saw our jeep approaching the wilderness through the muddy path nearby long before we spotted him with the camel and so he had taken a short cut to reach his home. The camel was greeted with cheers from the children and the women fed the animals their evening meal. The family had twenty two members including nine children of all ages (between two to twenty years old).

Though the young man was surprised to see me, he remained friendly and signaled his family- wife and children, brothers and sisters-in-law, sisters and old parents to come and sit near us. My 'clumsily disguised' informant friend, who sat with the airs of a style icon in his new avatar, remained silent while they narrated their stories but took in each word attentively.

a) The Ban Bawri political Imagery: One of the main reasons they acquired curiosity over my identity, became clear as the old patriarch, Katharam, a wobbly octogenarian approached me with folded hands. Before I could introduce myself, I suspect that owing to the journal and the pen in my hand, he imagined me as an official surveyor and wanted me to carry their message to the government:

"Help us get land and water, please! tell the '*Sarkar*' (*government*), if we get good land, we can become farmers like the others. But this village has another problem, we also need electricity".

Unlike in the Bhil village (as elaborated below) where I was accompanied by a community insider and could use my Dictaphone, here I quietly took down notes while they spoke. I gathered that they would not have been comfortable with a recording device. Even though I clarified that I was not a surveyor or from the government, the image of the pen and the paper in my hand, provoked them to decide, that I was doing something important which might prove helpful, anyways. When I presented attention to their little children and began conversing playfully with the tiny tots, all around me, the conversation suddenly took a sympathetically informative tone. They all opened up and I relaxed. I attach the details below:

Meeting the Ban Bawrias threw light on what their lifestyle is, what they imagine the state to provide and where does the debate on hunting feature in all this, if at all? In a village named RaRod and called "*RaRod Gaanv* (village), falling under the jurisdiction of Bhopalgad *Tehsil* (administrative headquarter) in Jodhpur, the desert

merges into a scanty forest, agricultural land, sand dune and a living abode all at once. Sitting at the farm, on the borders of which, the Ban Bawris had set up their current 'home', one could observe a brand new 'pucca' (concrete) house that stood on their patch of land. Before I fathomed that the reason for why it stood there locked and unoccupied was actually 'symbolic', I asked them the use of building it and not living in there.



Figure 3.32: The Ban Bawri Couple.
Photo: December 17, 2013.

Sitaram, the 25 year old Ban Bawari youth squarely replied (Interview, December 17.12. 2014),

“Why live inside a concrete place when we still have no electricity and water? In that case, we prefer to live like before- under our camel carts through rain and sunshine. We cook in the open, among the bushes. This house is a symbol for us. People look

at it and talk of us, our family as its owners. Everyone here owns something, so we wanted to have a basic structure (they used the word '*dhancha*', meaning skeleton) which we could proudly claim to be our 'concrete' possession. Who knows our children might begin to live in houses if water and electricity are provided? I already use a cell phone,...look because with it one feels 'connected' . Times are changing. Though we keep our house locked, as you can see- there is a lock hanging outside each room, we still keep our earthen water pitchers inside the cool concrete house. Each time someone needs water to drink, they enter the premises and serve themselves from the pitchers."



Figure 3.33: The Ban Bawari Kitchen.
Photo: December, 17, 2013.

I was thankful that they had shared their family time with me and told me of their political preferences, once they were completely sure that my Dictaphone was switched off. The Ban Bawrias of this village had voted for the BJP (Bhartiya Janata Party, now in power in their region as well as at the Centre) in the local assembly elections to which the results were declared a week before my interaction with them. Their demands and expectations from the political system are gradually undergoing a change, which they admit to by incorporating small changes in their lifestyle too.

Yet it is not the state's water or the electricity which integrates them to the outer world. It is the market which sucks them in and which they find attractive: Socially, it is their custom and talent that integrates them to the political economy of poaching. Technologically, the cell phones through which they have pitched their voice into networking among themselves as much as with others who want to establish/maintain connections with them. Economically, the imagery of owning- or having a concrete house pushes them to buy and invest in property and goods related to construction. It is clear that the Ban Bawria political dream is changing.



**Figure 3.34: An old camel cart functions as a closet.
Photo: December 17, 2013.**

b) Tiny catapults for tiny hands- the pulls of custom: I did not have the heart to ask them about hunting or their views on the Bishnoi movements directly. I was apprehensive that they would close up or feel insecure, if I did. I looked on at the symbolic luxury of the concrete house that stood jarringly apart from the surroundings in an aura of isolated pride. I wondered how many Bawria life- histories, the structure could have borne witness to. Did it ever provide the Bawrias any real comfort? Were they using it?

Answer came in the shape of a loud thud over the courtyard followed by a jump onto the high ledge where the water pitcher was kept. A young lad, no more than twelve years of age had reached the pot and was excitedly demonstrating to me what they used the house for- 'going in to drink stored water'!

While he happily volunteered to get me a glass of water upon my request, my attention got diverted to the half- dressed children who, after having played to their fill, had come to rest near their elders sitting beside us.



Figure 3.35: Custom made Catapult: Training as play starts early on.
Photo: December 17, 2013.

In the last rays of the setting sun, I noticed, how some of them (i.e. the boys), even the toddlers were wearing something large in their necks. Just at that time, my very attentive, 'sun-goggled' informant whispered to me and urged me to look carefully- those were not pieces of jewelry or necklaces, those were in fact small hand- made versions of indigenously made catapults to be hung on the neck.

Therein arose the moment to naturally talk of the catapult and what it was required for. At first the Bawri men and women refrained from talking about the instrument. As the silence lingered on, I impulsively looked at the young fellows, the Bawria children, to casually ask them if they would hunt for me. This time the nod came from the eager parents who laughed and told me, "Of course they will. We are already training them to be adept at hunting. Here this, three year old, can already kill a bird with his catapult. Soon he will reach a stage where even the fastest deer of the forest will not be able to escape him."

There was more laughter as I absorbed the comment. Slowly we all opened up and the conversation steered towards their preferred food- "we like to eat '*bajre ki roti*' (Indian millet bread) to accompany our curries which we make at home and green vegetables that we buy from the market". When I asked them which kind of curries they ate, they cited their preference for all kinds of meat- such as chicken, mutton, partridges and other fowl and even "*Neel Gai*" (Blue Bull). But for them, 'Chicken tastes best and *Nil Gai* is not so delicious, but it is more filling anyway". In the flow of the conversation, I asked if they ate venison to which Sitaram replied, "We used to hunt it with guns earlier. Now all that is banned. We do not hunt or eat deer any longer." ⁸³

That is where I let it be. For nobody can say with certainty who from among the forest communities does or does not hunt the endangered species. If done, it could be for which reasons: for taste, as medicine, to make some amount of minimum money, for rituals, as a customary talent, or in the legal way to say it, - as an act of 'crime'. It would have been an unfair expectation of the Bawrias to confide their trysts and

⁸³ Interestingly, the lawyers and advocates who voluntarily help the BTF activists opined that the Bishnoi activism has altered the methods used for killing endangered species. While earlier the poachers had taken to the use of guns, now fearing that noise of the shots may stir the Bishnois in vicinity alert, they have gone back to older hunting practices. Many a times, these days, one hears of traps being laid down for the targeted species. As Bishnois descend into scenes of crime in large numbers, obviously the hunting communities are vary of their activism.

travails casually for the benefit of my research or 'survey' as they thought me to be doing. For a moment a sudden sense of doubt crossed their faces when they spoke of hunting deer with guns- It must be a big risk for them to have trusted me as I was neither an insider nor came accompanied with one.

c) Of Pulse Healers and the cell phones: I mention one last observation worth bringing in. Just as I prepared to leave the RaRod Village, the Bawris had visitors. Out of the narrow farm paths running on the sides of the Bawria abode, arrived two jeans-clad young lads riding a motor byke leisurely. They came to a confident halt near the place where the Bawrias had set up their small feeding place for the animals. At the entry of these youth, the Bawria family exchanged hurried glances between themselves and the older woman, the family head's wife looked meaningfully at one of her daughters-in-law. She in turn, got up and approached the two men, said something upon hearing which the two immediately turned back and left the scene speedily, but not before looking back at us two- the intruders at the Bawria abode.



**Figure 3.36: The Bawri smiles- Trust and Expertise in time and space.
Photo: December 17, 2013.**

When I asked the family who these two men were, the women told me, "Oh! These are just *Nadi-Vaids* (Pulse healers) who had come to enquire if we needed help. But no one is sick here so we turned them back and asked them to call us before coming again!

It seemed somewhat preposterous and farfetched a description to be believed. Except the idea that cell phones were becoming important connecting mediums for the Ban Bawrias, the account of the young visitors' identity sounded a bit suspicious. Traditional pulse healers could not be so young or come riding in jazzily, on motorbikes and flee at the sight of outsiders. On my way back the Bishnoi informant premised that, "These were no '*Nadi-Vaids*'. They were either customers/ clients who had placed order with the Bwarias for a particular kind of meat and had come to fetch it. The Bawris must be keeping the meat ready, cleaned and cut as required. They could not however make the 'delivery' in front of us. Or, it could be that the two men represented poaching networks and had come to discuss with the Bawris and plan on the next target".

Obviously, these were just guesses. I was amused to see how, fueled by the incredible version given by the confident and clever Bawri woman, the Bishnoi youth conjured up all kinds of possibilities. However as we rounded off our trip and its experiences on the way back, we agreed that we had no evidence of any underhand deals and hence, it was the Ban Bawris themselves who knew best what was up.



Figure 3.37: New Ban Bawri possessions: A concrete house, visible in the background. Photo: December 17, 2013.



***Figure 3.38: Lingering lifestyles amidst changing community spaces.
Photo: December 17, 2013.***

7.2 Meeting the Bhils of "Shoukho Gaanv": "We cannot use the forest, we cannot use the state"

Forty kilometers away from Jodhpur, lies a Bhil area known as the *Shoukho Gaanv* (Gaanv means village). Triloka Ram who was himself related to the Shoukho village families, agreed to take me there. Not many of my Bishnoi informants showed enthusiasm to travel with me into areas where the Bhils live, partly owing to the evolving problematic between the two communities. But, one of their other concerns related my safety and research. They advised that for a freer interaction between the Bhils and me, it would be better if the Bishnois are left out as this might create

suspensions and discomfort for all. However the Bishnois helped me by introducing me to, Kailash, the Bhil cook at the forest research institute where I was staying.

I requested Kailash to put me in touch with people from hunting communities such as the Bhils who live in the deep desert zones and practice their traditional lifestyles. After 'observing' me for a week and quizzing me about my research, Kailash finally relented and set up a Bhil informant who would take me to the nearest village, where hunting was still practiced as chief livelihood alongside other emerging occupations. Kailash and Triloka Ram were more urbanized though their families carried on older lifestyles. Finally, with T. Ram's help I reached the Shoukho Gaanv.

The car stopped at the last point beyond which it was not possible to proceed with a big vehicle. Negotiating the remaining two kilometres climb upward, by foot, we reached the Bhil families living quietly on the sandy, rocky desert stretch. Enroute to the living abode of the Bhils, I noticed how the sand was laced with old animal bones and skulls of various shapes and sizes. I asked Triloka Ram who opined, 'must be famine or starvation which are common occurrences in this hostile desert' - negating my conjecture that the images already indicated that we are among hunting communities.

Even the families that I met later remained largely quiet on the reasons for the presence of the bones. They did say, however, sometimes their dogs (Bhils have a special attachment to dogs. They keep them as valuable pets and have certain beliefs and rituals around the creatures. See Singh, 2013: 56) whom they feed with left-over meat and bones could have carried their meal elsewhere. Hence, the scattered bones.

Figure 3.39: Pictures below show bones strewn on the last sandy kilometre to the Bhil Abode: Photos: December 13, 2013.







The Bishnois and other non-Bhils opine that the bones are an evidence of the hunting practices which may sometimes turn into, 'poaching'. Scattered bones indicate that left-over meat is fed to their pet dogs who then carry off and enjoy the meal a bit far away. For me, the implications of the interpositions between communities were far more helpful to uncover an evolving organic dynamics in the region, than the actuality of the 'truth' or 'lie' exposed by the presence of the bones.



Figure 3.40: Gokulram, perched on a stone step within his Bhil compound, in a timeless Indian position. Photo: December 13, 2013.

Gokul Ram (picture below), a lean old man from 'Shoukho'- the Bhil village forty kilometers away from Jodhpur, informed me that he had no background in formal education. He recalled his age as being, "approximately between (Interview, December 13, 2014) sixty five to seventy five years. However he remembered very well that his family has been living in this place since the past thirty years. In total there were 18 family members living together. Looking much older than his stated age (because of his emaciated body), but firmly perching himself on a big stone inside his 'Bhil Compound' that consisted of a few scattered huts (Bhils live together in Pals- which appear to be an isolated series of scattered huts, (see Singh, 2013: 58), he called his family over to speak with me.

Possessing the proud demeanour of the head of the family, he informed me that he and his wife live with their three sons and their families together. Speaking with the weight of time, he talked about marriage rituals and how a Bhil wedding remains incomplete without serving mutton (goat meat). Whenever they gather for a '*dawat*' (lunch/dinner party), the guests are accorded a customary welcome with non-vegetarian delicacies. On a daily basis, however they drink tea to start their day as the milk that they can manage with their petty sheep herd is neither enough for drinking nor for making *Ghee* (Indian clarified butter).

Kiran, Gokul's more vocal, thirty five year old daughter-in-law informed me that her husband, Mala Ram was forty years old and their eldest son had just become twenty one. As far as their livelihood was concerned, it was a mixture of professions- the old and the new. They liked rearing goats and sheep and also selling them as per demand. They also hunt when required. But they also need 'money' to buy vegetables (preferred ones- chilies, onions, potatoes and tomatoes), sugar (half a Kilogram is used each day in making the morning tea for the family) and grains from the market regularly. Money which has become an important requirement comes in on the side through other professions that their men have adopted such as laboring as stone masons. But they only bring home a meagre income, as Kiran pointed out, "the employers pay them very little." Kiran conversed freely of their hunting and meat eating rituals. They like to hunt small creatures such as rabbits which were easily available without controversy. She elaborated,

"We liked eating deer too. '*Lekin ab Hiran marne par zamanat nahi hoti*' (But now upon hunting deer, one does not get bail). We also come to hear incidents how other

tribes such as the Kal Beliya become involved in debates with the system as well as others against hunting. One called, Jogi, from the kal Beliya community was jailed in a village, ten kilometres from here. Earlier this community was not settled but now like us they are more or less practicing settled lives- which has its own downsides. If we hunt, for daily consumption, taste or for a ritual such as use of particular meat during marriage ceremonies, we are more easily spotted because everybody knows where to find us! We therefore avoid any controversial meat. Now that we are more aware of how the meaning of hunting has changed in legal parlance and how other communities now wage anti-poaching movements, we too see it differently now. But 'we' have not made the species 'endangered' ".

a) Political Imagery of the Bhils: At this point, Jamuna, Kiran's mother-in-law joined in and spoke from behind her transparent veil just like her daughter-in-law had been doing. Jamuna spoke shyly at first, saying that the deer is an example of meat which they liked hunting for themselves. But they also search out smaller animals and reptiles for other uses. For instance, a particular variety of a desert lizard is used to make a therapeutic soup for their camels. This soup is fed to their camels since times immemorial, as it is known to be beneficial for imparting it a muscular strength and agility for running in the desert. Suddenly, her political imagery took the better of her, she lost her composure and made a sarcastic comment, which touches upon the idea of 'visibility' and 'invisibility' in modern state systems,

"We are so much condemned for our hunting practices for we become 'visible' to the system when we hunt! When we need running water and electricity no one sees us (!). Our houses in this Shoukhoo Gaanv (village) have no power or running water supply. We are fed up of waiting. We have installed a hand pump to fulfill our needs. We live in one place now and need those resources. We regularly vote for the congress. But when the government fund comes, it goes to the village headman who is of the '*Mali Jaati*' (gardener caste). We seldom get any share of these development funds. Bhils are further marginalized because they lag behind in education and are most of the times illiterate. Bhils do not have representatives in positions of power such as in administrative jobs where the educated people of other castes establish domains- Meena caste for instance are educated and become 'collectors' (this is a coveted administrative position and is almost used as a reference point to judge the holder's access to power within the Indian state). We Bhils, on the contrary have remained very poor. So, we cannot use the forest and we cannot use the state."

I remained very quiet and pensive. But the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law duo

after having expressing their grudges against the system and their situation, surprised me with cathartic smiles, flashing their bright teeth from behind their red veils. Suddenly the patriarch asked the womenfolk to make tea for me. As we sipped our sugary teas made of fresh goat milk from their compound, I asked them if they would show me their faces. They relented shyly and broke into peals of laughter as we stared each other face to face. But made a special plea: I would try and use only those photographs where they appear with the veil, preferably!



***Figure 3.41: Mother-in-law, Daughter-in-law flashing the cathartic smiles.
Photo: December 13, 2013.***

Taking me inside their houses, they showed me their small kitchen and their rooms. I noticed the low roof of each hut was like a mini-museum- for on it hung securely, meticulously every item of interest that caught the Bhil fancy- sticks, dried fruits, bones, rags, mirror pieces, bird-feathers, horns and grass . The women told me that they liked decorating their roof thus. It was as if the Bhils had carried a bit of their sacred desert inside with them to give it an eternal hug- to stare at all the objects strewn in its womb and take them along into their dream worlds. The comfort of the Bhil roof turned into a red, hot, peppery fire as Kiran signaled me out towards her

open kitchen to show me another sacred activity: The making of the famous Bhil red chilies paste on the *Sil-Batta* (stone crusher). Her deft movements merged the suspended, distant space and time into the ongoing Bhil moments and imparted a distinct flavour into the potently delicious Indian *Chutney* (spicy salsa) to be eaten with fresh *Rotis* (wheat breads).

b) Talents and Metaphors: One way to understand the Bhil in the politics of their contemporary space and time would be to examine their position of silence (of negating 'hunting') in light of Bishnoi social action against poaching. Mahipal B., an advocate from Jodhpur, volunteers by contributing his expertise to the anti-poaching efforts. M. Bishnoi advises the activists over legal issues just as many other lawyers from the Bishnoi community do. However, M. Bishnoi points out that during his long tryst with poaching crimes and listening to various versions in and out of Court, there is a need to distinguish between different kinds of crime. Those who are explicitly commercial and those who belong to communities such as the Bhils are into this for different reasons and newer categories need to be devised to look at such crimes in more nuanced ways.

In his view many petty poaching incidents reported as emanating from the forest communities have another side to them: The forest communities remain tempted to follow their own practices because their lives and struggles have been completely ignored by the government and over years of systemic methods of inclusion and exclusion (Interview, December 17, 2013). He elaborates,

"The elites make use of the Bhil marginalization and 'groom' the community's monetary dependence into lucrative business offers involving supply of exotic meat- which in western Rajasthani context is mostly venison. The Bhils can hunt the black bucks or *chinkaras* (Indian Gazelle) swiftly. There is a well- known saying that, 'left to its own recourses, even a young Bhil child can run as fast as an antelope in the forest'- The Bhil kids are trained to do so. For Bhils, the forest and its creatures are a form of play, a means to pass on knowledge and a ground to test evolving skills, all combined. It is a didactic package, an inherited talent and an associative relationship between man and nature, whereby ritualistic abilities are honed and tested in the backdrop of the forest and its wildlife. One cannot grudge a community its natural talents or preferences. Unfortunately, the turn of circumstances is such that precisely these very characteristics have come in the grip of controversy. The problem is

however, not describable in simple black and white. Much work needs to be done on either side of the issue. The Bishnoi activists are therefore in search of adequate solutions."

M. Bishnoi's words reminded me of a toy that I had chanced to see in the Bhil huts. It was assembled from junk and modeled after a truck. The toy states a lot about the Bhil creativity and the didactic use of waste that their children grow up learning.

Another way to explore Bhil self-gaze is analysing the imagery visible in their metaphoric accounts: For instance, Two Bhil characters etched upon the popular imagination relate to important side stories within the two Indian epics, namely, the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* written thousands of years ago. The characters of *Bhilni*- the old, humble Bhil woman-devotee and her ecstatic culinary welcome accorded to and accepted by an Indian diet as well as *Eklavya*, the young, skillful archer boy from the Bhil community whose skills are disrespectfully crushed by an upper caste 'Guru' (Master- trainer in this context) feature in popular stories, drama as well as religious discourses. During my fieldwork, I observed that not only do these two names still become a reference point for talking of the Bhils and understanding their lifestyles, the community itself does not fail to talk of *Bhilni* and *Eklavya* with pride and pain.

In reference to the Bhil contribution to the discursive formation on hunting, this gesture can be interpreted in three ways: First, as , proud mode of introduction used by the Bhils (for the benefit of the outsiders-like a wandering researcher) as much as for giving vent to their need for an acknowledgement of their historical presence since times immemorial. Second, for perpetuating folk memory,- for their children and other insiders. Third, it becomes a subtly powerful comment on the way that the mainstream castes have 'included' or 'excluded' the Bhils in everyday life.

But to be fair to the processes of evolution, life has moved on for them beyond these popular images and conceptions. Other modes of inclusion and exclusion have been added to the already existing casteist gaze, but it is not possible to bring them into discussion in this study.

c) Motorbikes, Markets and Integration: But receiving education and enjoying infra-structural facilities or gaining an access to the promised pie seems too forlorn a possibility. Perhaps this is the reason why they continue to make do mostly with,

what the world considers as 'bare minimum essentials'- of food, clothing and shelter; but they have worked out ways to compensate themselves by enjoying the gains that their talent can help them negotiate in the same system that denies them. The Young Bhil man named, Sohanram, who volunteered to escort us back to our car safely as it was becoming dark, surprised me by trailing along on his brand new motorbike.

In the conversation that ensued between us, he explained how attached he was to the two wheeled delight in his life because it links him to the world outside. Besides, it is faster and more convenient than the bicycle. Given that cars cannot be used on the hilly terrain; the motorbike was his family's perfect possession. He accomplished many errands for his family by bringing food and vegetables up with it. When I asked if the vehicle was a burden on his pocket, Sohanram whispered, "Not at all. These days we get loans for buying motorbikes easily and in conformable installments. So we do not have to hurry or worry over returning the amount."



Figure 3.42: The Bhil Youth and a Shepherd boy -with his stick (lathi) and a desire to be 'clicked'. Photo: December 13, 2013.

As Sohanram escorted down the rocky path, he whistled to a passing shepherd boy who was busy tending his herd of sheep, with his humble companion- *the Lathi* (stick). They wanted me to click and I used the camera one last time in *Shounkho Gaanvi. Village*: Picture attached above)

Like the Ban Bawri lad who operated with the cell phone to show that his family's political dreams are changing, this Bhil youth, made a similar statement with the use of the Byke and his access to consumer durable market over and above basic needs. While the pressing question of water and electricity is not forgotten and remains a dominant part of their political imagery, newer modes of associating with the market and technology have changed the ways that the Bawariyas practice economy and would definitely usher in many other kinds of integrated needs and awareness. Today, motorbikes and cellphones are an aid in the life of forest communities, unlike before.

PART VIII: THEREFORE...

Hence, the need to encourage a parallel academic and specialist attention long due to this issue alongside a change in the mainstream policy makers' mindset cannot be undermined. The onus of abandoning lifestyles and adopting transitioning choices and perceptions in accordance with the changing policy times and spaces, must not squarely rest on the shoulders of the marginalized communities such as the forest peoples alone.

Communities who live in remote forest areas, such as in the arid forest zones of western Rajasthan and face displacement of their socio-economic and cultural characteristic's lose many kinds of resources simultaneously. Aside from facing vulnerabilities in socio-political hierarchies, they may lose out as have-nots in many other related spheres too- when pushed to the peripheries of their practiced lifestyles or denied a full access to their resources.

For instance, over the years medicinal folklore has proved to be important in screening of modern drugs (such as digitoxin, reserpine, tubercurarine, and ephedrine to name a few; for more details, (see, Anyinam 1995). In this view, it is suggested that alongside the conservation of wildlife resources, what is needed to be dynamically conserved in accordance with changing times are valuable knowledge systems and practices attached to the dwindling wild. If the Indian state has no

alternative to offer to the communities concerned, then it must also dovetail, as possible, to the alternative lifestyles offered by them.

Indira Gandhi's prime-ministership (1966–1977 and 1980–1984) introduced environmental debates into the national political agenda. The 4th Five-Year Plan (1969–74), for example, proclaimed “harmonious development [...] on the basis of a comprehensive appraisal of environmental issues.” In 1976 (during the Emergency) Gandhi added Article 48A to the constitution stating that: “The State shall endeavour to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forests and wildlife of the country.”

The same decree transferred wildlife and forests from state list to concurrent list of the constitution, thus giving the central government the power to overrule state decisions on that matter. Such political and constitutional changes prepared the groundwork for the creation of a federal Department of Environment in 1980, turned into the Ministry of Environment and Forests in 1985, (Khagram:2011).

Even if the structural framework and vision of the state are in order, the systemic apathy that greets ecological imbroglios in western Rajasthan reveals how such structures meant to regulate the balance between environment and development are surrounded by an elitist, sensex- oriented imagination. Environmental protection and economic progress are held at odds among many of India's ‘development’ oriented elite, according to Guha (2014).

Over the recent years, scholars and activists who have field experience in different parts of the country have challenged this conventional wisdom. They make two central arguments: First, that industrialization and economic growth in Europe and North America was enabled in part—perhaps large part—by the access to the land and resources of the colonies that those countries controlled. Developing countries like India have no such colonies; and they have far higher population densities. Therefore, they must in fact be even more environmentally conscious than Europe or North America were at a comparable stage of their development experience.

The second argument focuses on the social consequences of unregulated economic growth. For, in countries like India, the poor most directly bear the burden of environmental degradation. These two arguments were first made in the 1970s, by popular movements such as the Chipko Andolan, by scientists such as Madhav

Gadgil, Anil Agarwal. The combined efforts of activists and scientists led to the formation, in 1980, of a Department of Environment and Forests at the Centre, upgraded to a full-fledged Ministry five years later. The Environment Ministry was meant to be a regulatory as well as a prescriptive body meant to make laws, assess the environmental impact of proposed new mines, highways, dams, and factories and fund scientific research. However, it is yet to fulfill these objectives (Guha, 2014), optimally.

As this chapter reveals, in face of the changing legal perceptions on hunting and depleting environmental resources, the relationship between communities on ground has also registered a newer politics. The many questions that arise w.r.t, to the BTF activism against hunting-poaching are mentioned below:

- In which ways does the state understand that the traditional hunting communities need to be genuinely informed and consulted when laws change from above or wildlife status changes are imposed using parameters specified by distant, international environmental organisations?
- In the case of Western Rajasthan, how were the Bhils and Ban Bawris integrated into legal information systems of the state? Were they taken into confidence and at least informed that overnight, hunters were to become poachers (see, Luthra Sinha:2016c) by virtues of changing wildlife laws at the top, (In particular the 1993 amendment to the Wildlife Act, 1971: see Annexure I)
- Even if a borrowed conservation ethic is to govern India, do vested commercial interests portray sustainable hunting needs of local communities such as Bhils and Ban Bawris not different from profligate needs?
- Did the law makers consider the fact that the field is fraught with a complex social dialectics, inherited by the way castes, the tribes and political power have associated with each other? (refer to Luthra Sinha: 2016b)
- Did policy makers not foresee how changing laws would create stalemates amongst local communities on different sides of the debate?
- This case study illustrates precisely that aspect, i.e., of changing Bishnoi practices in contrast to Bhil and Banwaria life styles amidst a mutually

transitioning dialectics over hunting and poaching. The question is then, can the black and white of top-down rule of law interventions suffice by themselves solve grassroots issues?

As is well known, the hunting tribes have been employed traditionally by the upper castes- the Rajputs for instance, who were the historical rulers and then followed by the Mughals, both of whom recruited the artful tribes in their armies. Under the British rule and later in independent India, the hunting communities were recruited or approached for bringing fresh meat from the forest. This has been one of the areas of historical collaboration between the rulers and the ruled, between forest and the non-forest communities or between local 'experts' of the forests and the powerful 'inexperts' from the non-forest backgrounds, (for more details on these above stated points, see, Luthra- Sinha 2016b).

This relationship seems unlikely to completely halt itself or transition solely out of the fear of law from ends of the picture. Moreover, the BTF articulations against poaching, while they lift the veil off these issues, they also bring them into a discursive foreground. The clues that their social interventions hold, need to be picked by the Indian state, if at all understanding peoples' issues on ground happens to be its agenda.

Chapter-IV

ANTI-SUBSTANCE ABUSE MOVEMENT OF THE ADF IN DURBAN AND THE REVELATION OF A COMPLEX DISCURSIVE FORMATION

PART I: CONCEPT NOTE

This part of the study aims to show how some Indian South Africans in Durban, inspired by an organization called the Anti-Drug Forum (ADF), are involved in collective social action. The ADF and its supporters engage in an anti-substance abuse politics in Durban, especially in the Indian 'township' of Chatsworth. Besides, this chapter will also retain a comparative focus (where appropriate) between the social action connotations of the BTF in India and the ADF repertoires in South Africa. The aim is to discuss significant similarities and differences in both the cases. Next, in the structure and organization of its content (from Part III), this chapter resembles the previous one to the extent possible.

Having been a part of and contributed to the making of various transformative engagements in their country, the broader Indian South African community is not new to contributing towards grassroots socio-economic and political causes. One finds examples of a variety of collective voices within this community, at various stages of its socio-political evolutions. Ranging from a peoples' movement to uphold the right to age gracefully (see, Chetty, S. and Luthra Sinha: 2013; also discussed briefly in the sections below) to a discursive construction on heritage politics (see, Luthra Sinha, 2014), the Indian South Africans have carved a niche of solidarity with local and national causes, including full participation in the liberation movements.

Their participation in the liberation movements and anti-apartheid struggles of South Africa has seen them through various phases of evolutions, oppositions, support and challenges in juxtaposition to their local contexts. From being labeled as, 'coolies', 'kafirs' and discriminatingly stamped as a hoist to their own petard⁸⁴ (Meer: 2000) to living through periods of racial oppression and apartheid as the rest of the discriminated communities. But their struggle for well-being of their country, alongside all the others, was also related to an added burden they shared amongst themselves- i.e., the struggle to be South African. More recently in the new South Africa, the people of Indian origin who have long claimed a proudly South African

⁸⁴ See, Riot Commission Report, Durban, 1949, Volume 1, pp. 35-47.

identity, partook fully in drawing the new constitutions and are today full-fledged citizens of their country like all others.

Their need to contribute in the state and society building processes has only grown. Whether or to what extent, they are able to make purely political insertions or assertions upon the mainstream public sphere of their countries is beyond the purview of this study⁸⁵. Instead, I base my analysis to my observations of, what I refer to as, a 'micro-social movements' (MSMs), as the reader may recall in my discussion of the concept in Chapter I and its elaboration in Chapter II.

Under the aegis of the Anti-Drug Forum (ADF), over the past one decade, one witnesses a full-blown micro social action context in Durban and its vicinities. Partly owing to lack of state performance in remedying the sociopathy related to substance abuse and in part, connected to a growing concern/need for well-being among communities, the Indian South Africans have risen to cater to this vacuum in the post-Apartheid South Africa (Refer to Luthra Sinha: 2015 and 2016). Singh explains (1997 and 2005) that Indian South Africans worry over civil issues, like many other communities, more than acquiring political rights, (see, Introduction, in Singh: 2005 for an analysis of challenges ahead for minorities in post –Apartheid South Africa). In my own case study on the anti-substance abuse movement, this aspect finds relevant parallels.

This chapter shows how the anti-substance abuse movement of the ADF, as a grassroots collective social action approach to transformative politics on ground, has contributed as well as become the part of a transitioning discursive formation. This body of thought and action relates to a protest against the prevalence of illicit drugs and their related sociopathy in the Indian communities. Focused primarily on the idea of creating competitive social imaginaries against illicit substances, its works to make collective interventions in the practices and politics around the issue.

Additionally, and just like the case of BTF in Rajasthan, in the display of what Tilly calls the *WUNC* (see, Chapter I Section I), the ADF repertoires also comprise of a

⁸⁵ A further analysis of the situation is available in Desai and Vahed (2010) who caution, that the irony is that a poverty-stricken resident of Chatsworth and an affluent Houghton-ite are categorised under the all-inclusive label 'Indian'. The authors ask, "How do/should the "poors" react? Do they break boundaries that can reach for a working class politics? Or do they become more and more inward looking ... reaching for ethnic / racial identities as a means of defence?"

philanthropic engagement towards the issue. For instance the ADF organizes rehabilitation and cure, besides aiding in self-healing techniques for people affected.

Like the BTF in Rajasthan, the ADF in Durban, is not content with practicing a competitive imagination or a demand politics alone. There is more to both the movements than targeting the state and others symbols of public domain such as police stations, media and court procedures as their struggles unfold. Both organizations practice an everyday philanthropy (in their respective countries). That, however, does not deter them to resort to premeditated or spontaneous protest actions vis-à-vis state and/or non-state actors. Hence, we see an amalgam of two kinds of social movement imaginations in both cases. With reference to this, just as I analyzed the transitioning practice spheres between the state, the Bishnois, Bhils and Ban Bawaris mainly in Jodhpur, I will put into context the emerging connotations of anti-substance abuse movement of the ADF vis-a-vis the RA-UF and the PAGAD in Durban.

In the same way as I have interpreted the social movement (seen as social practice, as discussed in Chapter I) imaginations through the discursive terrains that build up on the issue of 'poaching' in Rajasthan, I will describe the itinerant and the evolving emic visible in the anti-drug movement in Durban. For this, the changing methods and practices of the MSM against drugs will be juxtaposed with the inter-subjective imaginations (see, Chapter II) of other actors in the fray.

Thus, the ADF articulations will be examined in relation to its embedded and emerging partners, supporters, opponents, and detractors in the face of endorsements it receives or the difficulties it faces. Arising particularly in protest to the easy availability, distribution as well as rampant addiction trends of a drug called 'Sugars' (in the local slang), ADF faces as much of a clandestine context in Durban as does the BTF in Rajasthan over issue of poaching.

In Chapter III, although in a very different context of wild life preservation, it was shown how the BTF in Rajasthan thinks over, presents and articulates ways to rehabilitate kith and kin of victims and also establish rescue centers for nursing the wild creatures. In this chapter we see how the ADF in Durban builds discursivity over its versions of rehabilitative measures and welfare politics. The comparison of two different contexts of social action here, is meant to understand three aspects: First, how variously inspired collective publics come to form a discursively associative well-

being politics on alternative and non-mainstream issues. Second, which kinds of alternative spaces spring up or stand utilized for this kind of social action. Additionally, both the MSMs do not stop at that juncture alone. Their actions itinerate beyond welfare and enter the realms of competitive politicking on issues that inspire them or make them recognize, a sense of crisis.

In the same vein as the BTF in Jodhpur offers solutions to crimes such as poaching and pushes its worldviews against criminal networks and dispirited state procedures, the anti-poaching movement demonstrates a similar social imagination. The Anti-Drug Forum (ADF) in Durban creates awareness against drug networks, smuggling, on the supply side of the problem. It also pushes for a better patient management and preventive cure at the demand end of the issue in Durban. One movement sits on the troubled dialectics between conservation, ecology, hunting - poaching as well as the rescue and cure of endangered species. The other negotiates equally contested terrains of rehabilitation methods, opposition to criminal networks, drug 'abuse' and dialoguing the state for betterment of the issues on ground.

Finally, the discursive coming together of the movement world, (just as it does in case of the BTF in western Rajasthan), with that of the state and other non-state actors in Durban mitigates the boundaries between the powers that be and the various kinds of stakeholders. As the two become interactive parts of a daily encounter zone, this meeting point unleashes or taps into collaborative negotiations and/or alternative partnerships along the way. Situations of self-practiced silence and voice, mutual stereotyping, common 'reference points' and descriptions, dialogues and stalemate, associative and dissociative positioning become a part and parcel of this social practice imagination. The movement travels to and links up various sites such as temples, residential 'units', schools, police stations, courts, provincial government offices in meaningful patterns of discursivity.

This chapter discusses the anti-drug posturing emanating from those communities whose forefathers belonged to the many generations of Indians arriving in South Africa from the 19th Century onwards, (see, section 2.1 below for greater details). For this part, I briefly define these People of Indian Origin (PIO) by virtue of debates around their arrivals, an interpretation of their, 'Indian-ness' and landmark events/processes in evolution of collective action patterns as ways of situating the Indian South Africans (ISAs) protest movement contextually. I trace their origins and

give an example of an older community action, just as I did for the Bishnois. This serves to make their current MSM context of the ISAs more legible in broader reference of their social identities and community consciousness.

It would be good to keep in mind that while defining the discursivity of a MSM, this study neither pigeonholes the participants' identity into any exclusive role nor pretends to explain the Indian South African as a fixed category. Instead, my work will concern itself, after introducing the ISAs and their world of memories, to unearthing the various ways in which the members of the anti-substance movement find common grounds of identity, which could be a resource derived from both the older ones as well as the newer evolving ones.

Any member of the BTF in the Indian example, as a Bishnoi, can identify oneself to a common reference point in 1485 AD when the sect was formed or how the community's ecology consciousness turned into an example of protest and sacrifice during the specific moment of the Khejerli massacre in 1730 AD. Similarly any member/participant of the ADF may turn to common reference points, past as well as present when identifying with one another's history/ association. Hence, mass arrivals as indentured labour or later as passenger Indians as starting points of their diasporic as well as South African journey from 1860's onwards or origin of their community action forms⁸⁶ during racial discrimination and the apartheid era, for instance, brings some kind common memory/memories in place.

Below I present some glimpses of the anti-substance abuse movement, the memories it channelizes and the broader discursive terrains around its actions. My data illustrates how the MSM in Durban, just as the one in Rajasthan, creates three kinds discursivities through its demand politics, namely, the Strategic, Collaborative and the Competitive.

But first, a comprehensive view of the diverse origins of the Indian South Africans, and how it influenced various realms of their collective social action consciousness, will be undertaken. The purpose is to explore the identities and self-views of the Indian South Africans juxtaposed to their local contexts. These contexts, I argue, have acted as springboard to various kinds of social action, from old to newer social

⁸⁶ There may be many other forms of collective struggles in which they participated. This study will focus only on community action or incidents most talked of (by the actors), during my fieldwork encounters and hence- give examples from therein.

movements such as the ones symbolised by the Aryan Benevolent Home in the past and more recently, the anti-substance abuse movement of the ADF.

For doing so, first, I will focus on the role that social memories and reflexivity play in the formation of social practice imaginations which continue evolving into newer avatars besides older givens/ examples. The ADF will be embedded in the, 'givens' it faces as much as the creative interpretations it brings on, into the social life, much in the same way that Bishnoi articulations become symbolic of . I have picked on these two instances of collective action as they represent challenging issues which are/ can either be side-lined by the larger society or convert into social pariahs. The first example entails how the ISAs build on old age care amongst themselves the second, entails the main case study on the movement against the use of illicit drugs. Both these instances have demonstrate how the Durban Indians have gravitated towards performing viable social roles under the scrutiny of a critical self-gaze .

PART II: INDIAN SOUTH AFRICANS: INDIAN-NESS, INSTANCES OF COLLECTIVE SOCIAL ACTIONS AND THE EMERGENCE OF AN 'ANTI'-SUBSTANCE' ABUSE MOVEMENT

2.1 A brief comparative note:

***Comparative Statement 1:** When individuals from within (minority) communities with histories of common strengths and failings, experience a shared sense of crisis over similar everyday situations, they can become a springboard for many kinds of collective action. Viable micro social movements from India and South Africa, as discussed in my study, form a fitting example here. The contextual social movement imaginations of these publics may range from the philanthropic to the competitive. But it is precisely this organically rooted dialectics which helps them gain functional grassroots solidarities, - motives and gestures.*

As we have seen, how, in the case of BTF activism, majority of the members come from the Bishnoi community, similarly for most parts, the ADF activism stands derived from the networks and supports systems of the Durban Indians. Both sets of actors are very differently situated within the demographics and politics of their own countries, yet the Indian South African activism as well as the Bishnoi activism share the vital similarity of emanating from minority communities/ populations of their respective countries. Indian South Africans involved in the MSM politics mainly live in

Durban and Chatsworth unlike the Bishnoi activists who are spread over vast areas.

Yet the participants at both ends share diverse economic, political, professional and ideological backgrounds. Being aware of their particular origins, collective turning points and memory systems helps bringing on a mutual feeling of solidarity for social movement participants. At the same time, a brief journey into the above stated process of identity formation proves as a rewarding endeavor to fully embed the movements in its own individual contexts besides yielding contextually comparative insights for both the case studies.

Commonalities of possessing, 'other' shared reference points historically (as I have explained in case of Bishnoi activists), a tryst with collective grievances such as poaching or substance abuse becomes a vantage point for newer social action. The activists use such socio-political frames to construct shared social practice imaginations among across the MSM domain. Rest, the BTF and the ADF have picked up a locally relevant issue with the objective of providing suitable solutions to local problems and merge in their broader respective identities, i.e. as citizens of their own respective countries as much as parts of their local social communities or larger associations and so forth.

This chapter explores various local memories and inspiration-models available to ADF and its supporters. Therefore, I will take up the origins of this movement for a 'drug-free' society among the Indian South Africans of Durban, and how certain common identities/reference points shared by the activists may contribute in fostering feasible and functional anti-drug solidarities.

For a clearer comparative understanding relating to 'common' reference points that the communities already share while they engage in building new ones, it does well to remember that members/activists of the BTF have a more 'closed' sense of inherited identity. However, their sense of crisis and evolving movement identity opens them up in a world of newer social spaces and practices. Hence, while the movement inherits a more or less homogenously shared understanding in terms of language of origin, religious beliefs and customs, rituals, so to say, their micro politics ends up opening the term of discourse into a much broader socio-political discursive. In contrast, the ADF activism depends on majority of participants with shared 'Indian origin' backgrounds. However, their so-called, 'Indian-ness' ,(taken up in the following sections) already reflects a wider diversity of the Indian South African

communities in terms of religious/ cultural differences and linguistic origins.

Yet, if we look at it in a nuanced way, despite their diversities⁸⁷ the actors/supporters of the ADF may still have crucial common historical/contemporary reference point. In case of the Bishnois (i.e, as MSM actors), their IDS contains common reference points related to their specific 'community' origins. In contrast, for the world of South African Indians, these common reference points relate specifically to their, broader 'South African-ness'. Their specific form of, 'Indian-ness' itself, is reflective of their South African identity. Their arrival into South Africa, tryst with racial discrimination, participation in the struggle against Apartheid, various forms of (collective or individual) social and political involvements during and post-apartheid all bind them into a common identity⁸⁸. Interestingly, just as the Bishnoi activists derive functional solidarities from specific, internal code of memories and minority origins, so do the Durban Indian activists.

However, there is a nuanced difference. Unlike the Bishnoi activists, the Indian South African activists draw resources from broader external spaces, common reference points and politics that the activists have shared as 'migrants', 'diaspora' with compatriots and participants of the liberation movement. Their contemporary identities are drawn from a larger political space. Yet again, like the Bishnois who draw from more community specific spaces to reach out to broader publics, the Indian South Africans too are able to expand the implications of their 'Indian-ness' to cater to a larger audience of alternative publics. This process has already been explained w.r.t. to Bishnoi activism. In Part II of this chapter, I explain it in relation to the Durban Indians' activism.

Hence, in both the case studies, the reader will be able to observe, how communities, whether drawing from narrower or broader political spaces, memories or experiences can come together to form functional solidarities. One probable interpretation, which I forward here, has been taken up in Chapter I. The reader may recall how activists and supporters of both the MSMs have explained their sense of crisis. Hence, w.r.t. my fieldwork findings, I can reiterate that when some individuals from within (minority) communities with common strengths and failings experience a shared sense of crisis over similar situations, they can become a springboard for viable

⁸⁷ As communities and as related to their origin

⁸⁸ All points taken up in details below

collective action.

Comparative Statement II: *Through my qualitative observations and findings, my intention is to delineate how newer eras and newer changes bring on newer challenges and newer micro issues, which may give rise to newer kinds of social movements in countries as India and South Africa. Those movements whose participants do not belong to or profess in entirety, the new Left traditions, but still grapple with newer contextual issues can give rise to such, 'Newer Social Movements'. I have suggested in the Chapter I, that activism portrayed by the BTF in Jodhpur/Rajasthan and the ADF in Durban/ KwaZulu Natal are two such Newer Social Movements*⁸⁹.

Nonetheless, having the potential to create successful MSMs, does not signify that minority communities could have any permanent customary, established, fixed topographies of social action. Neither does it signify that having a similar set of belonging and identities, makes contemporary or past struggle/s any less challenging. Rather, accounting for contemporary transitions and evolutions, my intention is to substantiate how the communities may respond to different issues in their, 'national- social and political' lives, in different ways.

Here, for the analysis of social action emanating from the thresholds of the Durban Indians, I bring into context the work of Singh (2005). His observations help elaborate the point I have just made above. Singh (2005) reiterates, "Although diverse in their language origins in India and in religion and languages, Indians as a minority had to choose internal amnesia (Gellner 1986) to claim the right to survival in South Africa," (see also, Singh,1997). Hence, just as their 'Indian-ness' may reflect fragmented identities behind the use of that single common 'meta frame' (see, Luthra Sinha: 2013), so can their 'South African-ness' (see, Vahed and Desai: 2010 and 2012, Lal: 2012).

Whether old and new, common or diverse, memories and identities can serve to unite social movement contexts, depending upon the contingency of the situation. J.Govender, a resident of Chatsworth (Interview, February 8, 2013) ruminates on how communities may share more than one reason to feel a sense of commonality without clashing in either of their capacities, "Not all, for instance were descendants

⁸⁹ This term has been discussed in detail in Chapter 1.

of the indentured labour or shared a single religion, social standing and so forth. But that journey and its related evolutions are still etched deeply upon the memory systems of Indian South Africans. While they may carry different identities according to the difference in the way they arrived into South Africa and who they were, their shared pasts of racial discrimination, struggle for a full-fledged citizenship and their participation in other collective national struggles hold valuable common reference points". These reference points, serve to provoke one-ness of identity, at least in one particular way. Among all those who saw the transition of the discriminatory socio-political arrangements under Apartheid 'governance' into an era of democratic politics, this identity can still evoke close community cooperation. In many ways the Indian South Africans can feel as one- in a historically political sense of similarity of origin, customs, social values cum current challenges that they face such as the rising incidents of substance abuse. When we come together to discuss, we speak of the past and the present challenges and our particular situations in a connected way."

In the sections below, I take a brief journey on the above-mentioned aspects, followed by details of the anti-substance abuse movement, - as a newer mode of social action emanating from the Indian South African contexts in Durban.

2.2 Indian South Africans- Origins and a Diasporic consciousness

It is especially from mid-1970s that historians, geographers and anthropologists started research in the field of, what is now known as South Asian Diaspora. F.N. Ginwala (1974) introduced the notion of Indian South Africans. In later studies, Ginwala maintained that the Indian South Africans are a heterogeneous community with widespread divisions and social pyramids among them (Ginwala: 1977, Vahed 1995)⁹⁰.

Vahed (1995) contends that the ISAs had their own socio-economic pyramids and their political responses were governed by various factors as education and economic backgrounds. Singh (2005: Introduction) cautions that it is best to understand the ISAs in the diversity of their social divisions and cultures rather than seeing them as a homogenous ethnic category which performs its ethnicity collectively in politics. In this respect, he states that an uncritical application of

⁹⁰ However, until the end of indenture the social divisions among the ISAs or those related to language, religion, culture and juridical status coincided with the economic divisions

Eriksen's (1993:6) views on ethnicity may not be suitable to define the Indian origin peoples in South Africa. They do have a common origin point that pertains to a geographical homeland, but they have evolved diversely w.r.t. to their political wills, identities and status in South Africa.

Therefore it is better to understand the Indian South Africans by considering the larger window of Eriksen's definitions: So, far from being an 'immutable property of groups, ethnicity is a dynamic and shifting aspect of social relationships'. In my view both aspects of the Indian South African ethnicity, i.e. 'Indian-South African', can be a fruitful template to understand their collective social action forums, such as the MSM against substance abuse in Durban.

In other words, their origin/ arrival from a common geographical, ancestral homeland and as much as their subsequent shifting ethnic evolutions in South Africa can be read dynamically to tell us some more on their collective action. Why do certain groups and communities feel inspired towards collective discursiveness on issues such as shared contexts of crisis? What role does their identity, belonging, common and particular heritage play upon their collective visions and practices, and how?

Of Collective memories and tightly knit communities: As early as 1684, the first Indians arrived to the shores of South Africa, as slaves during the Dutch colonial era. It is estimated that out of 16300 slaves from all over the Indian subcontinent bought to the Cape between the decades of 1690 to 1725, over 80% of these were Indians. This practice continued until the end of slavery in 1838 (SAHO, 2013). Hereafter the demand for Indian indentured labourers increased dramatically. Indentured labour was the means by which many British people emigrated to North America during the colonial era and in the 19th to early 20th centuries, it was used to recruit Asian workers for employment elsewhere in European colonial empires.

Once established the scale of indentured migration into the Empire remained quite stable at 150,000 or more per decade from 1841 until 1910. The differences in the destinations and status of various migrants were due as much to the (British) Imperial policy as to inherent circumstances at the local and transnational levels (See, Porter and Luis: 1999). Indian migrations as indentured labour to South Africa, were mostly linked to the immense demand arising from the country's sugar cane

planters⁹¹.

Arriving in the port city of Durban in South Africa to cultivate and process sugar on the coastal belt of the province of KwaZulu-Natal, indentured labor began their economic foundation by processing of raw material for sugar industry plantations. While some 'migrants' (i.e. the would-be-indentured) traveled alone; others brought their families to settle in the colonies they worked in.

Besides the indentured labour, Indians came to South Africa, in another capacity, namely as, 'free Indians' or as passenger Indians. Whereas the former came to South Africa because of a triangular pact amongst three governments, the latter came in mainly as traders. Alert to new opportunities and needs, in South Africa from 1870s, they were primarily Hindu and Muslim traders originating from Gujarat who set up retail shops in urban areas in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng (formerly known as the Transvaal) including small towns, (read: Arkin, Magyar and Pillay:1989 and Ramamurthy: 1995).

By the end of the 19th Century, besides the labourers, the Indians composed of retailers, traders and artisans as well, besides the only fruit and vegetable sellers for the expanding cities of Natal. Nonetheless, these free Indians considered themselves not as part of the working class or peasantry in South Africa, but as a commercial bourgeoisie to accumulate capital and return/send it back to India where their roots remained.

Unlike their indentured laborer counterparts, the passenger Indians maintained their caste divisions and consciousness. They succeeded in maintaining their family structure and identity more through close family links in India. Contact with village and community were close, resulting in close contacts and links with India⁹², (Ginwala, 1977), obviously till a limited period and till the political situation in South Africa silenced a direct relation between India, South Africa and the South African

⁹¹ However, various studies (Northrup, 2011) elaborate that though the pull of overseas labour needs strongly dictated these migration patterns, the push of conditions in the source regions was also significant. The migration peak in 1851–60 reflected, in part, the exceptional exodus of Indians following the Indian Mutiny of 1857–58; Others, took a calculated risk of an ironic escape from the oppressive conditions in their various regions or 'homelands' from where they derived their origins in India.

⁹²For further details on the Indians in South Africa, see Arkin, Magyar and Pillay (1989) for a contemporary profile and Ramamurthy (1995), for a historical overview of their role in the struggle against Apartheid.

Indians. The 'free Indians' came at their own expense from India, Mauritius and other places till this inter-continental flow of migration between Africa and Asia was cut off in the aftermath of the first World War in 1914⁹³.

Thus, we see that people of Indian descent landed in South Africa under different kinds of migrations. Besides they were culturally, linguistically, and regionally diverse belonging to various beliefs and social stature at the time of their arrival whether as indentured labourers or as free passengers and subsequent adjustment patterns in South Africa. The indentured labour trade was completely banned between the two countries only by March 1916⁹⁴.

The evolution of the Indian origin people has been a dynamic process and incorporated many complex changing identities, even though the origin may have been arrival through indenture or otherwise⁹⁵. When the formerly indentured labourers became, kind of, 'free'⁹⁶ from their contacts, many quickly established themselves as an important general labour force in Natal particularly as industrial and railway workers. Others began to engage in market gardening, growing most of the vegetables consumed by the white population.

However, a large percentage of indentured labourers also chose to return to India following the expiry of their terms. Some of those who returnees alerted the authorities in India to abuses taking place in Natal, which led to new safeguards being put in place before any further recruitment of indentured labourers was allowed to take place (See, Ginwala: 1972 and Singh: 2005 for more on identity and social

⁹³ Although in terms of global flows of migration the process continued to peak elsewhere, (Adam Mckeowan, 2004), more closely in the context of India and South Africa, in 1911, the system of indentured labour ended.

⁹⁴ This decision of the British 'Government of India' came as response to growing Indian nationalist protest (MEA Report, 2001) whose furor served to stop the indentured labour migration between the two countries. Besides, following the First World War, pressure began to mount on the British, and in 1920 the Imperial Government abolished the system of indentured labour altogether (Vahed and Desai, 2010: 196).

⁹⁵ Studies are beginning to show how the indentured were not bereft of their agency and were able to herald many kinds of evolutions. Religion, beliefs, caste, and so forth changed in many aspects, despite the fact that their earlier progress was largely dependent on the white minority rule. Until very late, there was an evident lack of such studies on them as Desai and Vahed (2010). By 2000 for instance, only four percent of the Indian South Africans engaged in agriculture (Stokes: 2000). Obviously, the indentured Indians had known how to move on, despite their many encumbrances. Refer to Lal: 2010 for more on, 'Indentured Indians'.

⁹⁶ In Natal, there was provision for land grants, but the settlers, fearing the presence of a large Indian population, only made fifty such grants and refused all further requests. This did not stop, however, the emergence of a thriving Indian market gardening community (Desai and Vahed, 2010)

evolution among South Africans of Indian origin)

Here it is essential to point out that not all stayed back, but those who did faced discrimination. The indentured set of migrants, for instance, who came in under a harsher set of circumstances (from India) not only occupied a similar status in Durban but were also frequently maltreated. Living in appalling and unsanitary conditions which have been chronicled in a few studies (see, Vahed and Desai: 2010; 2012) became the norm of the day. Those who chose to stay back once their 'contracts' were over, were not just mute spectators of their situations (see, Allen: 2004). While their sense of loss at leaving homelands and families behind produced long lasting wounds, their writings and individual accounts indicate that they did not fall short of, "innovations, imaginations and resistance, some overt, others subtle which resulted in a tightly knit community and collective memories", (Desai: 2013a and 2013b) ⁹⁷.

The connotations of struggle under the Apartheid were different from the earlier ones opposition of racial discrimination. The meaning of resistance and liberation politics kept on changing according to changing needs and times faced by the Indian South Africans, just as many other discriminated communities from late 1940s to mid-1990s. During this period, the ruling white minority National Party (NP) defined Indians as 'alien' and sought to repatriate them. Textbooks and academic works that represented the NP perspective portrayed Indians as a "problem" ⁹⁸.

In this context, many historians of Indian South Africans highlighted their long struggle to counteract racist exclusion and their South African-ness. This thread continued into the post-apartheid period with an enduring attempt to counteract apartheid related divisions by re-thinking history as part of a national narrative (See Desai and Vahed: 2012).

⁹⁷ Writing on shared memories of indenture in Fiji, his birthplace Lal (2012: 215) states, "As long as human beings retain a curiosity about who they are and how they have come to be what they are, in other words, curiosity about questions of identity, purpose and place, indenture will not fade from public memory".

⁹⁸ Edward Said argued in his highly influential work, *Orientalism*, that this discourse was crucial in allowing Europeans to dominate the Orient, and other 'backward, degenerate, uncivilised and retarded' colonials. Orientals, he continues, 'were rarely seen; they were seen through, analysed not as citizens, or even people, but as problems to be solved or confined, or – as the colonial powers openly coveted their territory – taken over' (Said, 1978: 32)

2.3 The Historical Indian Diaspora and the arrival of an Anti-Substance abuse activism in Durban

The Indian Diaspora in South Africa can have two kinds of origins. One, the historical Indian Diaspora as discussed above and second, the newer groups which are constituents of a more contemporary set of Indian migrants post-1994⁹⁹. This study pertains to the former. It examines the contributions of a set of actors pertaining to the historical Indian diaspora, who have spearheaded an anti-substance abuse movement through an organization called the Anti-Drug Forum.

As of now, it is more than 150 years of the arrival of the Indian South Africans. Many Indians aligned themselves with the Black African struggle for freedom- out of the conviction that together, they all pertain to the label 'black' and belong to South Africa. Many were jailed or faced exile. When the apartheid government finally came to an end in 1994, many Indians played a vital role not only in the negotiation process for a new constitution, but also served in prominent cabinet positions in the new government and contributed enormously for the emerging and developing democracy in South Africa. The new constitution has provided the recognition of Indian cultural and linguistic rights and practices.

Figures and Statistics: Today, the South African Indian origin community numbers around 1.5 million and constitutes about 3% of South Africa's total population (Indian Consulate Briefs, Durban, 2013). About 80% of the Indian community lives in the province of KwaZuluNatal (KZN). KZN is divided into 10 district municipalities – Ugu, Sisonke, Umgungundlovu, Uthukela, Amajuba, Zululand, Umkhanyakude, Uthungulu, Lembe and Umzinyathi, which is subdivided into a total of 50 local municipalities, and one Metropolitan Municipality i.e., eThekweni Municipality, the City of Durban and surrounding area fall within the eThekweni Municipality¹⁰⁰, which is classified as one of six Metropolitan Municipalities in South Africa and the only in

⁹⁹ Besides by 1994 with the advent of a democratic constitution, immigration policy restrictions by the apartheid government were scrapped. People from Pakistan, Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka arrived in South Africa as arrived as new immigrants. These are the contemporary Indian/ Asian Diaspora. Needless to say there is a major cultural division between these South Asian groups, the new Indian Diaspora on the one hand and the ISAs on the other hand, (for more details see Luthra Sinha: 2014).

¹⁰⁰ As of now. it is estimated that in e-Thekweni (Durban Metropolitan Municipality) the people of Indian or Asian origin at 16.7%, are the highest in the country. According to the figures provided by the Department of Education and Culture, in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, the linguistic break-up of the Indian community is as follows: Tamil 51%, Hindi 30%, Gujarati 7%, Telugu 6%, Urdu 5% and others, (South Africa Census 2011: page 16).

KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) with this status (South Africa, Census : 2011).

KZN is home to over a million people of Indian origin (PIO). Of the PIO community in KZN, a majority of about 80% is located in the Greater Durban Area, which include two suburbs viz. Phoenix and Chatsworth where approximately 600,000 PIOs reside, making it one of the largest concentrations of PIOs outside India (GOI Reports, Indian Consulate, Durban: January-February, 2013).

According to 2011 census, the South African Indian origin community currently numbers around 1.28 million and constitutes about 2.5% of South Africa's total population of 51.77 million. About 60% of the Indian-origin community lives in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, about 28% in the Gauteng (previously known as Transvaal) area and about 5% in the Cape Town area. In KwaZulu-Natal, the major concentration of the community is in Durban.

The largest settlements of the community are at Chatsworth, Phoenix, Tongaat and Stanger in the Durban Coastal area, which covers approximately 500,000 of the Indian origin community. Pietermaritzburg (noted for its link with Mahatma Gandhi) has a community of approximately 200,000¹⁰¹. For my research, I was able to interact with individuals and organizations mainly in Chatsworth, Phoenix, Durban, Verulam, Pietermaritzburg and Dundee.

Settlement of Indian origin people in a particular area, as with other South African peoples, came about as a result of the Group Areas Act¹⁰² that forced racial division into particular designated areas, (Desai and Vahed:2011).

Memories and the back and forth in time: Many of my respondents, especially the middle aged and above, who have experienced apartheid and have been variously involved in the national struggle for liberation and democracy remember strategic events and dates such as the time when India raised its voice against apartheid in

¹⁰¹ Smaller inland towns in KwaZulu Natal such as Ladysmith, Newcastle, Dundee and Glencoe make up the bulk of the remaining Indian population. In the Gauteng area, the Indian community is largely concentrated around Lenasia outside Johannesburg and Laudium and other suburbs outside Pretoria. There are also smaller groups in towns in the Eastern Cape and other provinces

¹⁰² In what is known as one of the largest mass removals in modern history, from 1960 to 1983, 3.5 million non-white South Africans were removed from their homes, and forced into segregated neighbourhoods, (See, South Africa_Forced Removals. AODL.African Studies Centre.Michigan University.<http://www.overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/multimedia.php?id=65-259-6>. Retrieved 01.06.2014.

the UN in 1948. These incidents are etched upon the memory of the older generations among the ISAs.

Aside from this diasporic consciousness, that is part of their 'remote' social framework, they vibrantly associate with their active histories in South Africa. They like to narrate instances of their own or a friend/family or a fellow Indian's participation in the anti-Apartheid struggle got them arrested, silenced or discriminated against. Those difficult junctures of politics and identity are part of their identity baggage, which they share, with the rest of their South African compatriots.

My respondents would never fail to rationalize these experiences, from time to time during our mutual interactions. A free and new South Africa for them was in a way relative to the past as much as significant of the times yet to come. While speaking among themselves and with me, over the more contemporary phenomena and related projections/ worries over the ongoing Sugars addiction in Chatsworth, there were many times when their narratives ran back and forth in time. Apartheid popped up with all kinds of memories.

For instance, in their past relocations under the Group areas act or the segregation and 'sanitization' politics, which cordoned them off the white areas, the Indians experienced a sort of a spatial 'growing up' together. Innovative Indian South African food joints and eating places or carving sports time together to break through the rigidity of social-political life in the past, nightclubbing while witnessing adverse political lifestyles all became a part of this 'growing-up' together (for more details, see, Desai and Vahed, 2011: 51-58).

There is many times a connect whereby the historical Indian Diaspora recalls their Indian-ness and wants to be able to achieve the same feat which the community did generations ago (see sections below for more on the theme). But interestingly this specific variety of Indian-ness lives on as a background given (with respect to certain aspects of culture and origins) that operates in the everyday life from within the shared meanings of being South Africans. This is reminiscent of how Vertovec uses the term 'double consciousness'¹⁰³ for describing many diasporic contexts.

¹⁰³ Vertovec (1999: 4-5) observes that particularly in works concerning global diasporas (especially within Cultural Studies) there is considerable discussion surrounding a kind of 'diaspora consciousness' marked by dual or multiple identifications. Hence, there are depictions of individuals' awareness of decentered attachments, of being simultaneously 'home away from home,' 'here and there' or, for instance, British and something else. While some migrants identify more with one society than the other, "the majority seem to maintain several identities that link them simultaneously to more than one nation, place or space. In the case of Indian South Africans, this concept can be applied remaining cautious of the distinction between the historical and the contemporary Asian/ Indian diaspora (refer to Luthra Sinha: 2014).

One encounters such a feel to their life-world while working with the ISAs ethnographically. Talking of their multiple political journeys and evolutions, the actors prefer to assert their positions, primarily as South Africans. At the same time, they fill up their narratives with instances of how their 'Indian-ness' creeps into their lives and reflect upon little innovations that became the trademark of their historical existence as Diaspora, (for more on *Indian-ness* and a diasporic consciousness among the Indian South Africans, see Luthra Sinha: 2013).

Although Indians came to South Africa in the 1860's, it was not until over a century later (in 1961), that they were granted the status of full citizens. In many of their social actions therefore, certain values inherent of their Indian-ness became not only a point of their identity but also the root of their practices. As Uma Jayaram explains, "Diaspora is born out of a twin process; it originates at the moment of displacement from familiar systems of knowledge, and develops into a lived phenomenon when other spaces emerge in a transnational sphere of communication: The diasporic is actually born when his (her) sense of displacement triggers the desire to settle in the new spaces of domicile,"(Jayaram, 2011).

Place based innovations and evolutions played their natural part to embed this diasporic identity in the local South Africaness. The Diapsora underwent a process of re-inventing their identity by negotiating the "new" of their home with the "old" of their homeland and acquired a collective consciousness (see, Luthra- Sinha, 2014 for details) for their own causes. Their identity based on shared experiences and feelings lead them to understand the need of engaging in community self-help, creating awareness and, education slowly from the period of racial discrimination towards the end of Apartheid and beyond.



**Figure 4.1: Among the 'Indian' Masalas (spices) sold in the local stores, the Durban Masala adds a local touch for the Durban Indians.
Photo: January 16, 2013.**

It is estimated that only 8 percent of the Indian South Africans, for instance, were high school pass till as late as 1980s. As of now, although in many aspects the Indians have caught up. But in others, their woes still remain, whether in solidarity of or in separation from other fellow citizens and communities or both,- as my own case study proves. Hence, Post-1994, with the arrival of a new democratic system the Indians continue to have their share of 'benefits' as well as challenges¹⁰⁴, just as before.

Amidst this, problems such as social crimes continue their march in the new South Africa. Just to mention a few examples nearing the themes of this study, problems such as street violence, domestic abuse, alcoholism, addictions or even inter-community bitterness continue to prevail from within their respective domains. Many social onlooker actors expressed disillusionment with the collective dream of 'freedom and democracy'. At the same time there are others who sit up collectively and take charge of intervening positively in issues that have created a sense of crisis in their everyday lives.

One such challenge pertains to the Indian engagement in an organically focused micro social movement against the menace of substance abuse. Before I elaborate it further, I take a moment to describe some forms of community actions that have

¹⁰⁴ For instance, rising crime in Indian areas originating from all kinds of poor communities is a case in point. Police records reveal that 80% of the reported crime (in Chatsworth) emerges from units 7, 9, 11 and Shallcross which borders with two of the biggest and most notorious squatter settlements, viz Bottlebrush and Welbedacht (Refer to Singh and Singh, 2006: 151)

emanated from the Indian South African contexts in earlier periods. Such an exercise would go a long way in introducing some collective articulation patterns of the Durban Indians.

2.4 Memories of Social Suffering, an example of a community based self-help: Some notes on 'Indian-ness' and Identity

Roots of community based collective action among the ISAs go back a long time. Indians had to organise collective social action for looking after their old and homeless among them for many reasons.

Old age and first generation of Indenture Indians: First, when all immigration from India stopped in 1913, the majority of the Indians were living in stringent poverty (Ginwala 1977: 9). Although there was an emerging Indian petty bourgeoisie (Maharaj 2009: 69-82), comprising the free passengers and the ex-indentured labourers, 95% remained working class out of which 70% were desperately poor (Maharaj 2009). Besides, unlike the native Africans, Indians could not count on extended family support systems, as such structures stood fragmented due to migration into a new land with a taxing set of political and economic circumstances. Moreover, social welfare and dignity of life of the non-European destitute and the homeless remained a challenging theme in terms state interest. So, while there were old age homes for the European homeless and destitute, there were none for people from other races (Singh, 2000: 16).

Additionally, the Indians formed a vulnerable ethnic minority who were not even considered citizens for more than a century after their arrival and were regarded as aliens in the country of their birth by both the ruling white and the discriminated Black native (Moodley, 1975:256). Although the Indians and Asians were 'better off' than the Black, yet their creation as a racial, spatial, political and economic boundary or, a buffer zone (Gregory et.al. 2009; Lemon 1997; Davies 1981) was far from pleasant and only compounded their socio-political burdens.

The above stated inter-connected pulls and strains of migration and discrimination were further compounded by cramped and poor housing, lack of adequate infrastructure to tackle overcrowding and negligence of sanitation and health (Chetty and Luthra Sinha, 2013). In such a climate of social suffering, the essential question is, who catered to the new needs of the aging and the sick or the destitute and the

homeless and how? Were the people of Indian origin able to organise themselves to restore the dignity of life for the aged and the homeless among them?

One of the first collective social upliftment platforms that incorporated the religious, spiritual as well as educational need of the community was the Arya Yuvak Sabha (AYS) formed in 1912 which later promoted the birth of the Arya Benevolent Home or the ABH, in 1918. The ABH was the first collective community sustained effort to look after its old and aging members. When the first generation of the poor Indians migrants, indentured or otherwise aged, they faced a peculiar situation entrenched in social suffering (Klienmann, Das and Lock, 1997: Introduction) and their own political status.

Memories of social suffering and recourses: The conditions spawning the origin and growth of the Aryan Benevolent Home (ABH) KwaZulu Natal bring to light an example of a peoples' recognition of suffering along with a corresponding and collective response to community care. The ABH arose as a collective effort,- from within the community and for it. The ABH was founded, as the first institution to serve as an old age home and shelter for the needy.

The conception of the Aryan Benevolent Home (ABH) goes back to 1918, when DG Satyadeva witnessed a policeman assaulting a homeless old Indian man for taking shelter overnight in a public toilet in Durban. Deeply distressed by this incident and inspired by the teachings of the Arya Samaj of India, whose ninth principle states that everyone must see his own welfare in the welfare of others (a parallel to the African idea of *Ubuntu*) – Satyadeva and his colleagues, Nayanah Rajh and Singh, resolved to provide an alternative home for the city's neediest (Singh, 2000).

Three years later, the first home a small wood and iron house in Cato Manor opened its doors, with support from the AYS to three homeless beggars, and soon became a refuge for elderly, disabled and chronically ill people in need. The ABH was formally opened in 1921, by an eminent Scholar, a journalist and a humanitarian who had dedicated his life to the spreading of religious ideas of the swami Dayanand Saraswati of India and besides actively resisting social and political injustice.

The ABH has a special mixed history for it started out as a movement that echoed frames used in the ancestral homeland for the benefit of Indian origin people at their new home country, South Africa. Therefore, despite all odds, it succeeded in

unfolding as a solidly entrenched community movement and vision that provided homes for the homeless Indians,- It took up the cause of attending to old age and nursing needs of their own folk, when scant attention was paid to such humanitarian needs of the indentured and other needy Indians.

For resource mobilization, the ABH depended on support from within the community. Money was raised for it through drama productions, concerts and musical evenings organized by the cultural arm of the AYS. Gradually as it collected funds, it expanded and acquired property for bigger premises. The Protector of Indian Immigrants, the police and the hospitals soon took full advantage of the situation and the ABH became occupied in humanitarian services, beyond its capacities. By 1926, the home also admitted two children as there were no existing provisions for 'non-European' children in need of care.

This raised a related problem, as by admitting children there was a corresponding necessity to search for schools in the vicinity. Problems arose because in Cato Manor or its surrounding areas, no formal schools for Indians existed. The AYS responded by opening a private school with one hall and one teacher. Although it began with a very basic and makeshift school for children in Cato Manor and the surrounding areas, but it was launched and started functioning in a climate of unwavering cooperation from the Indians in South Africa. Refusing to be muted by the government failings over humanitarian issues, they made provisions for education of the Indian 'homeless' – whether old, poor or even needy children.

From very early on ABH learned to function as a non-governmental organization rooted in and devoted to care, education, awareness generation and other humanitarian work (Singh, 2000). Rajesh Lutchman, current CEO at the ABH states that the embedded history of the instituted makes it relevant not only in the past context but also in the present. Maintaining that post-Apartheid its work has only increased going by the number of new issues of discontent and social service that have been accumulating in the New South Africa. Lutchman reflects that as an organization the ABH has known how to evolve as per newer needs. He describes (Interview, January 17, 2013) the ABH work thus:

“a self- help community movement that served various purposes in the past. From a time when the founders worried about the lack of modes and methods to keep cultural memories alive such as the celebration of festivals as Diwali, the organization graduated to becoming a covert ground for resistance against apartheid. Later, it served as a site for anti-apartheid meetings. During the resistance

years, the ABH leaders and activists brain stormed if they should rise to incorporate explicitly political aims, objectives and methods. However, it was decided that leaving that particular goal out of its repertoire, it should rather continue to work for the upliftment as well as welfare of the needy. It consciously chose the social over the political, but that did not mean that it lacked a qualitative approach to the fight for (in) justice. When the apartheid state did not allow the ABH to extend its educational facilities in Chatsworth to teach the Black children, ostensibly the matter came to an end, - i.e., the ABH made no official moves on it. Activists affiliated to the ABH taught the black children, (in a show of solidarity) on weekends. This was one of the ways in which the Indian activists participated in the national resistance movement. They used their association with the ABH fruitfully. Today ABH functions not only as an old age home, but houses destitute women and children and also functions as a prestigious Nursing School providing credible training for Nurses. In the post-Apartheid South Africa, the ABH is open to all races and communities. Its role and the need for social work has only grown in the New South Africa....because after 1994, the social woes have not disappeared. Work still needs to be done by us and other help groups. An institution must know how to re-invent its role according to changing circumstances and social needs. In that sense ABH is an ongoing social movement and network of agencies.”



Figure 4.2: A newer branch and a more recent addition of the ABH- A testimony of its expanding social relevance.

Photo: January 14, 2013.



**Figure 4.3: The new addition in the ABH scheme of things. Its Nurse training courses are accorded state recognition in the New South Africa.
Photo: February 7, 2014.**

Which ‘Indian-ness’?: The social frames of reference that got lifted in the AYS and ABH mobilization (as noted above) were resonating from across India and portrayed values related to ‘Indian-ness’ in South Africa. The frames of reform, welfare and spiritual upliftment based on the India based Arya Samaj movement (which arose to rid India of its socio-religious oppressions) reached South Africa. However, creatively amplifying these concerns, Indian South African activists and social workers of the ABH bought their own, newer concerns as old age care education, women’s and children’s rights into its folds’, (see, Luthra Sinha, 2014; Chetty and Luthra Sinha: 2013).

By providing a home for the homeless, old or youth, it actually provided a service which the government should have organized. The movement politics soon began multi- tasking by investing community resources, visions and solidarities to build on education related infrastructure where the silence of government was well known.

Thus we see how, even when Indian-ness reverberates through collective action instances of the ISAs, a context relevant interpretation of 'Indian-ness' is forwarded (see, Desai and Vahed, 2010 for more).

Hence, given the diversity and plurality of its cultures it is difficult to conjure any single image of the term 'Indian-ness' or 'Indian'. Therefore, any hype stressing or imagining relations fixed around those two terms alone (Indian, Indian-ness) could very well prove counter-productive. That does not, however, mean that nuanced references to these descriptions are not valid or are not prevalent. To demonstrate with an example:

In January 2013, I spent two weekends with my informants, Karen and Jeten (a young couple in their late 20's) observing the markets, superstores and temples in Chatsworth. Referring to the Indian South Africans and their experiences in Durban, KZN, at times I used the reference 'Indian', dropping the rest of the term either owing to an urgency to put up a question or out of my assumption that 'South African' is implied in the context. However, at each such conversational juncture, making sure that we have completed what either of us, were saying, Jeten and Karen would remind me with a sense of concern, "We are not Indians. We are born South Africans. We are South Africans *First*". This happened to me with many of my respondents especially during the early phases of my immersion in the field.

What is it that my respondents wanted to make me understand, as a researcher who was a semi-insider and yet largely an outsider (because of being an 'Indian' but from India)? Perhaps, knowing that I was an Indian from India, they wanted me to make no mistakes. So when I referred to them as Indians, they wanted to make sure that I knew that I was talking of 'South Africans'. This became evident when the actor informants apprised me that 'Indian' as a signifier for specifically cultural symbols or commercial ventures is okay for common use. So descriptions such as, 'Indian shop', 'Indian fast food restaurant', 'Indian spices', 'Indian clothes' or 'Indian festival' even terms such as 'Indian Area' or 'Indian dominated area' or Indian place of worship (as Mosque or temple) are freely heard and spoken in the ambience. With respect to objects and values that have no other description, 'Indian' becomes relevant.

But 'Indian' as a meta-frame of identity is not all encompassing. Neither does it convey the political, social and economic heterogeneity or identity of the Indians in South African in totality. Rather, in general, the description remains open and for the

purposes of this work, it breathes the politics of memory and of place. Yet it is good to note that this very frame that can get employed in casual references to the people of Indian origins who are called, 'Indians'. But those who use it contextually are aware that, 'Indians' over there would mean Indian South Africans.



Figure 4.4: An 'Indian' Clothes shop in a Shopping Mall in Chatsworth.

Position as a researcher- My respondents therefore were keen to make sure that whilst I (obviously as the outsider- the researcher who was also, as they would clarify, an 'Indian Indian' when introducing me to their peers and families) dropped the 'South African', I knew exactly which 'Indians' I was referring to: i.e., ISAs. And I was the Indian from India. Many times, as onlooker actors confirmed from me if I was an 'Indian', my informants were quick to qualify the information and add, 'Indian from India'. So later, I learnt to add that to my introduction myself. Yes, I was an Indian but from India, I would say to avoid any misreading of the situation.

At the same time, I was thankful to my informants and respondents for being so open and interactive with me. I gained rich emic perspectives once I learnt to make myself articulate using these nuanced descriptions at the right junctures.



**Figure 4.5: An 'Indian' Mosque near Westville University.
Photo: January 17, 2013.**



**Figure 4.6: An 'Indian' wedding ceremony in Durban: from the photo albums of
Jeten and Karen: 'Indian-ness' as South Africans¹⁰⁵.
Photo: January 18, 2013.**

¹⁰⁵ In rituals related to birth, death, marriage ceremonies and other customs such as the practice of joint family system, music, food and so forth the Indian migrants showed affinity to their old cultures

2.5 The Anti-Substance Abuse movement of the ADF- A Gap in Literature

Statistics for Chatsworth area specifically, reveal that drug related crimes rose from 449 in April 2004 to 1060 in March 2011. Drug related criminal behaviour, according to local and national members of the South African Police Services,(SAPS) has a serious negative impact on school learners, youth and communities at large. Some studies (see, Brook, PahlMorejele; and, DW Brook 2006: 32) highlight that environmental stressors as parental drug use, parental child rearing, peer drug use, and adolescent personal attributes may be important indicators of drug use.

Additionally, scholars maintain that peer influences play an important role in illegal drug use among South African adolescents. High rates of unemployment, divorce, and parental substance abuse – have created fertile grounds for the development of a youth culture characterised by a strong sense of alienation, disrespect for authority, and a propensity for substance abuse (Pattundeen, 2008) and (Gopal & Collings, 2014, p. 656; 2012a and 2012b).

Understanding the above quoted context of substance abuse with the rise of ADF as an organisation can bring on newer insights for exploring the relation between newer social issues and emerging social action. With regards to social reactions to drug usage, Pattundeen (2008) and Gopal & Collings (2014, p. 656)¹⁰⁶ indicate that while many users continue to receive constructive support from family members and non-using peers, the community in general is decidedly less supportive. However very few studies focus on this emerging co-relation: of a growing need amidst a community lack, a gap that may have promoted a space for alternative voices as the ADF to become organised. I hope to explore this co-relation in greater social details through my own case study.

During the apartheid era, the choice of substances abused often occurred mainly in a particular ethnic group, except in the case of alcohol, which was abused by all races.

¹⁰⁶ The lack of support from the community in general is one of the reasons engendering feelings of isolation and alienation.. The latter finding replicates and extends results of from previous studies which have identified both the factors as risk issues for substance abuse, (Pattundeen: 2008). Similarly (Gopal & Collings, 2014, p. 656) in their study concluded that "alienation and isolation may constitute both a risk factor for and a consequence of, drug usage"

With the advent of democracy in 1994, "where you have mixed communities, you now see drug abuse crossing the ethnic divide", says Pluddemann¹⁰⁷. This may very well be the case of Chatsworth too, which now sees a larger presence of mixed communities than before. Decidedly, after 1994, the locality's profile is steadily changing and even in schools, one sees a mixed crowd of children. It would be incisive to study how therefore the anti-substance abuse movement of the ADF may draw widespread contextual appeal while retaining a growing relevance in the new South Africa. As my study unfolds, I will explore these points and hope to provide some insights w.r.t. this literature gap.



Figure 4.7: First Graders in a Chatsworth School: drugs may not have the same ethnic barriers and access potentials as before. All communities in the fast diversifying profile of Chatsworth, for instance, may face the same risks as the Indians living there. Photo: January 28, 2013.

However, drugs are not new and have always been part of Chatsworth's history. In many ways, they prevented the community from reaching its full potential (Vahed

¹⁰⁷ The use of tik among the coloured community in the Western Cape remains one example of a predominant drug use practiced by a specific ethnic community, although there are others, (see Health Systems Trust: 2016, for more details)

and Desai: 2012). ADF action have risen in context of rampant use of a drug called 'Sugars' among the Indian communities. Sugars seems to have acquired one of the most devastating social abuse patterns. Studies show how in Chatsworth, the 'Indian dominated area', the old dagga pipe and Mandrax has been replaced by 'Sugars', - a cheap and highly addictive drug, (Desai & Vahed, 2012) since the turn of the century (also see, Luthra Sinha: 2015 and 2016d).

In such a climate, people and local Chatsworth Newspapers regularly interchange information. For instance, Clive Pillay who runs the Community Youth Centre (CYC) in Chatsworth reported that substance abuse was 'feeding into criminal activity. It starts right from home where they steal everything. Eventually they exhaust that and go out and start robbing people. I've never seen so much violence, theft, with knives, and robbing people for cell phones,' (More details in, Rising Sun, 2013. Also see, Vahed, 2012).

However, what is it that distinctly seals the everyday spaces as neighbourhoods with a tacit confirmation that Sugars is 'happening'? One way to look at the issue is through previous studies on social trends. Vahed and Desai (2012) maintain that many youngsters in Chatsworth who cannot find the jobs their fathers secured in the clothing industry turn to the local drug lords. These drug lords are seen to have power, a bit of money and appearance usually seen in "the gold chain, the baseball style shirts, caps and talkies and most importantly, the gold tooth" which they flaunt on their persons. One can see this approach to life in the runners too who use their largesse to buy Sugars and clothes that they show-off at the nightclub. They live for the next "hit", inform the authors.

In Chatsworth according to Vahed (2012), Singh (2012) and Pattundeen (2012) drug lords frequently target vulnerable males and females from within their neighbourhoods to act as their "runners" – those who do the actual retail – but to strictly known clients only. In the Chatsworth suburb with large rates of unemployment and lack of leisure time activity, smoking (also of illicit substances) in a group can be considered as a good pastime. In select sections of society, especially among the most indigent ones, men, both young and old share common personal experiences through such activities.

But what happens, when such activities may become breeding grounds of addiction as that of sugars? Studies recommending social intervention/ plans to manage and

or prevent future use and risks do not apprise of the situation among Indian communities, exclusively as such (See Annex II). This aspect is important to explore, principally, as only a few studies on substance abuse among the Indian South Africans in Durban, analyse how it is a major contributor to morbidity, mortality, dysfunctional social life. In this sense, the actions of the ADF need to be studied further as it signifies a community response on emerging issues of concern.

In addition, illicit substance use and trafficking is itself an indicator of socio-economic and political stress in the rapidly changing context of New South Africa. It would be worth the while to explore relationship between political and economic insecurity and diverse kinds of crime (refer to Singh and Singh: 2007; Singh, S: 2007), including drugs. Pattundeen (2008) has shown that many youth in Chatsworth turned to Sugars as a form of escapism from their inability to migrate to places like Johannesburg for rewarding employment. However, majority of the studies and literature on the Sugars (called whoonga in the black areas) focus on either the history or descriptive social impacts of the drug use or its social and particular/individual cycles of sociopathy. There is a dearth of studies on the kinds of collective action rising to counter the Sugars menace among Durban Indians.

'Sugars' and the Indian South Africans-need of more qualitative and ethnographic data: Sugars¹⁰⁸, which can also be known as nyaope or wungais a drug cocktail purported to contain illegal narcotics (marijuana, methamphetamine, and/or heroin), HIV antiretroviral and cheap bulking agents such as detergents and rat poison. This combination results in a powerfully addictive substance and deadly drug cocktail which is smoked for its (supposed) psychoactive effects. It is mostly consumed in impoverished areas in Durban (Niren: 2006; Pattundeen: 2008; and SACENDU: 2011). Sugars poses severe health risks including internal bleeding, stomach ulcers, skin changes, weight loss and in some instances death. Whoonga users are perceived to beg and steal to support their whoonga habit, unemployed, and with poor hygiene.

Sugars is seen as a cheap addictive drug that has swept the youth of Chatsworth into a social mayhem (Niren 2006: 2). The effects of the drug have purportedly overwrought the social and moral fabric of the community and have led to the further

¹⁰⁸ Similar in composition to whoonga, Sugars is a highly addictive drug with a low rate of recovery among users. It is an opioid that contains a mix of heroin with small amounts of residual cocaine and is usually mixed together with other drugs such as marijuana or inhaled/smoked on its own.

breakdown of parental control within families and households. Besides, Sugars is being sold in school grounds, on street corners, in residential drug dens and in the taxis.

Anecdotal evidence suggests the drug's main abusers are between 13 and 22, (as quoted by Sergeant Kacey Naicker, head of the Durban Metro crime prevention unit in Tolsi: 2006). Others suggest that children as young as ten years of age are known to be "using" and peddling the drug (Pattundeen, 2008). Not only this, pawn shops have mushroomed across neighbourhoods.



Figure 4.8: A newspaper cutting (Sunday Tribune: March 7, 2010. Page 14) on the display board at the entrance of the old ADF office. February 4, 2013.

Another major social consequence of illicit drug use (which have become regular features of many communities) is evidenced by wife battery, domestic violence, abusive relationships, stealing from home to pay for drugs, broken families, prostitution and divorce. According to a Sunday Tribune (2006) report, intelligent pupils have been seen to become school dropouts; young girls have prostituted themselves for their habit.

Harmless people have begun to practice theft and in general this drug related sociopathy continues to eat into the fabric of society¹⁰⁹. A further consequence of Sugars/ Whoonga is a marked increase in overdosing among children and youth

¹⁰⁹ Refer to, Neren: 2006 and Pattundeen: 2008: For a more precise understanding of the relation of the Sugars pandemic among Chatsworth youth and rise of criminal behaviours including prostitution

because it is cheap. Readings which take up substance abuse and/or criminal behaviour in general among the Indian South Africans (see, Singh, S.: 2007; Singh, A and S. Singh: 2007; Singh, A. 2013; Singh, A and Sen: 2016; and, Pattundeen: 2016) are suggestive of the need to build a nuanced data base on the issue.

Nonetheless, it is clear from the above mentioned literature, that Illicit drug addiction and dependence have significant adverse social, psychological, and/or physical implications (in general and) in Durban. The studies also reveal how there is an increasing state and civil society concern over the proliferation and uncontrolled use of recreational drugs known as whoonga and Sugars (a heroin derived illicit drug) in South Africa. Undoubtedly, the existing literature provides a penetrating account on the kinds of drugs doing the rounds, methods of consuming them and the data on use and circulation patterns.

However, more inter-disciplinary evaluations on various kinds of sociopathy associated with drug use in quotidian settings could be useful for more individual and community- based trends and solutions. How are different communities impacted upon by the use of specific drugs post-apartheid (Also see, Annex II)? For instance, what prompts the prevalence of Sugars in specific Durban Indian communities, besides its cost? Or, how is this connected to the transitioning society in the new South Africa?, are questions that may require further trans-disciplinary research.

In a recent work, editors Gopal and Luthra Sinha have underlined the aforesaid needs of developing on a trans-disciplinary literature on the issues related to substance abuse from broad mix of emphasis, (Gopal and Luthra Sinha: 2016, refer to Editorial). The compilation includes qualitative and quantitative studies and narratives of victims, addicts, youth, women, school goers, caregivers alongside community projects and organizations such as the ADF.

However, these articles in the above-mentioned Special Edition are just the tip of the iceberg. All authors have tapped into compelling, difficult issues and questions that could very well become the ground for further, newer academic intervention and analysis. The write-ups contribute immensely by bringing forth a much needed actor based analysis on contemporary substance abuse and its broader social-behavioural impacts. One could therefore still do with more on the subject. For instance, sufficient information on the Durban Indians' life world as affected by drugs in the current South Africa is hard to find.

This gap is particularly significant in light of the fact that South Africa is a society in transition. Changes in the political, economic and social structures within South Africa before and after Apartheid make the country more vulnerable to drug use¹¹⁰. The factors that reflect increased or changed patterns of use and what would account for facilitating these changes are many and varied. Availability and easy accessibility of drugs within a tolerant or limited enforcement of drug laws (Annex-II) proliferate drug use within society. Other factors include age at first use; and, diversity of available drugs; growing wealth among new populations particularly within the middle class; better infrastructures for transportation; less policing, more tolerance for new ideas and behaviour.

Additionally, more data is needed on different collective action strategies that one witnesses on ground including from the thresholds of Durban Indians. Not all are new social movement kinds of action. Newer kinds of movements work more as community or self-help organizational endeavours.

My work therefore hopes to contribute an insight on kinds of collective social action rising practiced by ISAs in Durban. The ADF operates as a micro social movement in favour of a drug free society. It positions itself as an anti-substance abuse actor and attempts a definitive movement-like insertion in the local political spaces. It cuts across and builds linkages connecting alternative public spaces more actively to the mainstream public sphere politics of South Africa¹¹¹.

Others have studied how in Chatsworth and surrounding areas, the People of Indian Origin or PIO (commonly referred to as, 'Indians') may manage to cope up with the rising scourge through individual and extended family structures (Singh, 2013). But this may not always be the case and even if families rise to the need, they themselves start needing support structures and innovative techniques to rejuvenate themselves, (taken up through user-testimonies in later sections and also under the part on, 'Art of Living').

¹¹⁰ A review drug availability and use likely correlate with the pressures placed upon social capital by rapid modernization and a decline in traditional social relationships and forms of family structures. Difficulties of social transformation in South African society are exemplified by the somewhat slower than the hoped for pace of the redistribution of economic power throughout the society. This has a number of implications for illicit drug availability, use, and treatment, (See, Peltzer, Karl, S. Ramlagan, B. D. Johnson and N. Phaswana-Mafuya: 2010, for more details).

¹¹¹ Refer to, Luthra Sinha: 2016 for discussion on the above mentioned aspects, especially in light of grassroots collective action arising as a challenge to mainstream bilateral political sphere and in opposition to also, a clandestine, 'narcotics bilateral' constructed by illicit drug trafficking between the two countries.

PART III: ADF PERFORMS A COMPETITIVE DISCURSIVENESS: CONVERSION OF A PEOPLES' ISSUE INTO A MOTIVE FOR COLLECTIVE SOCIAL ACTION

As per my observations, just as there are numerous issues that impact upon the situation and vice-versa, there is one particular field of analysis which can open the thresholds of further knowledge on the issues. Concisely put, the question is how do communities at ground level develop path-breaking capacities to tackle the drugs issue hands on. How do they use previous knowledges and generate some more in the process of social coping up, (which is evident in the combined work of organisations such as the ADF and its grassroots networks imply)? I hope to answer these questions in the next few pages.

For instance, with children shouldering a disproportionate share of this burden (Seedat, Van Niekerk, Jewkes, Suffla & Ratele, 2009: 1011), it is not difficult to reason why the anti-substance abuse movement invests so much social energy on working voluntarily with schools. I take this aspect up in detail in various sections that follow below. Pillay, who spearheads the forum, relies on many social partnerships with local community and schools.

The ADF repertoires also include collaboration with administrative and political workers. The ADF and many of its supporters believe, as Hodza (2013) has observed in one of his works, that the criminalisation approach on substance abuse is not sufficient (see Annexure II). While it may lead to the reduction of drug dealing these positive results are often short lived. Pillay, from his social movement practices and experiences, points out that such an approach could be artificial for it does not address the underlying structural and individual issues that predispose or push such people in using or/ and dealing in illicit drugs.

3.1 Chatsworth, the epicentre of a Social Movement against substance abuse:

Chatsworth¹¹² in Durban is a large colourful suburb bustling in the new South Africa with a vibrant multi-community energy¹¹³. Post 1994 it has been increasingly

¹¹² Once upon a time, in 1960, the creation of the 'township' of Chatsworth was ordained by the pen of the Apartheid city planners. Envisaged as a compulsory, exclusive Indian area and township, its creation led to the eviction of people from established neighbourhoods around Durban- Indians were forcibly re-located into it.

¹¹³ Many Africans now live in informal settlements in Chatsworth such as Bottlebrush and Crossmoor, in Welbedacht, while others have moved into the flats as well as places like Moberni Heights. Migrants from the Asian sub-continent, who arrived post-1994, now live in many parts of Chatsworth (The Mercury, April 29, 2014). The schools have changed with African pupils from Clemont, Lamontville and Umlazi and from informal settlements within Chatsworth, attending Chatsworth schools (Adele, 2014).

inhabited by a mixed group of people, though the predominant communities continue to be the Indian South Africans (ISAs). Chatsworth is the site most often named as the epicenter of post-apartheid, mass -democratic community unrest. Fatima Meer's Concerned Citizens Forum arrived there to promote the ANC in the 2000 municipal elections. Soon realizing that ANC officials worsened not lessened the socio-economic problems of both Indian and African 'poors', Meer switched sides to civil society and a new, critical way of relating to government was born (Desai, 2002). Since then, Durban service delivery protests have regularly broken out against various state departments for a range of reasons.



Figure 4.9: Chatsworth, a south Durban suburb and the birthplace of ADF. Seen here are the clustered houses, an improvement over the past, yet a grim reminder of the terrains set by the Group Areas Act, 1950. Photo: February 1, 2013.

This suburb has seen protests against various issues. Ranging from questions of housing and services, land, food, police violence to protest against informal trading, student voices and a concern on environment (Mottiar and Bond: 2011). In February 2014, upon finishing my second round of fieldwork, I could not help but reflect the relation between place and people. Although it was the act of government that 'made' the place- in reality, it was the people with their practices, attitudes and enigma alongside challenges, which have made Chatsworth the community based

social space and landscape ¹¹⁴ that it is. One of the most compelling social issues, besides the rising criminality, is the proliferation of drug addiction that has swamped through Chatsworth. To reasons such as discrimination in employment opportunities, aggressive drug networks and moral degeneration, my informants added a changing notion of sexuality among the Indian communities as the main cluprits.



Figure 4.10: Chatsworth Hanuman statue: the image of a popular, mythical Hindu deity forms the character of this well-known street corner in Chatsworth. Photo: February 8, 2013.

Newer Social Issues, Newer Social Movements and the 'landscapes' of memories': Observing and spending time with the various participants and critics of

¹¹⁴ The mid-twentieth pioneering teachers of landscape study, J B Jackson and W G Hoskins have lent a socio-cultural dimension to the idea of landscape. Jackson in his reflections on what landscape is, in, 'Discovering the Vernacular Landscape' quotes what he calls 'the old fashioned but surprisingly persistent definition of landscape: "A portion of the earth's surface that can be comprehended at a glance'. He sees landscape as 'A rich and beautiful book [that] is always open before us. We have but to learn to read it.' Hoskins asserted the significance of landscape in, 'The Making of the English Landscape', with a proposal that 'The ... landscape itself, to those who know how to read it aright is the richest historical record we possess". See for greater details: (Robertson & Richards 2003)

the movement, following them in their mutual interactions and collaborations drove home the fact that how challenging it can be to deaden or erase, what is referred to as, the landscapes of memory (Foertser: 2005 and Taneja: 2014).

Irrefutably in the new South Africa, people operate under freedoms and rights to tackle newer issues. Yet, in their patterns of being, in their gaze, memories and trends of organizing for social action, there is an echo of the past alongside a vision of the future. Here, it is apt to recall the BTF struggle against poaching in Jodhpur and another similarity it shares with the ADF. Whilst the movement builds on newer strengths and tackles newer social issues by weaving newer collective motives, its solidarities over older memories remain firmly entrenched its social movement terrains.

Singh and Sen (2016) take the view there is an increasing momentum in South African academia vis-à-vis exploring the topographies of social memory. With respect to Indian South Africans, reflexive memories and histories of ancestral roots in India have been receiving widespread attention (besides the newer lights on local struggles). For instance, indentured labourers from India are said to have brought with them a work ethic, commitment and loyalty that have eventually translated into two significant lessons to South Africa's population at large, (Singh and Sen, 2016: I-IV).

First, were the issues of endurance and perseverance that took them from nothing to well established upper-middle class statuses in the enabling environments in which they found themselves. Second, this very spirit of hard work now serves as instructive lessons to the working classes in South Africa, where opportunity and positive economic possibilities still prevail. The Indians treasure these memories. Alongside there are others that are not so pleasant.

The issue of drug abuse amongst the Indian South Africans in the past is one such difficult memory. Beginning as far back as the 1960s (see more details in UNODOC: 2002) and stealthily progressing through the decade of the 70's (refer to Luthra Sinha 2016d), the use and trafficking of illicit substances (such as Methaqualone) was not unheard of among the Durban Indians. Yet a peoples' protest politics around the issue has vociferously emerged and began to derive meaning in today's democratic context. Hence, fresh memories centre around an enabling form of social action visible among Durban Indians.

If the issue is illicit drug use and its availability against which ADF organizes itself, then, what is the peculiar South African context of place and space that the movement confronts and coheres to? Vahed, a historian from the University of kwaZulu Natal (The Mercury: May 14, 2014) rightly states, “As geographers and social scientists tell us, places are never frozen in time but are processes, always in the making. The same is true of Chatsworth”.

Without placing the ADF in its physical-spatial base and viewing its actions from within the landscapes of rooted memories self- gazes and of space and time, that have given it shape, we would lose the message that such a micro-social action implies for South Africa. Situating the connotations of landscape beyond the idea of a pretty picture or as a static text (Hoskin: 1955; Jackson: 1951), this Chapter seeks to expand upon the subtle political and cultural messages of the movement’s ‘landscape’ .

Examples of activities, views and opinions from the community and movement actors are included below to reveal the roots as well as the routes which have collaborated, compelled, completed, complemented and even challenged the making of the anti-substance abuse movement from the landscape of Chatsworth. It is a thick look at the essence of what Mitchell (1994) sees as part of a ‘process by which, ‘identities are formed’.

3.2 From a community consciousness on drugs to collective action- Grounds for new activism amidst familiar anti-substance abuse discourses

In 1996, one percent (1%) of South Africans were in treatment for heroin abuse while in 2008 those in treatment for this addiction increased between 8 – 24%. ADF came into being in 2005. In 2006, about 70 percent of the households in Chatsworth, the south Durban suburb were said to be affected by Sugars (SA Statistics: Christian Drugs Support, 2008; UN drug Report: 2010, 2011).

The Durban drug: At that time, it was felt at the community level that a promising treatment could save Chatsworth from the rising abuse of this heroin-derivative that was called by some as ‘Durban Drug’. After a 10-month battle to rehabilitate Sugars users, as young as 11 years old, the Chatsworth based organization ADF (Anti-drug

Forum) claimed to have found a possible cure in Subutex¹¹⁵, a detox tablet which acts as a blocker to the effects of drugs similar to heroin and reduces the need for addicts to use Sugars.

The forum's founder and chairperson, Sam Pillay (Weekend Witness) said that after several attempts to assist the addicts in the suburb, a doctor helping the ADF. Pillay had learnt of the 'cure' after a trip to India, during a drug awareness exchange programme. ADF's subsequent collective experience and work with youth in grips of substance abuse made them realize that there are two sides to it, namely, the physical and the emotional. Healing the physical does not mean that the emotional side can be ignored. For complete rehabilitation, a former user would have to go for counselling and/or attend meetings with a support group.

It was these landmark propositions and appraisals of the situation, which made the ADF an appealing 'centre' for local families and others actors. Its comprehensive approach towards dealing with the issue in local community spaces as much worrying over healing of the concerned patients, families and neighborhoods was a winning strategy. It gave rising visibility and wheels to the ADF's micro politics against drugs, that later, as I explain in the following pages, started to get it positive state reviews as much as critiques.

By 2006 the ADF, which was barely a year old, had met with over 1800 addicts. The ADF staff elucidated that one of the main reason for the establishment of the anti-drug body related to the discovery that Sugars was rife in schools in the district and their very own vicinity, i.e Chatsworth and other Indian areas around Durban. Pillay's attitude that drugs as a problem have multiple sides to it reflected the views of the larger community and not just any single individual.

Having dealt with/ experienced sociopathy associated to substance abuse, many local caretakers, families, institutions and organization of health and learning had the same view. However, there was also a tacit realization at the MSM quarters that any single actor would be incompetent to handle the growing implications of the menace alone. Hence, the ADF remained inclined towards fostering a collaborative

¹¹⁵ My work concerns various aspects of collective social action against substance abuse, as the ADF case demonstrates. Rehab medications, legal debates around modes of detoxification or criminological view of the situation fall beyond the purview of this study. Where such medications or information stands mentioned, it is more as a part of the narratives or life histories of actors involved in the movement.

discursiveness with other stakeholders, from its embryonic stages. This then brings us to another aspect that the ADF can be said to share with the BTF in the Indian context, namely, an inclination towards collaborative discursiveness.

For Pillay (Interview January 21, 2013), being socially conscious of growing substance abuse around them, however was not enough. Owing to its very visible impacts, his supporters and the inspired actors from the community, realized the difficulties they would face in trying to contain the problem in its multiple challenges.

The endeavour of catering to social and spiritual side to the problem would fall flat, if collective efforts failed to handle the political side of it. All aspects demanded attention, some personal, philanthropic or confidence -building while others, politically strategic, competitive and collaborative.

Working both as a symbolic institution and tangible organisation: For instance, convincing the affected youth and children families/care takers for trying out newer methods of rehabilitation at its premises while simultaneously making moves to insert its discourses in the prevailing socio-political, legal know-how on substance abuse were assumed by the ADF as a part of its 'work'. These twin tasks established the firm grounds of operating by merging the frontiers: ADF needed to become a symbolic institution of recovery and wellbeing socially, which could simultaneously operate as a tangible organization to tackle the issue in its political manifestations. In its efforts of doing so, ADF was able to effectively convert familiar social consciousness over drug abuse into a concerted, viable strategy for undertaking intervention and prevention measures.

In Pillay's words (The Witness: 2006), "It was terrible. It was almost like Sugars affected every family in Chatsworth. We noticed that kids in schools were actually buying it and using the school premises to consume it. In addition, from our observation, it was obvious that this drug was easily accessible. You could buy it anywhere. Apparently, Sugars dealers give the first two hits to the new users for free as it is highly addictive. They know that once these kids, and I say, 'kids'... because it is a growing problem among adolescents and pre-teens, have taken it twice, then they are already addicted. They will do anything to get more. It is a very addictive drug. The sellers know that flat."

This was also a time when it became quite common to hear of 'moms' held for drugs,

young school children being caught using drugs on premises and practicing violent or sexual behavior. More shocking than the idea of 'drug abuse' itself, as most of my respondents admitted, was the associated sociopathy around drug abuse. Mounting addiction cases have tended to have two dialectical implications in case of substance abuse among the Durban Indians:

First, elders and parents from the community in general may exist in extended denials over drug abuse by family members (finding based on many interactions and group discussions with the ADF, ABH and RA-UF¹¹⁶ and PAGAD¹¹⁷ in Durban through January-February 2014). Second, post-addiction, crimes such as stealing or practices as violence/running away from home(especially among boys) and prostitution among young girls/ women ironically make the issue 'visible'. In other words, the society witnesses undeniable occurrences, which cannot be 'hidden' despite a traumatized 'social silence' around them.

Therefore, the care-takers/givers are forced to fall in accord with reality, eventually, willingly or otherwise, i.e, as soon as related cycles of sociopathy unfold and take over. This 'coming out in the open' produces its own hitches. One begins to see not just 'addicts' so to say, but also how families, siblings, care givers and neighborhoods get involved in or influenced by the issue, (Information based on Interviews with families the ADF, RA-UF workshops and counselling sessions in Chatsworth and Phoenix between January and February 2014).

Once the impact becomes discernible in ways stated above, it amplifies the 'feel' of general malaise and social crisis associated with addiction. Criminal behaviour can be an irritant both for affected as much as for the spectator.(for more on crimes such as prostitution related to 'Sugars', see Daily News Reporter, 2006: January 26 and 27; Govender and Mthethwa. 2007) onlooker actors.

Together these factors and concerns laid the foundation of the ADF and its chain of actions. The aftermaths of the fast trending Sugars addiction made the society look up and look back at its causes and effects in cycles of collective memory and disquiet.

Grounds for new activism: Even if initial reactions to first timers are that of

¹¹⁶ Re-focus and Upliftment Organisation, Durban.

¹¹⁷ People Against Gangsterism and Drugs, Durban Chapter

dismissive denials, later those in denial are themselves the most pained and want to try any method for making their loved ones recover. If this means picking up the cudgels to wage a fight against illicit drugs or protest over state procedures/state reactions against substance abuse, the concerned publics are also prepared to do this. Hence, such an amalgam, of a personal crisis with the general concern for well-being of the community may prompt various kinds of social responses.

Out of these responses in Durban amongst the Indian South African Communities is decidedly that of the ADF.



**Figure 4.11 : F Tammy of ADF drug testing in Chatsworth, 2012: a role that earns ADF both bouquets and brickbats, as I explain in a later section.
Photo: Accessed from ADF records, February 2014.**

A comparative note: *Once again, this brings us to another similarity between the anti-poaching and the anti-substance abuse movements. Just as the BTF (Bishnoi Tiger Force) articulated movement has done in Rajasthan, the ADF too establishes a grassroots niche for its work. Both the movements perform persuasively competitive tasks, even, while responding to familiar grounds of concern through an evolving philanthropic ethos. However, it is not always easy to traverse the bridges between competitive insertion politics and humanitarian social well-being. Just as the BTF in India wades through muddy waters of appreciation and opposition, so does the ADF, while facing affirmation and dissent. I will elaborate this in the succeeding sections.*

3.3 Imagination from below: ADF supporters/ onlooker actors explain their sense of crisis as the tipping point

“Chatsworth only rises when there is a crisis. There needs to be a proactive approach to tackle the problem.”

Brandon Pillay, a Chatsworth community activist

As discussed above, common concerns in face of the rising Sugars addiction precipitated into a set of wider collective meanings. However, it was a discursive sense of crisis, as I take up in this section, which prompted a collective social movement imagination around the issue. I will analyse this from the point of view of ADF (which is based in Chatsworth) itself as much as its supporters or onlooker actors.

In late 1990's, while older forms of addiction such as Mandrax (read Luthra Sinha: 2016d for Mandrax addiction and the ISAs) continued to hold a strong second position, heroin based cocktails were beginning to gain first preference as the most commonly used illicit drug in South Africa, (UNODC 2002: Country Profile, South Africa). At the end of the apartheid era, South African research relating to the nature and extent of use of drugs other than alcohol and tobacco among the general adult population of the country was virtually non-existent (see, Roche-Silva, 1992a) and 1992b). As late as 2014, a national report stressed the fact that the new South Africa inherited an obsolete police system with missing records on many kinds of crimes, some of which were concerned the use of illicit drugs (Zuma, 2014: See Chapter 7) .

In South Africa, former President Nelson Mandela, in his opening address to Parliament, signaled alcohol and drug abuse in 1994 as one among many social

pathologies that needed to be combated by the state. By February 1999, the South African Drug Advisory Board registered an unacceptable increase in substance abuse and its associated problems. The National Drug Master Plan identified these problems as a fuel for crime, poverty, reduced productivity, unemployment, dysfunctional family life, political instability the escalation of chronic diseases, such as AIDS and TB, injury and premature death, (Drug Advisory Board, 1999), has identified this problem. Therefore, a problem which begged to be addressed at a community level too. Against the background of this information, it would be interesting to analyse some probable reasons that propelled the ADF actors/supporters to contribute to the growth of competitive and collaborative public opinion processes at a particular stage.

What changed? The kind of news, incidents and sociopathy which Sugars was raking up became a game changer. People felt a full-blown crisis at hand, especially as they heard cases such as a nine-year-old prostituting herself to fund her habit; or an 11-year-old boy who showed pornography to his friends while his mother, a single parent, was at work; or seven graders indulging in-group drugs and experimenting with sex. Community leaders would tell curious journalists about ongoing drugs and alcohol abuse, teenage pregnancies, gambling and unemployment,(conversation with local community activists: February 2014).

Sayed Rajack, chairperson of the Phoenix Education Forum, explained that social problems among primary school pupils were not confined to Chatsworth. Phoenix was also, 'facing a crisis'. As drug peddlers were looking for a younger, lucrative market, they were even prepared to target little kids in exchange for a fast buck. Reports of children as young as eight who are drug addicts spread shock. Sugars-use related sexual molestation, underage-sex, alcohol abuse and theft were on the rise. Rajack expressed a worry, "If nothing is done, the future is very bleak for young people. Families are disintegrating, and communities must do something to help themselves", (Govender, from Newsbreak on Lotus FM January 2007: Sourced from ADF records, January 28, 2013).

How ADF performs a connective Discursivity: On the one hand, there was a growing need for community care, rehabilitation and holistic management of the problem. On the other, the realization that there is a dearth of single minded organizations willing to work amongst a broad, diverse community audience while

striving on the betterment of state procedures and structures. This vacuum with its accompanying sense of crisis was one of the main factors for ADF to spring into function, both as an organizational and institutional space for action against substance abuse. It was envisaged as a social endeavour, but not without performing the required political tasks that came in its way.



Figure 4.12: Seen in picture above are David, an ADF success story and Pillay in the centre at one of ADF organized drug awareness workshops. Photo: February 6, 2014.

Pillay (Interview February 1, 2013) recalls that the ADF approach was envisaged to be all encompassing. Dealing with physical aspects was to receive as much attention as social factors like motivation during rehabilitation. If his audience specifically the rehab seekers are any indication, the ADF has inserted itself confidently in the bull's eye. Many youth in Chatsworth who feel bored or fear that they have no scope inadvertently become a vital part of the problem. It is not rare that they also come from dysfunctional families with no proper role models, no guidance. Hence, providing avenues through its recreational activities, ADF is successful in keeping vulnerable youth positively occupied.

Besides the other factors, Pillay (Interview: January 18, 2014) thinks that the influential Americanized version of parenting probably had much to do with parents

who feel their children are adults at an age, when they probably need them the most. Women from the community (conversations with middle class homemakers: January 2014- February 2014) at the helm of this crisis, as per core community views, was also a change in parenting structures, besides other factors as drug lords and drug runners who made sure that the supply of Sugars to places as Chatsworth was constant. This combined to make the sense of a predicament complete. ADF hence, caters to emerging community needs by offering comprehensive healing courses.

ADF and the Contours of self-gaze- how people associate mutually: The difference that ADF thought it needed to make was to separate the tail end of the problems with its apex and deal with them thus. Therefore, users and families for instance required a social, humanitarian approach. The apex and middle layers, however, constituted traffickers, dealers runners, also warranted that ADF raise its voice, to collaboratively as well as competitively with state structures.

Mangaroo (Interview January 27, 2014), a Phoenix based businessman and a sympathetic onlooker of the ADF, opines that at the beginning of the Indian 'township' of Chatsworth although many Indian households were forcibly relocated and broken, life was still very quiet and disciplined. However, owing to the traumatic change brought on by forced segregated living under Apartheid, ironically on the one hand the houses became a smaller place to live in, and on the other hand, lifestyles became more open and began to change drastically.

During this time, while the joint family system, so characteristic of the Indian households, came down owing to lack of space (and a system of smaller families in one living unit came into place), the interaction with the outside world increased at both ends. Meaning thereby that both parents started working and children acquired more idle time away from adult supervision than earlier. At the same time, drug lords came up and many people from the poorer community worked in cahoots with them, (for more on changing lifestyles in 'Indian' areas during and post-Apartheid, see, Singh: 2005; Hansen: 2012; Desai and Vahed: 2013).

Roy, a lawyer from Dundee (Interview January 27, 2014), chips in that although the gangster scenario in Durban was very unlike the professional gangster-ism of Cape Town, still the appearance of illicit drug trafficking networks across the society and in the Indian communities was a veritable change in itself to deal with. Roy asks two interesting questions which helps explain the aforesaid analysis; "Why is 'Sugars'

associated with Charos¹¹⁸ post-1994?”

During my work among the community elders, a similar deep rooted ironical self-gaze came to light. Almost all of my respondents would bring in Apartheid as a reference point at some juncture and they would wish to introduce it in the conversation w.r.t. drugs. I include a statement from Mohammed (Interviews in February 2013 and in January 2014), a well-respected local figure, with a history of four decades of voluntary work and community uplift. Mohammed, described how many people of his generation see the drug situation per say,

“Having won against Apartheid as a nation and having contributed as a community to the goal of freedom and democracy, will we fall to drugs now? Will that be our new bête-noir or is this the challenge that is hurled at us, apart from the many other goods and evils that the first two decades of freedom have given us? Whatever it is, the government efforts are not adequate in response to the issue. At this moment we must not fall short of collective efforts, values and visions.....as a community and society as a whole in search of adequate solutions. Hence, we endorse social efforts that arising from the community for we see them as a ray of hope. We must continue working together. We cannot afford to leave the issue alone. How can we? For it's our children, youth and families that are getting affected!” (Luthra Sinha: 2015).

Although Mohammed is not a participant actor directly in the ADF movement but he is a distant supporter who approves of the way that the forum continues its fight through innovative networking and calculated protest tactics. Nevertheless, he also values the contribution made by another organisation called RA-UF (explained in a later section).

Many local School Principals, students and staff are an asset to the ADF's movement as they volunteer with their resources, premises and man power to cooperate directly in this collective social endeavour. Overall, whether as distant supporters or as voluntary actors, these multitudes constitute the interested, affected publics who impart the movement its grassroots validity. These publics reflect the

¹¹⁸ A slang word that the Indian communities use good humoredly to refer to themselves. Others while talking of the Indians also use it. 'Charo' is a short form of the Hindi word 'Achar', meaning spicy, strong smelling oil-based pickles, which give out a very typical 'Indian curry', smell that is hard to mask. Charo, charra (Indian person) Common in Durban. While it is acceptable to call someone a charro or charra if you are Indian, you might be seen as a racist if you're not. See, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talk%3AList_of_South_African_slang_words

way the formal anti-drug movement gains social acceptance from near and far.

Social outrage from within the common identities of their Indian-ness is a recurrent theme, which emerges from my interviews and observations. Those who wholeheartedly support the external efforts of the anti-drug politics also extend a penetratingly inward self-gaze to suggest why they do so. It's a peculiar twist of self-gaze with which the community elders witness their own people engaging in rising rates of drug abuse:

Apartheid was like a distantly originating menace, which they could freely hate and blame mostly upon 'outsiders-others'. Even when vested political interests (among the Indian community) sided with the Apartheid regime, the critical insiders could have still imagined them as 'traitors or sell-outs' Thus differentiating between the 'self' and the 'other'. However, drug addiction does not have the same divisive feel about it. More inwardly interwoven owing to its individual use, the Indian communities feel responsible at a personal collective level too. Though drugs are related to many accompanying social changes linked to the 'distant' macro, yet it is difficult to locate an isolated 'other' to shift the blame upon.

Rising use of illicit substances has become a problem, as many of my actor-respondents explained that cannot be seen as stemming entirely from an external source. They admit that illicit drugs in many of their implications also bear an internal relationship to the society in which they live. That the problem is equally and hugely social but somewhere its responsibility is also seen as personal and individual is not an easy fact to digest.

Since the problem continues to grow, the affected communities and groups are forced to reflect upon it as an internal predicament and that gives it an inescapable, endogenous proximity. It is not easy, as it is, for the movement actors to openly reject and denounce the illegal practices related to illicit drugs, owing to the many dangers associated in challenging such a world of crime. It is also not stress-free to admit to its apathies as communities or a neighborhood and start working on the malaise from within the internal thresholds of the collective social 'self'.

Two friends, RR, an advocate from Dundee and RM, a businessman from Mobeni Heights in Durban remember (Interviews, January 28- February 10, 2014) hard times

that they as Indians passed through, just like the other exploited peoples. Both are now well settled with their families, but still recall how their communities had to overcome many hurdles, just to establish basic schooling structures and acquire education. RM now in his mid-sixties narrated how in his youth, there was no formal education system. He went to a community created farm school, which functioned under a tree. It began with 50 pupils, who were taught by a physically challenged teacher. They paid the humble amount of two shillings sixpence monthly as their school fee. Similarly, RR who is in his late fifties now analyzes that despite the many odds, the Indian-origin people tried to keep a consistent focus in educating their future generations, before 1994.

What worries these actors is how the Indian groups have increasingly gotten involved/ affected in drugs after 1994, especially, Sugars. RR, although from a different city, has had to establish house for his children in Durban after they enrolled in professional courses. He remembers that as a lawyer he has dealt with and heard substance abuse and smuggling cases among the Indian communities. But it was different then. Now he thinks as a parent. As he, 'gives' his children to the city, the recent increase in Sugars abuse among Durban Indians makes him apprehensive.

RM, his local friend from Durban adds that, having heard of substance abuse contexts among his staff earlier (majority of whom are not Indian and belong to the black communities), one certainly feels let down by the emerging scenario of the Indian communities embroiled in drug abuse related apathies. Since RM almost lost someone very close to him to 'Sugars', the drug problem touches him close and raw too.

Both the men expressed that they feel an overlap of history, memory and struggle as they face a newer challenge as elders and parents, - accentuated by a sense of shame. Yet again, they raise the same question, "After winning Apartheid, is this what our communities will suffer defeat from?" Hence, they remain content and supportive of the tasks performed by determined collective actors such as the ADF.

ADF provokes a communicative discursivity- of shared imaginations in Peoples' spaces: The above relayed considerations become a ground for the rising sense of crisis among the Indian origin communities in Durban and its vicinities, as

Chatsworth. Additionally this lack of social and moral well-being builds into an already prevalent sense of crisis over the non-performance of the system to control substance abuse and its related crimes. This goes a long way in provoking the collective social to keep evolving on the issue.



Figure 4.13: Preparation of the Hindu Indian festival of ' Kavadi' in a temple at Shallcross, Durban. Photo: January 2013.

I remember a day, during my first round of fieldwork in Durban, I participated in the Kavadi celebration and processions in Chatsworth in January Of 2013. During the processions, this festival may turn into a forum, where participants share and exchange news on topics that hold their concerns.

I met a local school Principal in whose school I had conducted fieldwork to know about the ADF and its work amongst children and youth. He had come there accompanied by Pillay from the ADF and there were people in the crowd who engaged in a keen inter-change with the two on use of Sugars and the sociopathy that it has given rise to. Thus, we see, how special community occasions can become an excuse and a budding space for actors to exchange inter-subjective imaginations and experiences over current challenges.



Figure 4.14: A Kavadi¹¹⁹ Procession, Chatsworth. Photo: January 2013

The ADF and its volunteers do not waste such opportunities. Rather they are willing to work spontaneously. As a newspaper cutting below shows how drug addicts may target places of worship, it is indeed a strategically discursive move on the part of ADF to spread its messages where and when communities gather.



Figure 4.15: Festivals can become a space where collective concerns are spoken about and heard when people meet in large numbers and for hours on end. Photo: Chatsworth, January 2013.

¹¹⁹ One of the most popular festivals in South Africa is the Hindu festival of Kavadi which takes place twice a year. Celebrated throughout South Africa, it holds a special significance for the Hindus of Durban. Devotees of the God Muruga perform penance and carry the kavadi (basket float decorated with flowers) to a temple in the city. The penance involves the individuals working themselves into a trance-like state and then piercing their bodies with hooks or inserting miniature spears through the tongue.



**Figure 4.16: The ADF and its volunteers remain prepared to carry on anti-drug campaigns and struggles in any public venue or space.
Photo: From ADF records, February 2014.**

3.4 How ADF borrows from as well as builds on a competitive discursiveness over protection of youth

One of the main reasons why the community responses can be steered forth collectively by the ADF has been the reach of drugs in local schools. The ADF itself has many programmes to raise awareness among pupils, including those in primary schools. Community workers say the problem is not confined to children from poor backgrounds (Govender and Mthethwa: 2007). Sugars has cut across many a previous barrier such as class can be used among multiple communities, especially amidst the changing profile of Chatsworth (as discussed earlier). Another associated trend with the drug users is that young children so involved in the consumption are often times termed as, 'sex-kids'.

K. R, a volunteer doctor at the ADF rehabilitation programme¹²⁰ (Group Discussion at the Centre: January 28, 2013), cautions that at any given time the number of participants in rehab services is just the tip of the iceberg. He adds that over and

¹²⁰ The programme includes an eight-week course of Subutex in gradually decreasing doses, weeklong "art of living" sessions incorporating yoga and meditation, and weekly counselling for affected families.

above the physical aspects, social factors need to be considered and motivation is one such aspect. Providing holistic treatment is integral to preventing relapse. He also suggests a more involved home-grown variety of parenting rather than imitating the west. Thus, ADF relies on an interchange of collective know-how from volunteers who bring in their own specialisations. Furthermore, ADF has learnt to play different kinds of voluntary roles as it evolves.

In 2006, Pillay participated in a Task Team to monitor youths' activities on, last day of School. The team checked on institutions and businesses in Chatsworth on the last day of school to ensure that they were complying with the law. Monitoring various places in Chatsworth, he was was shocked by an incident that occurred in 2000 when 13 children were killed in Throb nightclub disaster. The task team, coordinated by Community Care Centre consisted of volunteers as well as Chatsworth and Bayview SAPS (South African Police Services) members. It was allocated different hot spots in Chatsworth such as liquor stores, night clubs, action bars, pubs, shopping centres and parks.



Figure 4.17: One group of the task team with nightclub owner Duran Govender (far left). Pillay from ADF on far right. Photo: Shared by the ADF, January 2014.

Pillay, as coordinator of the Anti -Drug Forum and a volunteer of the task team made the suggestion that businesses and institutions should be monitored on a regular basis and at random as it keeps everyone on their toes.



Figure 4.18: The ADF zeroes in on schools, keen to make them 'Drug-Free. Article in, 'The Rising Sun', Chatsworth. January 2012. Photo: ADF files, January 2013.

As far as monitoring schools and the students' trajectories are concerned, the ADF and its supporters want to take no chances. Aware that even primary schools are soft targets for sugar addicts (as discussed earlier), they want to make the city social spaces as safe as possible. In this way we see how collective social action emerges, evolves and becomes viable. Once participants can prove a functional involvement in processes of social well-being, the discursive spheres around a social movement get enriched and continue to roll and fill up many a gaps and vocations.

PART IV: ADF AND ITS COLLABORATIVE DISCURSIVENESS: CONNECTING THE HARD HITTING SOCIOPATHY OF ADDICTION WITH A COLLECTIVE SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS

4.1: The Disquiet and the debates over illicit substances

It is clear from the brief example discussed in section 2.2 above, that the Indian communities of South Africa had an early exposure to self-help and self-uplifting

collective social action. Similarly, they have been contributing collectively and individually to various national and local causes right until the end of Apartheid and beyond¹²¹.

Hence, it is not surprising, that the community witnessed a collective response to the issue of substance abuse among Durban Indians. It is also clear from the purview of existing literature that the illicit drug use is a social problem to reckon with in Durban and South Africa. In this regard, a fundamental question to be asked is what evoked an issue based activism among Durban Indians or tilted the axis in favour of collective action, when the 'drugs' had been going on even before 'Sugars' ? In addition, how did the community start to desire collective action over it? Or, how do people react as they see addiction related sociopathy around them?

Besides, for those directly affected (not just families but community institutions such as schools), the scenario causes a lot of social, emotional, political stress if their premises becomes tarnished by discoveries of unwanted substance abuse or its related transactions.



Figure 4.19: A street corner in Durban where young addicts can gather from early evening onward. Apparently, 'high' as my informants pointed out, the three boys in the picture above, approached me for 'giving' them a few Rands, while I walked past.

¹²¹ For details, refer to Part II of this Chapter and also see: Ginwala: 1977; Singh: 2005; Blom Hansen: 2012; Desai: 2013.



***Figure 4.20: Under a prominent flyover in Durban, elder 'users' gather for regular consignment of food and drugs. Such spots are scene as perpetually pending social and administrative problems by residents.
Photo: February 12, 2014.***

4.2 ADF spearheads a cooperative search of solutions among Durban Indians: of Philanthropic Imaginations

It seems that the nearer one is to the situation, the deeper one feels about it. Distant organizations talk about it in more general ways and implications.

Lunga Ngqengelele, the spokesperson of the Education Department in 2008 remarked that, his Ministry had identified drugs as the key cause of school violence. He favoured the adoption of law, which would give principals, or people designated by them the power to search and conduct spot checks if there was reasonable suspicion that pupils were using drugs. This was at the height of the Sugars use (The Sunday Tribune: 2008) but also when other addictions such as that of Dagga and cigarettes were reported from school premises.

Principals from Tongaat (a Durban suburb), on the other hand worried that options aside from stringent laws should be devised for teachers who 'caught students red-handed' may become vulnerable as soft targets for 'deviant' children or drug lords.

Besides, it was not clear if students would be convicted on school-provided evidence. While drug testing in schools could be helpful, what would happen to the pupils found positive was not clear.

Principals also expressed concern that sometimes those who are on regular 'drugs' depict highly arrogant and disrespectful behaviour towards teachers. Schools in Chatsworth, which witnessed an escalating Sugars related crisis, had similar worries. The biggest challenge facing principals was that pupils guilty of substance abuse at school, under the new Education Laws Amendment Act, could not be charged for the offence.

SA Principals' Association KZN Chatsworth chairperson, Sundran Subramoney reflected that if parents were not prepared to accept the truth and blame everyone else, often the school, for their children's wrongdoing, it gave the pupil the opportunity to carry on, knowing his or her parents would defend their behaviour. "Pupils under the influence of substance abuse pose a great threat to the educators and other pupils. They exhibit arrogance and disrespect for teachers and school authorities", (The Sunday Tribune: 2008).



Figure 4.21: ADF coordinated youth awareness workshop with participants from staff of schools, members from Smart Clubs, officers from Local police and Court: A Collaborative Discursiveness: Photo. February 6. 2014.

The schools took the stand that if education was the core business of schools, parents could not be abrogated of their parallel responsibility to assist their child in value oriented living. The views of many social workers and parents/families who had observed the 'Sugars' epidemic unfolding in Durban suburbs, coincided on the importance of community vigilance and networks. The immediate home and family, the broader community spaces in which they reside and grow exert indelible influences on a student's lifestyle and choices.

Parents Association of KwaZulu-Natal stated that it was the parents' responsibility to ensure their children were not using drugs but this job would difficult to complete without active aid/inputs from schools as children spend considerable time there. Educators are like foster parents and hence, alienating or offending them could prove counter-productive in anti-drug endeavors.

As a public body, ADF rode on the wave of such self-analysis among community members. It took special care to incorporate concerns and needs of schools, pupils and parents in a balanced way. It took the view that as far as the illicit consumption of Sugars is concerned these three entities are inter- connected to one another. The Anti-Drug Forum started initially by offering rehabilitation advice on a one to one case basis. This space of rehabilitation and dialogue was welcomed as a neutral ground- where sensitivity, anonymity as well as care could be prioritized and different parties heard amicably. ADF favoured a drug testing service to be available throughout the province and not just in Durban and Chatsworth schools to offer helpful and confidential service to schools and parents.

A Comparative note: *A significant observation that would bring in a comparative insight w.r.t. to the Indian case study is the co-incidence of requiring an operational space to cater to the provision of care. Although one context is very different from another, as one pertains to poaching and the other to substance abuse, but the end result of the two problems remains the same. There is a need to handle and accommodate a welfare politics which means being able to provide for secure-rescue centres for wildlife in one case and rehabilitation spaces for addiction patients in another. Both tasks are performed not only as a fundamental organizational aim towards philanthropic community welfare but also inserted as a form of micro social politics in the public domains of the community and the state.*

The BTF (Bishnoi Tiger Force) considers that protecting the wildlife and saving

'endangered' is not only desirable as an aim in its own light but also a key to community well-being and prosperity, besides providing the semblance of an overall functional state. Hence, it not only establishes a network of functional rescue centres, it also builds a strategic discursivity over the issue. Similarly the ADF (Anti-Drug Forum) opines that owing to the peculiarity of tasks at hand, i.e. catering to needs of families and schools who bring in drug users or of other, 'walk-ins', it requires an official space to deal with the issue sensitively, and confidentially. This does not mean that it is reduced to an 'office' space. It extends much beyond desk based functions and creates organise link-ups and dialogues between one part of the society/state and the other.

Since the ADF maintains links with the patients themselves and their families as much as schools and their staff, it not only responds to processes of self-gaze individually, it strives to connect one side of the issue discursively to the other. Through its connective and communicative gestures preserving diversity and dignity of individuals, families and neighborhood institutions (such as schools or community based groups), ADF is able to expand its role and influence.

Anti-Drug Forum chairman Pillay believes that It is important to rehabilitate pupils found guilty of using drugs rather than kick them out of school. Drug testing at schools will work if done by people who know what they are doing. Pupils abusing drugs will try every trick in the book to avoid getting caught. They will manipulate the results if not watched carefully. In some instances, boys have hidden popsicles or water containers in their pants to dilute their urine," (The Sunday Tribune, 2008).

As the issue of illicit drugs acquired discursivity, we see how the coming of anti-substance abuse politics spearheaded by the ADF became symbolic of a context-embedded response. ADF did not stop at playing the role of a non-formal rehabilitation institution. It branched out as people's voice on the issue. Moreover, it knew how to dialogue the system by roping in the strength and spaces of everyday institutions as schools. As schools and students are susceptible targets (discussed in details in the preceding sections) of runners and drug lords, such moves by the ADF were a timely intervention.

While the Education and Social welfare departments had their individual views on substance abuse management as did the schools and Parents, ADF was able to bridge the gap between institutions on the ground, break the ice and network with

them. It converted the issue of drugs into a collective, inter-connected challenge to raise it 'up' for action at the basic community level.

For instance, Steve Pillay, the Principal from the Meadowlands Secondary School (Chatsworth) helps in ensuring a closer cooperation between parents, teachers, social workers and student leaders. In his quest to remain vigilant over the situation as the head of an educational institution, Steve provides vital information to the ADF core regarding cases of drug use. He is actively involved in the ADF and spearheads the Forum's programmes with neighborhood schools.

Steve Pillay opines (Interview: February 10, 2013) that substance abuse cycles perpetuate a certain sociopathy by the way they are socio-politically tackled, aside from the direct role played by an 'addict'. He analyses that right at the beginning, when students are caught with drugs on person, there are two ways of looking at the problem: One approach is strictly juridical-legal whereby the peoples' attitudes are indifferent or distanced i.e., "Let the law take its course" approach. The second way is to look at it much beyond its legal ramifications, for in real life it is not just about an activity that is legal or illegal, licit or illicit, rather it is about performing work that is social in nature.

4.3 Drugs and their hard- hitting sociopathy

Another relevant observation here pertains to the terminology employed to describe the situation. In my interviews, there is a clear distinction between those who use the term 'addiction' and substance abuse in contrast to those who refer to affected actors as, 'users'. 'Users' is the more favoured term among academics and specialists. Yet for the common actor on ground, the malady still remains an, 'addiction'. The later term has a hard-hitting feel to it. This, in turn matches with the state of mind of those who are directly involved in either solving the problem or living through its sociopathy. Parents, relatives, neighbors, elders, lead persons and social workers involved in catering to the situation directly speak and hear of 'addiction', when they approach organizations as ADF for a collective search of solutions. Their quotidian vocabularies on the situation reflect their own, shared systems of meanings on the ground.

A comparative note: *Owing to the above stated changing perceptions on the issue of addiction, a problem, which was very much seen and present before, progressed*

into an issue with the power to promote a collective vision and work on it. A similar process became visible in the collectivisation of intent and practices attributed to the Bishnoi MSMs, as the reader would recall here. This similarity, in turn, is reminiscent of how social movement studies based upon identity-oriented paradigms stress the importance of social relationships for any understanding of movement activity; they therefore bring cultural frames including shared meanings, symbols and discourses into the analysis (Lichbach 1998: 407).

Framing processes approaches, which essentially account for collective action, argue that 'at a minimum people need to feel both aggrieved about some aspect of their lives and optimistic that, acting collectively, they can redress the problem' (McAdam et al, 1996: 5). Analysts of new social movements such as Touraine (1981) and Melucci (1989) have underlined the importance of framing, by focusing on agency of subjective elements connected to identity, status and values. Melucci reminds us that the same experiences and behaviour can be viewed in different ways; meanings depend upon systems of reference (1985: 794). These shared meanings, defined as framing processes by Snow and others (Snow et al 1986), are central to developing a qualitative understanding of social movement activity. Usually, social movement theory debate differentiates between agency and structure based accounts, still there are notions where the two extremes may merge. Even structuralist account of Piven and Cloward (1979) and the relative deprivation theory expounded by Gurr (1970), point to the central importance of a shared feeling of grievance in order for mobilisation to occur. The oversight in these theories has been to assume that such collective framings simply appear without investigating their very construction.

As a way forward, McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly argue: "For a growing school of 'constructionists', social movements were both carriers of meanings and makers of meaning, that, by naming grievances and expressing new identities, constructed new realities and made these identities collective" (1997:149). Insights from the study of "identity-based" movements such as those focusing on women's and gay rights were incorporated into the study of social movements more generally to address questions of collective identity, consciousness and solidarity that earlier models had difficulty solving. The inclusion of these approaches underlines the importance of definitions of community, shared meanings and transcripts (Scott 1985) for any account of

collective action. Frames therefore include both structural injustice and political agency. The case of both the MSMs I observe is reminiscent of such a context of meanings where structure and agency do not separate themselves. Rather their boundaries remain dialectically grey wherein the construction of alternative spaces becomes possible. The BTF in Rajasthan is an artful negotiator of evolving community based, collective as well as a local public discursiveness on poaching. Similarly, the ADF in Durban represents an organic micro social movement as it creates viable politics over a Peoples' issue. While tapping into the emerging body of shared meanings and discursivity over substance abuse, it intervenes to convert it into an arena of collective thinking.

PART V: MOVEMENT ACTORS AND SUPPORTERS AS ALTERNATIVE PUBLICS: THE INTERSECTION OF A PHILANTHROPIC AND A COMPETITIVE IMAGINATION

ADF caters to the social needs of not only those who prefer to pick up the cudgels openly against the drug politics, but also those members of the community (such as the users themselves or those related to them as family and friends) who prefer to interact with the ADF in discreet/anonymous ways. In this way, the anti-drug movement of Durban conjures up a collective strength that provides it with an open support system as well as a tacit resource base, both of which help the movement to expand its appeal. At both quarters the approach to struggle may differ, yet the motives remain similar

5.1 Confidentiality and a one to one approach

One needs to understand the issue from within an affected actor's perspective to gauge why discretion and confidentiality matters. Besides, how does this contribute to the strength of social efforts such as the ADF and its mission to 'root out drugs'. A relevant fact here pertains to the findings of SACENDU Research Brief of 2011. The brief includes a table on the percentage wise proportion of source of referrals. In other words it gives quantitative data on who refers substance users to treatment centres, hospitals, social forums and so on. In the study, it emerges that KZN tops the list of referrals (among various other sources) as emanating from self, family and friends that contribute upto a 64% of the total referrals in the province. Additionally,

KZN leads the country as far as this base/ source in concerned as statistics from the whole of South Africa show (Refer to Table1, page 2, SACENDU: 2011). Besides that, employers and schools come a close second and third source of referrals, respectively in KZN, (see diagram below).

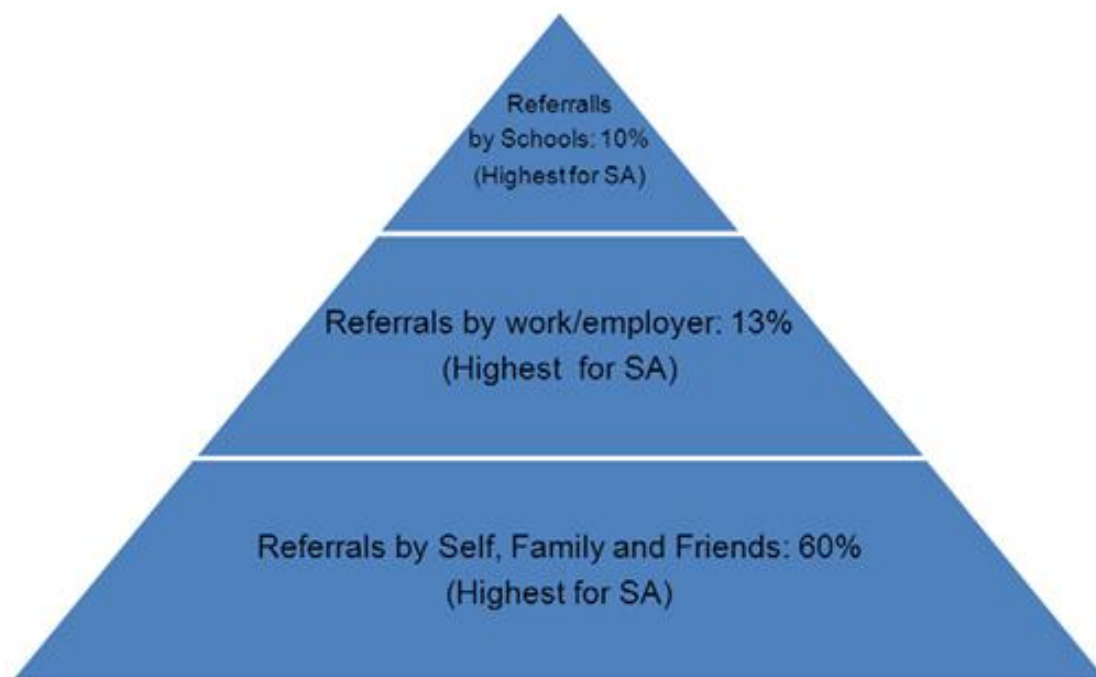


Figure 4.22 : Diagram based on data adapted by author from Table 1, page 2: SACENDU Brief of 2011.¹²²

Once again, for school and place of work referral- percentages, KZN tops the whole of South Africa. Reflecting on the data above, it does seem that the Durban- KZN based ADF has managed to tap into a significant area of social concern for its walk-ins do include referrals by self, families and friends as much as schools as regular sources. This shows how alternative publics may feel pulled in towards a reliable institution and contribute further collective strengths to its micro social actions.

Singh's article (2013) is another significant pointer to this relation between substance users, families and friends in Durban, especially among the Indian communities. He writes on how the interest in the issue of substance abuse began consolidating within the researcher as reference in casual conversations to young Indian youth taking to

¹²² There are other sources too, such as, - Social services and welfare: 3%; Health Professional: 3%; Hospital/clinics: 2% church/ religion: less than 1%; Court/Correctional services: 1 %; Others, such as Radio: 7%. Note: Percentages included here are valid for KZN only.

drugs became too frequent to ignore. Reference was often made to individuals passing by in the course of conversations as either being under the influence of drugs or who are regular consumers of it.

After several conversations with such consumers, all of who were known to the researcher, it became apparent that their families and that knew their habits there were regular attempts by them to wean these victims off the practice. Well-meaning friends and extended family members, to add to the pressure of trying to change the affected user's inclinations towards substance abuse, often complimented such attempts, in ad hoc ways.

5.2 ADF practices 'strategic' discursivity with the state

"I'm tired of being told that drug addicts have a disease, and I must help support and treat them, and pay for the damage they do. Did a giant germ rush out of a dark alley, grab them, and stuff white powder up their noses or stick a needle in their arm while they tried to fight it off?"

Bill Cosby at a Church Meeting, USA 2010

Above lines, though spoken in a very different context, serve one purpose, for this case study. They crystalize a general attitude, a distanced gaze that is cast on the, 'addicts'. I was reminded of these lines when one of my key contacts, an official in the local bureaucracy, took a similar stand. In fact, there were other such respondents in Durban, who were onlookers to the 'Sugars' endemic as well as the ADF activism. As they have no 'personal' stakes in the issue as such, they think along similar lines. Pointing to collective efforts and community concerns such as that of the ADF, these onlookers opine that they do not understand what all the 'fuss' is about. Addiction, some of them would say, is a luxury related problem.

Such detractors have no qualms to treat social efforts to 'salvage' victims or other suffers as in prejudiced ways or negate any support to them. Hence we see how movements emanating from criminalized contexts may be rewarded equally by brickbats just as it is by bouquets from the public.

My interactions with governmental institutions and state bureaucracy point to this take on addiction as 'luxury-affliction'. This is a surprising positioning, considering that the officers I spoke with, belong to the Durban Indian community. In the case of

the rising Sugars scourge among the Durban Indians, usually the existing data points that its cheap pricing is the reason behind its rising demand and use. I have shown in earlier sections, how information from local newspapers, schools and action bodies proves that the Sugars registers an escalating abuse among the poorer sections of society.

Besides, Sugars is not a typical party drug, as such. Though its addicts range from poor to affluent, it is used in everyday spaces as schools and street corners. As far as drugs,(here, specifically Sugars) goes, there is a possibilities galore. One needs to see, therefore, outside the one-sided lens of luxury.

The ADF performs precisely that function. It does not value judge the problem or generalize upon it. It remains industrious and cautious as it works with the rehab walk-ins, their friends and families repeatedly and tirelessly (see, David's testimony in Part VII).At the same time, it strives to raise awareness among the state representatives by giving them experience based feedback from the ground so that misconceptions and negativity in handling the issue can be reduced.

A Comparative note: Here it may do well to recall the similar views coming from 'distant' gazers of the Bishnoi Social Movements in Rajasthan, though in a different way. The onlooker actors opine the same about 'anti-poaching' efforts of this MSM and the 'fuss on endangered species that the BTF actors make', (refer to chapter III for further detail). This is an interesting reminder of the fact that a successful social movement does not meant that it in all convincing or has no detractors. In fact there is a dialectical presence of a discourse and an anti-discourse which may holds a discursive formation together. In other words, both entities, i.e. a set of collective actors on the issues as much as a body of opposing voices against the issue sustain vested interest in its progress and downfall. Thus making the issue an attractive arena for further social discourse (on it) to emerge and continue. Besides of course, it signifies how MSMs are willing to perform a 24/7 drudgery around issues that they want to counter.



Figure 4.23: Sam Pillay participating in an anti-drug protest march organized for the state of KZN. Here we see him standing (extreme left) with the Municipal officials in Durban. Photo: January 2013.

5.3 ADF renders known structures and institutions a movement identity:

A: Schools and ADF supported Smart Clubs-as sites of social movement narratives ADF, during the course of time started working extensively with schools and proposed the establishment of, 'Smart Clubs'. These were suppose to be institution composed of student representatives from willing schools. These students were to be approached regularly by ADF staff and volunteers to train them towards spreading an anti-drug awareness among their peers. The idea has gained considerable success and become a viable practice over the years.

In January 2014, I saw the preparation of a Smart Club meet in full swing at the ADF. Eventually on February 6, 2014, I was able to participate in the meeting held at the CYC. It became clear how the tree of awareness against drugs received nutrition at such programmes with full support from motivated schools, teachers, students and local social workers as well as members of the courts, police and social welfare bodies. Below I include text-sample from an application (this particular one pertains to its campaigns of 2014) that goes to Schools on behalf of the ADF, at regular intervals:

For Attention: The Principal/Chairperson of the Governing Body¹²³ Dear Sir/Madam,

INVITATION TO YOUTH DIALOGUE/SMART CLUB WORKSHOP

The Anti – Drug forum would like to invite an educator from your school and five representative learners to attend an informative workshop which will motivate learners to form the SMART club (if none existent) and take more responsibility towards positive change in the school environment and encourage other learners to do the same by taking the message back to schools and taking action via the SMART clubs. The objective of the workshop is to empower learners to become aware and make informed choices when faced with issues like drug, sex, violence and other related youth issues, (Please refer to Newsletter Attached).

Venue: Chatsworth Youth Centre

Dates: Thursday 6th February 2014 for Primary Schools Friday 7th February 2014 for Secondary Schools

Times: 8: 30 to 12:30

Please RSVP: 031 4031150/031 4011429

Please fill out your schools details below and bring this to the workshop on the relevant day.

Name of School: _____ Principal : ____ Contact Details: _____

Name of Educator: ____ Responsible & Details: _____

<u>No</u>	<u>Name of Learner</u>	<u>Age/Gr</u>	<u>Contact Details</u>
1.	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____

¹²³ Sourced from the ADF files: February 2014.



Figure 4.24: Schools acquire an anti-drug discursiveness: Willow Park Primary School. ADF's, "Say No to Drugs" drive. Photo: from ADF's files. February 2014.

The last I heard of the ADF, at the close of this research was on April 4, 2015, when the forum informed me (via an email campaign) that they were celebrating a decade of their existence. Recalling how a group of eight people including two social workers and three facilitators first established the ADF, members looked back with satisfaction at their role over the years. The activists were particularly proud of having developed ground breaking educational drives and awareness amongst school, besides their rehabilitation programmes and reached out to thousands of people in the past ten years. The ADF's current focus is on, as they put it, "Save our children". For this they rely on their Smart Club¹²⁴ concept. The forum gave a call for 'an 'Anniversary Race Day Banquet to be organised by it on April 19, 2015 at Greyville Racecourse, Durban, with active participation of its Smart Clubs. The proceeds from the events such as these, says the chief articulator, Pillay, assist the ADF in sustaining its organisation as well as investing back in society, in favour of the anti-drug causes in various ways.

¹²⁴ The ADF also has a Smart Club FB page: <https://www.facebook.com/ADF-SMART-Club-253329634855173/>. Retrieved March 18, 2016. There are regular Feedback sessions organized among school students who opt to be Smart Club members.

B: ADF posturing converts Courts into discursive domains of protest

ADF supporters and participant actors are aware of the comprehensive aspects of the drug problem in the Chatsworth area. For them just as it is about individuals, families and criminals, the drug problem is a mirror of the administrative system. These actors admit that it is commendable that the arrest of dealers are emphasized upon as a priority in the line of safety and security of the society. However, they remark that without specialized units and courts handling cases, the conviction rate is still low (refer to Annexure II for more information).

For instance on January 10, 2013, the ADF drafted a letter for the local courts forwarding a thick analysis and suggestions in solution to the problem. The ADF volunteers and Pillay showed me the letter, which indicated the strategic discursiveness that has come into existence between the court and the social movement.

In its communication, the ADF pointed out that specialized drug courts with seasonal magistrate teams had not been effective because, as experience showed, there is inconsistency in sentencing the dealers from the courts. Besides log documents are reportedly known to go, 'missing'. ADF believes that specialized courts will help obliterate such problems that the Anti-Drug movement currently faces in its dialogue with the system and help increasing the conviction rate.

Only handpicked staff should be allowed to deal with these cases until the specialized courts are instituted. The results of the cases must also be mentioned. The scenario where the dealer has been arrested but his business remains in operation should be pro-actively tackled. This, suggests the ADF with its experience in handling the drug related problems at the grassroots level, can only be achieved with experienced magistrates and prosecution teams.

ADF rallies to rectify vital legal loopholes. Usually dealers 'make sure' that they do not have drugs in their possession, SAPS (South African Police) cannot therefore convict them. The ADF suggested that assets Forfeiture also has a role to play in tackling the dealers by scrutinizing their income to afford the usual luxuries like the houses and the cars. This can make it difficult for the dealers to hide their transactions. Moreover, the rules for bail application should be revisited. Previous arrests and continuously pending matters should be taken into account when

considering granting bails. ADF campaigns for the reconsideration of bail application process for it reasons that the under existing legislation dealers can get out on bail for a pittance and continue their operations.

***A comparative note:** Insertion in the legal arena such as openly assessing the drawbacks in penal procedures and dialoguing with the courts emerged as an important protest repertoire of the ADF in South Africa, just as it has, in the case of the BTF in India.*

PART VI: EVOLVING TRENDS AND VALUE SYSTEMS UNDER THE NEW ADF ACTIVISM

As the ADF activism evolves and progresses various new insights are discovered in the limits that the grey areas between state and social movements define, and values they bring into context. These may vary from values of cooperation and consent as much as opposition and dissent. Even as early as 2006, the forum had already had a high success rate with more than 3 400 drug users (Gounden, 2006) coming to them for help from Chatsworth and surrounding areas. Aside from all other conclusions that one can draw from this number, it also becomes clear the ADF gains situational authority and experience with over time. .

6.1 Changes in the External Discursive Sphere (EDS): of competitive relations and strategic collaborations

Initially, the anti-drug movement did enjoy a close interaction with the courts. Gradually the courts stopped sending people to ADF because they realized that the social movement was not following any set of “written rules or programme” that were endorsed officially and procedurally. Therefore, initial cooperation between the social movement causes and administrative bodies turned sour.

The point worthy of consideration here is that the emerging relation between the social movement and the courts fell out, not because the model was unsuccessful or unviable. The main reason for the judicial reconsideration of support to the movement was that state formalities remain rigid and/or tied to their own compulsions. Hence, a competitive external discursiveness is put into motion by the MSM via responses to it or vice-versa.

On the other hand, with medical and professional practitioners as well as welfare

bureaucracies, the ADF inadvertently enjoys a collaborative relation over certain matters. Both kinds of actors know where each falters. I elucidate this in the next paragraph with an example of a pattern, which many substance abuse cases in Chatsworth undergo.

Pillay and his volunteers continue to receive walk-ins and their demands for an extra space in the shape of a Day Care Centre (DCC). As the ADF has no provision for such care, it reverts these ‘users’ to legal spaces. Following the legal sequences and once the process is over, the addicts are still not fully recovered, prepared or confident. They come back to the ADF by their own accord, are bought in by concerned near and dear ones or even, by recommendations of the professionals in Government run centres or hospitals. This is how the cycle goes when the ADF receives walk-ins:

The ironic itinerary of a drug user or ‘a- walk’ in at the ADF (see figure below):

Stage 1: The ADF receives people with drug problems; Stage 2: ADF refers the cases after basic advices to the Department of Social Development (DSD) which is the official body to look after welfare in such cases; Stage 3: The DSD then refers them to the Department of Health; Stage 4: After basic scrutiny and case history is accomplished, these patients are referred to the FORKK Hospital; Stage 5: After three days of detox, followed by two days of counselling, it has no more to offer and refers them back to the ADF for further follow ups.

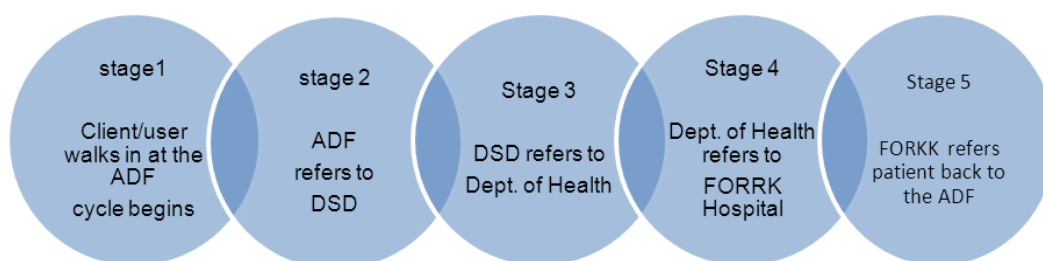


Figure 4.25: The circular process of social action- A space where cooperation and conflict get simultaneously enacted between the State, the Society and the MSM. Figure Source: Author.

In words of a social worker, (who wishes to remain anonymous: Interview February 13, 2014) at the R. K. Khan Hospital or FORKK,

“This is where the written rules and procedures come to an end. They last five days. We have no more to offer. Yet we see that the ADF can and does offer much more from that stage onwards. So we refer these youngsters there, rather than encourage them to be on their own at that vulnerable stage of treatment”.

Here we see how the absence of written rules and procedures in a voluntary community movement, on the one hand gives rise to a conflict with the ‘written rule’ bound authorities. On the other hand, it also provides the MSM with an adequate amount of fuel to sustain its momentum. Additionally, it acquires the capacities to prove its merit when its work begins to receive an organic recognition.

Where the written rules end, the larger social problem does not necessarily end, or more, may have just begun. Hence, many empathetic professional in formal state departments may refer patients back to the ADF. This brings in a sphere of tacit approvals and partnerships whereby both the MSM and the state perform their roles but do end up giving due recognition to one another. Even when due procedures have been followed and the process of the rule of law has ended, the need for further sensitive and humane intervention may have just begun.

6.2 ADF bonds over its successes and failures with the local community, thus strengthening its IDS

Until the close of my fieldwork in February 2014, the ADF had no DCC. No governmental department would want to endorsed the ADF’s voluntary model of de-addiction, because it had not yet been “written about”. According to the written model, the state catches the offenders or the users. Some are send the further administrative agencies for scrutiny, others jailed. After the necessary formalities and procedures/ terms of punishment are over, it releases them. However, ADF proposes a DCC to cater to a holistic approach to handle the patients/ users. It envisages work to re-start where formal procedures imagine it to end.

Since the ADF’s attempts for a DCC seemed to be moving around in a circle and without a definitive remedy or solution in sight, Pillay shut down his provisional services¹²⁵ for a while to prove his point. However, during that time, while the government did not move much, the community suffered. So the ADF re opened

¹²⁵ ADF used to run a provisional day care service which was insufficient owing to lack of space.

their makeshift DCC again. Since the demand (for a DCC) kept on increasing, the ADF team, headed by Sam, tried to convince the Chatsworth (CYC) youth centre to have a DCC, but it didn't work. The CYC is usually busy with a host of other community activities.

How does ADF solve such deadlocks? Its volunteers and staff promptly went back to the initial ADF premises of in 2012. To fit in the increasing clientele, the ADF identified another building pertaining to the municipality, which agreed to let the ADF use the said premises as a DCC. In a massive community endeavor, Pillay was able to connect donors and sponsors (all from the local Indian community) who contributed a hundred thousand South African Rands' worth of renovation free.

This included renovation of the ceiling, plumbing, electrical fittings and painting the walls worth with a small contribution of a thousand South African Rands from Pillay himself. The municipal cooperation and its hindering red-tapeism, unfortunately resulted in the building remaining vacant and within a week got ripped apart by the sugar addicts in Chatsworth and its vicinity. All the goods worth stealing were stolen during that seven-day period.

These experiences act as ADF's mutual feedback mechanism with the local community. Enriching the ADF's internal discursive sphere, these forms of open dialogues create a two-way communicative relationship in which both parties rest their mutual stakes. Besides, onlooker actors in this way also come to terms with the fact that changes are difficult to come about. Both successes and failures remain a part of the game and ADF updates the community of its victories as well as defeats. It feels answerable and connected.

PART VII: ADF ENLIVENS AN ALTERNATIVE PUBLIC SPHERE

Three principal reasons for building up of a dynamic social discourse around the issue of drugs, in accordance to the context of my study can therefore be summarised as follows:

7.1 ADF interventions in Durban put a discursive anti-drug politics in motion

- Sociopathy around drug abuse is a trigger for the MSM. Lack of state rehabilitation centres which also result in mounting business appeal to the fast mushrooming private detox centres. This leads to a dispersed yet

diverse and multi-pronged approach towards substance abuse (see Annexure II). It gives space and voice to newer ways to deal with the scourge (see the section on 'Alternative World Views'), the ADF approach being one such example.

- A growing social vigilance over the issue, (see newspaper cutting below) among the Durban Indians



Figure 4.26: An article published in, The Post: January 16-20, 2013. In the pictures are seen many stake holders in the community including political leaders as MEC Ravi Pillay (Durban); social worker and CEO of the ABH (Chatsworth) Rajish Lutchman.



Figure 4.27: A placard demonstration outside a Municipal office in Durban: ADF participates in occasions of collective protest actions by sending in its volunteers to show solidarity with other actors in the region. Photo: January, 2012.

- However, increasing vigilance does not always mean that crime rates on trafficking would go down or more locally, a shared sense of crisis over the issue would not escalate.
- Therein rests the significance of collective micro social efforts as the ADF. By intervening through its social movement imaginations, anti-substance abuse endeavours in Durban serve to enliven the budding alternative public sphere around the issue, promisingly.

Comparative Statement III: *Successful MSMs such as the ones spearheaded by the BTF in Jodhpur and ADF in Durban have the ability to cater to alternative publics using competitive and philanthropic social movement imaginations. In the process, they have the potential to construct alternative public spheres around alternative issues. A key to understanding such transformative social action rests in messages held in two kinds of inter-connected and layered practice spheres associated with these movements. In this work, these twin spheres have been called as the 'Internal Discursive Sphere' and the 'External Discursive Sphere'.*

There are alternative publics who seek the help and endorse the approaches of ADF, especially once they may have tried other quarters dissatisfactorily. Others chose ADF's personalized, concerned, anonymous yet involved methods of care as their first priority. This is especially so, as for the past ten years or so (2004-2014), the ADF stayed active in connecting publics spaces with its social movement discursivity.

I bring into context the following two points below, as an aid to elaborate the ADF caters to alternative publics and build on alternative public spheres around issues relevant to it. Here the reader will also recall, how the BTF in Rajasthan, undertakes an analogous pathway.



**Figure 4.28: ADF enliven public spaces with an anti-drug politics. Seen here is Pillay (second from right, wearing a white T-shirt) with Smart Club volunteers, outside a popular fast- food joint in Chatsworth.
Photo: ADF files, January 2014.**

7.2 ADF practices Competitive Discursivity and occupies a comparative edge

Doctors who got associated with ADF in the early years of its inception researched and found out that a medicine called Subutex was being used in many parts of the world to cure heroin addiction. In Durban, as a chunk of the Indian community had picked up the use of 'Sugars' (which, as explained above, is a byproduct of cheap heroin mixed with various kinds of household chemicals such as vim and rat poison

to bulk it up), the discovery of Subutex signified hope.

When the volunteer doctors at the ADF started recommending Subutex, it was soon realised that although it took the withdrawal symptoms away, mentally, the users still wanted the drug. Hence, a double challenge arose for the ADF. First, it was necessary to train/ work with the parents/ caregivers to adhere to the Subutex prescription advice of the ADF doctors. Even if the recovery rate seemed / was, slow. ADF volunteers would encourage the caregivers not to give up on while administering the Subutex doses to the affected youth and children. Second, though at this point everyone was relieved that community help had come forward to handle the problem, the greatest challenge arose around mental addiction and self-doubts of those affected by illicit drugs¹²⁶.

ADF needs to keep abreast with medical knowledge and practices in the field of de-addiction and rehabilitation on the one hand. It also has to cope with the competitive task of staking a claim, based on the social value and relevance of its actions that it can cater to various social, medical challenges for the sake of its alternative publics.

Those who lay faith in ADF programmes and methodologies are the eventually the alternative publics who not only see the ADF in the capacity of a risk taker but also are willing to take the, 'risk' themselves. While some remain vary of the role of social movements as the ADF, others understand that peoples' choices are fundamental in treatment options. Particularly if patients and community members face dissatisfaction at state-run rehabilitation centres or are greeted with administrative apathy and 'routine' attitudes of medical practitioners. They may also feel the need to get, 'more'. In other words, medical practitioners and state official may be unable to supply peoples' expectation of sharing distress over common sufferings, just talking about addiction scourge and discussing or participating in innovatively involved strategies.

At times families, patients, may just feel the need to express solidarity with ongoing, dependable social action on the cause. ADF thus becomes such a community space where varied peoples' expectations can be fulfilled and get a workable aperture. In

¹²⁶ Information in this section is based on conversations and group discussions with AD volunteers and Director, Sam Pillay in January 2013 and January 2014. More details on Subutex and other medications that the ADF learnt about and has used can be acquired at its offices.

fact after patients and families have had a tryst with state structures (as I have explained above), the question at the end of detox in local hospitals and clinics, is “now what?”. Many do not have the confidence to carry on alone in their struggles for being ‘drug-free’, after a few days of detox. ADF, at that juncture begins to provide a comparative edge.



Figure 4.29: The ADF relies upon various kinds of support from its beneficiaries empathizers. Pillay is seen here holding a donation pot, for ADF’s ‘Coin-A-Thon’ campaign. Photo: ADF files, February 2014.

7.3 The Anathema and MSMs as philanthropic risk bearers of social action:

“Will I die of my Sugars addiction? Will I ever come out?”

David, an ADF success story and volunteer

As David confided in me, how often he had put that recurrent question to himself as a former ‘Sugars addict’, one aspect of the ADF’s anti-substance abuse became clear. Some of the social paces it dares to touch, ‘voluntarily’ are full of complexities. If these can bring on praises for the MSM, they might also become ananathema to it.

A comparative Note: *This finding points out to yet another similarity between the two MSMs that my study elaborates. Both arise and tackle contexts of crime philanthropically and competitively: Yet they also touch areas that are very well the*

'remainders' of state and society for not many would want to get involved with 'touchy' public good. Some stay away from such tasks thinking/ believing they are 'personal' or border on the grey areas between the 'licit and the illicit' (as, for instance, from the point of view of drug user's or their caretakers).

Similarly, in quite another context, such as that of the anti-poaching movement in Rajasthan (refer to examples in Chapter III), not many come forward to work with families of those who have lost their loved in protection of endangered species. But that is precisely one role that micro social movements undertake: Recognizing some spaces of social and political life as matters of public concern, these MSMs fighting against criminal contexts become collective risk bearers of actions which can be formidable and nerve-racking.

Below, I elaborate upon the previously mentioned comparative interpretation, vis-à-vis the ADF in South Africa, by returning to David's testimony (conversations: January 20-February 10, 2014, Chatsworth and Durban).

Desperate to believe in their relentless rehab work with him 8 years ago (i.e. around 2006), David brought himself back, again and again to the then newly formed ADF. Now (at the time of my interviews) a youth in his late twenties, David is full of gratitude the towards the ADF for working on him when he himself had lost hope.

He remembers succinctly, how at the pinnacle of his bout with 'Sugars', his mind would strenuously toggle between two options: 'to quit or not to quit?'. Added to this was the reality that at times even the ADF prescribed Subutex did not suffice in cases as him. David recalls that once he took three 8mg tablets, in three-minute gaps of each other, and still the withdrawal pangs continued.

At that point, David, who could neither benefit from Subutex nor convince himself to stop taking the drug, just assumed that he would die of his 'Sugars' addiction. He continued to smoke the 'Sugars'. Once again, the ADF with his parents' consent, stepped in and put him on a prescription of two months of Subutex, which he duly completed. However, at that juncture David fell prey to smoking it once again. It was at then, as he says, that he simply, 'quit trying to quit'.

Landmark: July 20th, 2006 and his twentieth Birthday

David confides that the ADF never value judged him or put him down for his repeated misgivings and self-doubts. Every week, David would turn up at the ADF for help. Though, as he says he felt that, ‘ they knew that he had gone too far and was just wasting their time’, still the volunteers would come forward and welcome him. This positive attitude of the, ‘ADF guys’ encouraged David. It took several rounds of encouragement from the ADF that made him resolve to become better. But,- not before he had put his own mind to quit, and had a firm dialogue with himself, did he get the strength to go back to the ADF and confess, “I am really serious this time, I really want your help”. This was on July 20th, 2006, just a day after his twentieth birthday.



Figure 4.30: Pensive and willing to give back: David now volunteers with the ADF as a motivational speaker by sharing his life history at various awareness campaigns organized by the ADF. Photo: February 2, 2014.

Recalling how he benefited from ‘The Art of Living’ course which Pillay had discovered and started using on the patients to work on their minds, David shares his memories on its utility. The first day of the course was called “My Mental Addiction”. This day coincided with the first day of restarting Subutex, in his case. It was a five-

day course, at the end of which David felt better and more confident to work on his de-addiction battle.

A week after David quit, ADF started a successful 'Sugars' awareness programme for local schools. It had been going on during the two and a half years in which David was associated with the ADF and was weaned out of his drug addiction. One of the schools, which was the main focus of Pillay's Sugars awareness drive was the school from which David had passed out. Sam invited David to speak to his alma-matter. When David addressed the students and shared his story, the school felt proud of him.

David opines that there are a number of factors which pull people towards the ADF's, empathetic work-style. Patient work with affected youth, training and counselling provided to families to overcome the situation, keeping abreast of the research linked to de-addiction are a case in point. Use of innovative and inspirational techniques such as 'The Art Of Living' and its reasonable success rate with repeat offenders and users who come out clean once they came in touch the ADF, adds to its appeal.

For David, Sam Pillay's approach of leaving religion out of the de-addiction programme and still handling the struggle by catering to the needs of emotional spirituality of people trying to quit their habit is instrumental to building confidence in the community. This is one reason why David volunteers at the ADF. What is the overall significance and implication of this, 'Art of Living' in the ADF repertoire?

7.4 Art of living and the Internal Discursive sphere of the ADF: Articulating a strategic discursivity through its repertoires

David's analysis helps in comparing the ADF's anti-drug movement to that of other self-help and community based organizations in the fray. In a related example, I narrate below, the difference between community work performed by religion based Organisations and bodies.

As a researcher in Durban, I got the opportunity to attend an anti-substance abuse meeting organised by the Church Youth Center in Durban in the last week of January, 2014. The organizers at the Church Youth Center conducted stage programme, equated the drugs to an 'evil' and referred to addiction as a 'disease' which is 'self-inflicted'. However, David, who had accompanied me as an ADF

volunteer and as someone who has been there and seen it all, calls addiction a physical and mental ailment.

He argues that addiction provokes certain bodily and behavioural changes that one is not in control of and one is caught up in as the ailment progresses. This view is reflective of the ADF's approach, which looks at the problem from multiple perspectives- from its sociopathy, suffering and de-addiction challenges to the lack of a social, political will to confront the problematic of this scourge in totality. Spirituality and religion may form one of the ways to help in healing, but ADF prefers to remain neutral about it and gives equal space for all kinds of efforts towards the issue.

ADF focusses on entering the fray of drug abuse by looking at de-addiction, rehabilitation and cure, from the vantage point of the, 'social' in its macro as well as micro connotations. In its social movement imaginations, the ADF stays away from religious terminologies but is willing to dialogue with others working for a drug free society. Nonetheless, if the euphoric crowd gathered at the Church Youth Centre is any indication, just as there are publics who feel pulled towards the ADF's strategic social discursiveness on drugs, undeniably there are also those who chose to be guided by religious organisations and their particular definitions of the issue.

ADF's outlook on the other hand is that the issue demands multiple solutions. Initially a rehabilitation attempt, back in 2005, it arose in response to the abuse of Sugars and perceived apathy by the government health and social welfare departments. ADF chairperson Sam Pillay confirmed that even during the course of its initial social actions, six-hundred people joined the programme voluntarily, (see, Tolsi: 2006). At that primary response phase itself the ADF included an eight-week course of Subutex in gradually decreasing doses, complemented by an innovative package directed at a more complete 'recovery'.

Voluntary Art of Living support group sessions at ADF's free wellness centre:

Specifically, the activists bought in a newer technique of healing in the shape of a week- long "Art of Living" sessions incorporating yoga and meditation, and weekly counselling for affected families. It entailed healing of families and individuals together. These courses are inspired from the success of Art of Living Foundation in many parts of the world. The foundation however does not cater to social uplift in ways as the ADF does. Rather, the Art of Living Foundation imparts and promotes the art of correct breathing, relaxation, meditation and healing originating from India (

Luthra Sinha: 2016 d).

The ADF (Interviews with the ADF and the Art of Living volunteers at a workshop in Chatsworth: February 1-February 7, 2014), however, experiments and applies these core principles to aid healing among youth and families dealing with addiction, de-addiction cycles. In this endeavour, the volunteers help the ADF volunteers from the Art of Living Foundation. The Art of Living course was envisaged as unique feature of the ADF's multi-pronged approach to social upliftment. In its initial visions to tackle the scourge in various ways rehabilitation for patients, families, caregivers seemed an urgent necessity.

Hence, the ADF started providing the Art of Living course as an experimental way out, back in 2005 and 2006. Its visions proved successful with the voluntary collaboration of many local actors. The course is offered at the forum with the help of volunteers from the Art of Living Foundation, South Africa. Other local supportive bodies as the CYC collaborate by providing space for the course.

The benefits of the programme are two pronged, narrates Pillay from the ADF. It shares awareness on precautionary measures against substance abuse as well as offers support for attaining personal, familial well-being. Attendance to the course can amount to around four thousand per year.

Patients suggest that the fact that this course can be repeated, as many times is a comparative edge over other places who can leave you on your own after a quick medical detox. Zubair, a previous user, explains that his family was undergoing high stress because of his habit and all of them together undertook the Art of Living course four times. It helped them to cope up spiritually and be strong¹²⁷.

Moreover, newer trends and malpractices may inadvertently fit the agenda of Art of Living course and fall in place with its proposed benefits. For instance, recently it is of great concern how hundreds of people addicted to substances are resorting to medication, which is also addictive. This is another reason, why the ADF (in March 2015), took the view that while on medication (no matter from where), the patients should also receive psychosocial services as well. Medication on its own will lead to relapse with high probabilities. For this, the ADF offers its rehabilitation course for

¹²⁷ See details at, Art of Living: <http://www.artofliving.org/za-en/anti-drug-forum-and-art-living>

free.¹²⁸

PART VIII: EVOLVING ACTIVISM OF ADF AND ITS CONTEXT RIDDEN PROBLEMATIC: WORKING BETWEEN CRITIQUES AND APPRAISALS

The building up of the discourse in the broader society vis-à-vis the interventions of the MSM centres fervidly on two fields of action. First, it relates to the issue of drug affliction as it unfolds in the streets, the neighborhood spaces as tuck shops and schools as well as within the affected families. Second, the discursive formation around substance abuse also incorporates a heated debate between movement actors, social workers, hospitals, state health departments and specialist over the kind of rehabilitation procedures and medications (if any) most desirable.

I have taken up some of these themes in other sections before. Here I elaborate how the ADF is appraised or opposed. Also, what it feels, specifically on formal hindrances it faces in the performance of everyday social action.

8.1 ADF Interpositions: “*we are out of league of red-tapeism*”

In this context, Yoshini N.¹²⁹ (Interview February 11, 2014), from the local courts who often collaborates with the ADF’s drives and programmes, calls attention to the fact that many people who are operating on ground are differently oriented towards the anti-drug movement. The field is divided. Some vouch for the ADF approach, which rides the grey areas between state formalities and voluntary public politics. Others prefer making business of detox and rehabilitation. A relevant example is of Dr. Y N.¹³⁰ who, as also confirmed by ADF volunteers, earns millions by selling his Nalthrax based detoxification and rehabilitation.

What pushes up the market for both kinds of approaches (community efforts as well as the business appeal- depending upon one’s choices) is the inadequacy of the state rehabilitation centre in terms of capacity; numbers and care (refer to Section 7.1 above).

The New lands Park Rehabilitation centre in Durban is only one of the two centres in the whole province of KZN and does not boast of a ‘malpractices- free rehabilitation’ service. There are many stories which come out of it and those who have been there

¹²⁸ Refer to, ADF Articles: <http://www.antidrugforumsa.co.za/articles>: March 8, 2015)

¹²⁹ Name changed.

¹³⁰ Name changed.

recount malpractices such as black marketing of detox drugs by the staff in cahoots with the patients. Some suggest that patients are able to get hold of their addiction drugs even while receiving detox. (My interviews in Phoenix, with users from Indian, coloured, Black and white communities are replete with such and many more accounts and testimonies).

However my research here, concerns more with other areas of complaints: the dearth of rehab clinics; lack of accommodation capacities amidst growing numbers of users; the resultant long wait for rehabilitation which means that many just wander back to community efforts or are forced to seek the help of expensive private actors in the field. Others speak of how, 'users' from certain communities may get preference for free treatment at the government run rehab centre in west Durban (only one for the whole of KZN). The innuendo pertains to a dearth of services as much as to discrimination on 'who' gets preference of admission.

The ADF supporters opine that the state rehabilitation centres, even if they practice a minimum relevant protocol for detoxification, they fail to keep abreast with the latest international techniques and methods in substance abuse. Pillay clarifies that while the ADF engages in three days of detoxification, the state follows a three-week detoxification procedure. Such a protocol was practiced and written a long while ago, 'before newer, more effective ways appeared on the horizon'.

When this issue is raised by ADF and other community members over and over again, they have to face a new set of bureaucrats which repeat the same kind of 'protocol patterns'. Pillay elaborates this with an example: Between 2013-2014, when he got involved with the monitoring and evaluation team of Pretoria during his official visits to provide a feedback from KZN, the five member team was 'convinced' of its own appraisal that 'all is fine. The situation is under control'.

Volunteer actors who support the movement counter question such a 'feel-good' administrative appraisal of the situation. "If all was indeed well, then what are the protest actions and community rehab efforts all about", puts one volunteer at the ADF bluntly. Pillay once again raises the question that although a collaborative gesture between state and social movements is so vital for solving contextual problems, it is difficult to understand "why are we blocked from undertaking effective work on ground?" And, "why do we have to end up breaking laws to solve pressing grassroots social issues?"

To demonstrate this with yet another example, Pillay recounts the time when he was sanctioned a fund by the state in 2013 and 'asked' to apply for it. While his team and the ADF became hopeful and were planning as to what new activities could be taken up with the new fund, little did they realize that the application process itself took eighteen months for the final document to materialize. As if that was not enough, after receiving the 'correct application' in an 'approvable format' the government funding department came back asking Pillay to provide a five year business plan for them even to look at the application.

Frustrating as the whole drill was for the ADF, they did wonder that if such a plan was mandatory, why they no one informed them of the beginning of the eighteen-month waiting period. The ADF staff told me that eventually when they were informed of supplying a five year plan, they were tied-up with the, 'beginning-of-the-year' work. Nothing could have been more complicated even if the funds were a hundred percent surety in the end.

Whereas governmental funding is dispensed as a matter of day-to-day protocol for a ministry, a MSM, by virtue of its spontaneous and contingent character can seldom deal with so much of paper work and control at short notices. A MSM may be called forth to look into such unexpected contingencies on ground that paper work is most likely to take a back seat. As Pillay orates, "In the capacity of a small scale social endeavour placed among rising public expectations, we are out of the league of red-tapeism."

A comparative note: *Nonetheless, MSMs as the ADF and BTF remain trapped in a classic irony. Where they refrain from approaching or relying on bureaucratic or big NGO funds with the fear of losing precious resources such as time and independence, at the same time they remain in urgent need and search of monetary support systems, to be able to fulfill the growing expectations of their audiences and publics. This irony plays out strategically, especially at times when the movement steadily grows in stature and also keeps raising its own goals to the next logical level. Hence, movements such as those spearheaded by the BTF and ADF dabble in bringing on a full-fledged philanthropic as well as complete politics in motion. For they want neither to lose their cutting edge on the grassroots issues nor suffer monetary setbacks. If they fail to perform this balance tactfully, they lose their alternative public sphere.*

This brings us to a vital characteristic of the IDS, where many of the activities, interactions, debates and discourses are 'not on record'. They are carried out simply as acts of faith, trust, and interdependence of the actors, in their layered contextual discourses, where they live out the problems together. In contrast, governmental departments place an eminent focus on procedures, written rules, protocols and mandatory precedents. Lack of inclination to engage in bulky paper work in the IDS activities of a MSM, however, does not denote that they carry out no formal work or no paper work. Nor does it denote that their work pattern is arbitrary.

8.2: The ADF turns a new leaf: Newer responsibilities in tow

Since a couple of years, the ADF has been striving for better premises. Its old office was too small for its needs. The process to acquire bigger premises with governmental help, at first, reached nowhere. From early 2014 onward, however, with government collaboration, the ADF has successfully managed a new and improved place of operation in Arena Park, offering its usual services of drug testing, counselling, education, awareness and support groups. Local sponsors from, 'Operation Jump Start' financed its support staff, (Thambiran: 2014).

In the period of trying for a better state supported premises, (though without success) ADF's placard demonstrations¹³¹; Smart Clubs; awareness motorcades; debating or discovering newer rehabilitation models; launching and overseeing early intervention programmes did not come to an end. The micro politics carried on. Finally, the period between 2011 to 2013 bore a qualitative change in the relationship between the state and the social movement (Interview, Pillay: January 20, 2014) for the DSD finally relented in late 2013 to make a building available to the anti-drug movement.

Pillay knows that apart from other implications of a better premises, the ADF must gear up for maintaining records as part of its collaborations with the government. At the time of this interview was conducted, the ADF team was already in the process of shifting there. In fact, I was able to attend a meeting between volunteers of the ADF, DSD and Chatsworth police and courts to plan a forthcoming Smart club awareness drive.

¹³¹ In its annual placard demonstration, around 40 to 50 schools are known to participate and contribute. See, Anti-Drug Forum Articles: <http://www.antidrugforumsa.co.za/articles>. Retrieved March 20, 2016.

Consequently, the ADF's anti-substance abuse movement is undergoing a subtle change. Pillay reveals that in the recent past he was given permission to use the Chatsworth Child Welfare building. ADF carried on voluntary activities at the building. However, as a conditional formality accruing from this favour, the ADF was asked to keep and furnish data during that period of collaboration with the Health Ministry. Therefore, effectively, he already had a two-year start-up data for (the period between 2011 and 2013, when plan for his newer premises got approved. Now, (I last interacted with Pillay in February 2014 at his new premises), Pillay has somewhat relented to maintaining paper-work, even though it may mean burgeoning office work.

For the anti-drug movement, from 2005- 2014, the process for seeking some elementary cooperation from the State has been as vital a part of their protest politics. Its counter imagination on drugs seeks to fill the gap between formal policy and practice on a prevailing social challenge. It has been a journey of building bridges, rather than burning them. The movement volunteers opine that just as the state is not going to be able to do it alone, neither are they without official cooperation.

In 2013, Senzo Mchunu (ANC), the Premier of KZN acknowledged that there was a big problem of drugs in Chatsworth. In a spirit of cooperation, Sam Pillay was invited to address the event. He accepted the offer to address the community, government, media and specialists. Speaking on the benefits and the urgency of community intervention in drug infested areas such as Chatsworth and Wentworth, Pillay was able to inspire the KZN Premier set up an, 'Anti-Substance Abuse Forum' on a large scale and as a formal body. It was decided that this forum would cater to the different needs provoked by the illicit drug use and prevalence in society.

Later, when the Anti-Substance Abuse Forum was set up, Pillay did not apply for any active position. Initially he assumed that this platform could be used to dilute his community work and social presence while, simultaneously portraying that Pillay was in agreement with the government. "Would that imply losing grounds as a social movement?," ruminated Pillay. However when the Manager of the DSD, Toby Mischlongo approached Pillay and suggested that the policy would be decided in mutual consultation, it changed the equation. Pillay agreed but on a probationary

basis- 'if work carried on was actually envisaged with the real time needs of the people in mind, then he stays, otherwise he quits' - became the sine-qua-non for the experimental cooperation between the state and the movement.

To Pillay's surprise, the Premier was in favour of him occupying the position of the Deputy Chair along with an officer from the MEC (Member of the Executive Council or a Cabinet Minister from the Provincial Cabinet). In 2013, an officer from the MEC chaired the first meeting and the second was chaired by Pillay.

Twice, in 2012 and 2013, he travelled to Pretoria to represent KZN at the national level. For him it still seems that unless formal authorities become open to new techniques matters will remain slow for in the government, 'nothing works/ moves except meetings and more meetings' on the same issue.

A comparative note: *It is not unusual to see a micro social endeavour as the ADF caught up in a tiring cycle of official protocol, just as we have seen in the case of BTF's community action in India. Quite understandably, therefore, movement actors at both ends aspire to see the community voices play a leading role in policy formation.*

Nonetheless, government for its part is beginning to become responsive to interventions and suggestions of the ADF as the above-described evolutions suggest. Thus we see how informal, personalized sphere of relations between the ADF, its volunteers, parents and Schools was steadily recognized as performing credible work even by the formal structures of government and fostered creative links in society. Riding on the back of newer kinds of challenges, the ADF bought in newer kinds of social relations and networking through its movement.

For instance, ADF-s growing stature roped in addicts or people who had been found in possession of drugs such as heroine coming to the institution for advises even after court procedures. Therein lay conception of an arrangement an arrangement where the ADF, the courts and the patient would have a tripartite agreement. The patient concerned would come to the DCC for six weeks, attend all sessions, comply with rules and cooperate with de-addiction procedures followed by an assessment six weeks later to see how the case would then proceed in the court and out of it. 70 percent of those who sought help and were present on a daily basis had their cases

withdrawn and therefore such people would be exempt of further court proceedings (read also section 8.3 below for a better understanding of this proposition).



Figure 4.31: ADF is now keen to expand its repertoires of Early Interventions beyond Chatsworth and Durban: Author, extreme left, at Smart Club Workshop, Chatsworth. February 6, 2014.

8.3 Views from the Durban Police:

Vikas and Karim¹³² were able to provide me with a broad range of information on the pattern of drug trafficking, drug use and treatment preferences (in the Indian families). They suggested that to make my study reflective of what the families see and the city experiences; there is one-step which should not be missed. I must first observe, they opined, the streets of Durban at night as it was at that time that the drug world comes alive.

Durban by Night: Though initially the idea of visiting these risky street corners made me apprehensive, I still convinced myself to do it. I realized that it could become

¹³² Names changed.

another pretext have another more informal conversations with the crime control officers. I was able to arrange one such ride into the city between 9 PM and 2 AM on February 4, 2014. I covered many of its 'hotspots' and went back to Vikas and Karim with more information on hand.

In my second informal meeting with the officers, both shared a variety of information and insights based upon their anecdotal and legal experiences in Durban. From their perspective, street and schoolchildren were one of the most vulnerable sections of society in the drug use chain. All drug dealers generally believe in 'catching them young'. Their main motive is to get these youth hooked on. Once that is accomplished, the dealers use these kids as peddlers and trap them in ruthless cycles of exploitation.

Sometimes, these children, especially the boys, are forced to take to the street and indulge in petty crime. Young girl-users are subjected to different fate and experience another side of the crime. There are strong chances of them being threatened, blackmailed for their involvement or even 'voluntarily' (read, 'under the impact of drugs') falling into prostitution.

Both the police officers also reminded me of a recently busted prostitution racket being run in Phoenix by an Indian origin couple. That drugs went hand in hand with this entire setup was hardly surprising, but this astonishing scenario shook up the community and even the police: It tallies with feelings of an internal crisis that the concerned in the Indian community express over the recent pattern of prostitution among young girl addicts.

According to these two officers¹³³, as they witness the situation in Durban, drugs have affected the poor and rich families alike, with the difference that the rich kids have more money and try out substances that are more expensive as well. These include 'fashionable' party drugs such as Ecstasy. On the other hand, inexpensive drugs like Tick have hit the lower class Indian families in the localities of Chatsworth, Wentworth, and Phoenix. Incidentally, Tick is used commonly in the poor black dominated residential areas such as Ko-mashu and Inanda as well.

In the central Durban areas, it is difficult to divide 'use' in accordance with

¹³³ The views expressed here are at times in accordance with the history and politics of the ground situation that they face as officers and at times their analysis is personal and may not coincide with what SAPC may have to say over the issue.

communities because there is a mix of communities residing in this location which, of late, has becoming increasingly dominated by foreigners. On a casual police patrol during the night, drug users of various backgrounds and cultures (Black, Coloured, Indian and foreigners) can be seen in and around 'drug hot-spots'.

Neren. T (Interview February 6, 2014), another middle-aged Indian officer joined in the discussion and opined, "Indians pride themselves with a dedication towards education. Strong family bonds and an excessive love with the idea of bringing up children is the hallmark of the community. Now, ISAs are either shamefully silent or in desperate search of answers to find out, 'what went wrong?' within the close-knit community. Something has apparently changed in tune with the rapidly changing times and it manifests itself in these disturbing trends".

In Police records, drugs are community based to the extent that people using them lived in certain areas during Apartheid. For instance, Whoonga/Dagga were concentrated in Phoenix and Durban. Tik and Sugars affected Durban and Chatsworth. Cocaine and Mandrax amongst children of elite or youth belonging to upper class families was the trend.

In recent years, however, these neat distinctions do not always explain the ground situation. Owing to various changes namely increasing drug abuse, increased income opportunities, and mixed as opposed to segregated living, it is difficult to generalize now. But all users are more vulnerable to getting caught or spotted, at which occurrence another phase began: If caught, legal procedures began to apply through police and/or judiciary. If spotted, social help arrives through community resources such as the ADF, explains Neren.

'Generalizations may fall flat here': A classic pattern of the addiction cycle narrated by Captain Mohammed from Durban Central Police Station (Interview, February 7, 2014) goes thus,

"Many times it is seen that children, teenagers or youth from rich families experiment with expensive party drugs. Eventually they run out of money and then come down to cheap drugs as before they realize they are already addicted and need their regular fix somehow by fair or foul means. Conversely imagine the condition of a poor user who starts with a low profile, cheap drug, but progresses to addictive levels of substance abuse. Such cases finally indulge in petty crimes and even take up work

for drug dealers. Eventually they may also graduate into more expensive drugs”.

Hence it become all the more clear how drugs can cut across class and ethnic barriers and begin to reside the grey areas of luxury and poverty

‘Police...at fault?’ While the larger issue of drug trafficking remains elusive administratively from a law and order perspective, it is interesting to note how police cast a gaze at their own role. Is the Police at fault? Police corruption and the passage of drugs are interrelated, as is known. “But not all are dishonest. There are good people over there, doing their duty, as us!”, exclaimed Vikas. Continuing further, he (Interview February 6, 2014) asserts,

“First and foremost, we need to see it from multiple angles. There are many reasons that work simultaneously to make it happen. Demand-end of the problem is a social issue, emanating from a set of interrelated changes. Highly materialistic ways of life and a fast- paced existence; weak parenting styles- that include absence of elders, adults to monitor and provide company to the children; double income families with abundant finances but little one- to one- time; mounting peer pressure are the reasons which push up the demand. Precocious social media exposure and unlimited access to it, -where one witnesses the so called ‘glamorous confessions’ and statuses by those who have ‘done it all’, such as, “I am high tonight”; last but not the least there are families who do not find out till it is too late and then there are those parents who live in denial. They do not want to face the reality or accept that their child is on drugs-In SA it has become a trend to ‘hide it’ whether you are Indian, black or white.”

Further, as Karim added (Interview February 6, 2014), “In terms of policy, the problem snowballs out of control because little is done to recognize it politically and frame adequate control measures. For instance despite the rising need for them, there are very few governmentally established drug rehabilitation centres. Given that many minors get involved in peddling, using, and initiating peers into drugs, building state institutions to counsel and guide families and children in such situations is the least that can be done to check the degeneration of the issue. How long can one rely on community help alone?”

‘Serve the Church and sweep its floors for three weeks’: Vikas (Interview

February 8, 2014) contributed an observation on another ironical cycle:

“State institutions such as juvenile courts are important yet they do not tackle the issue effectively just by dispensing judicial responsibilities: consider for instance, a minor who undergoes the juvenile court processes on charges of drug peddling or use and in the end receives a legal instruction to ‘serve the Church and sweep its floors for three weeks’. Besides this being neither an actual de-addiction nor a supportive rehabilitation measure, the child feels that it has been condemned or punished for the duration of those three weeks. After such an alienating experience these children either go back to the same context with a vengeance becoming repeat offenders; or, they fail to relate the reformatory measure of cleaning the Church, temple, mosque etc. to their unchanged circumstances outside and end up accepting it as an irony of fate”.

So while a system is in place yet it is neither de-addiction nor rehabilitation of juvenile offenders and victims. A thoughtful social gesture or social network that takes up this cause beyond mere legal justice and rule of law formalities definitely goes a long way in supporting the community. It is in this role that the officers saw ADF’s place.

People and the veil of fear: The officers coincided on another fundamental observation. Drug syndicates are very organized and indulge in various other coordinated crimes such as buying and selling of stolen goods like cars, prostitution, and obviously smuggling. This makes it very difficult for the state to deal with syndicalism as they just do not deal in drugs alone; they are engaged in building empires. Additionally to secure their safe zones of operation they engage in terrifying gangsterism against each other as a deterrence to mutual interference and cross-cutting of business on the one hand. Dampening the spirits of those people or organizations who try to uncover them or oppose the drug menace, is another motive. It is this reason that makes it very difficult for the common people to intervene in the situation, report or be vigilant to drug crimes as there is a veil of fear cast over the community.

A comparative note: Hence, this last observation brings me to a focal point of protest movements that arise against contexts of crime: It is not always safe or easy but collective social movement imaginations, strengths and even failures are the fuel

that the make MSMs such as the ADF in South Africa and the BTF remain in the fray”.

PART IX: THE ANTI- DISCOURSE: VIEWS FROM THE 'OTHER' STAKEHOLDERS- RA-UF AND PAGAD

Indian South Africans, like many other communities in the transitioning South Africa became a vulnerable ground for social degeneration, which included rising cases of domestic abuse, alcoholism, and drugs and disillusioned, escapist behavior. Such problems have not completely ended with the end of Apartheid. Newer challenges have arisen such as the new phase of proliferating substance abuse among the Indians in Durban, (Luthra Sinha, 2014). ADF endeavors to help the communities in Chatsworth and areas around it especially with respect to the current as well as the, 'hand-me-down' drug problems inherited from the past.

9.1 Alternative world views from RA-UF in Durban:

However, ADF goals and strategies are different from other self-help based social organizations who engage in similar community action on the problem of drugs. The Refocus and Upliftment Foundation (RA-UF)¹³⁴ also works among the ISAs and is favoured by the Muslim families of Indian-Asian origin. RA-UF caters exclusively to de-addiction and re-habilitation needs among the affected youth. We found that the RA-UF center had affected youth from all kinds of background and communities including coloured, black, white and Indians.

This information is based on my interactions with youth undergoing rehabilitation during visit to the main centre of RA-UF. Observations on RA-UF are derived from my participation group-discussions and workshops in Durban coordinated by the organization's staff, volunteers and families interested in its de-addiction awareness drives. I found that though the youth came from multiple backgrounds and communities, they were all boys. RA-UF chief coordinator, Ibrahim Dawood also showed me a new centre which was still under construction and was being built specially keeping the needs of women rehab patients in mind, (January 21-24, 2014).

¹³⁴ See, <http://www.iqraatrust.org/index.php/projects/representative-selection-of-projects-iqraa-trust-projects/healthcare/222-refocus-and-upliftment-foundation-rauf-durban> Accessed June 5, 2014.

During the time I spent learning about substance abuse and the anti-poaching movement in Durban and its suburbs, I met various kinds of actors- both individuals and organizations who presented other modes of thinking on understanding of social reality. Organisations such as Rehabilitation and Upliftment Focus (RA-UF), also work voluntarily for de-addiction. RA-UF has a history of community work since 1998.

Over my interactions with RAUF, I found out that the parents of 'addicts' in 90 per cent of the cases remain in denial or try to 'hide' the problem. This does not help on either of the ends, neither in its prevention nor for extending care, says Dawood from RA-UF. In addition, people themselves suffer as families and victims behind their self- donned veil of silence, pointed out the voluntary counselors at one of RAUF's de- addiction follow-up meeting, which I attended. This meeting took place at a Mosque in Phoenix. Many actors from the local community were present.

The previously mentioned gathering at the Mosque included parents, siblings and teachers, who bought in a volley of questions and pondered over the answers collectively. Organized in an extra- reception room of the Mosque, the session was more than two hours long. The room had bulletin boards, blackboards and arrangements for electronic media, which were used effectively by volunteers, counsellors and a local medical practitioner.

RA-UF approach here reflected a cross between one to one case hearing as well as an open discussion forum. Approximately twenty people were present at the session, despite the rising levels of the scourge. This helps us correlate two trends, that various actors, such as, community activists from Chatsworth and RA-UF, have pointed out. First, that many families remain in denial and second, drugs is a problem where people are be afraid to raise their voice, (see also, the section on Durban police above)

Nonetheless, the closer one is/or gets to the problem, the deeper the impact is felt. Though, it is well known that illicit drug trafficking and the increasingly easy availability of the drugs has political, social and economic origins, the impact of addiction is disturbingly felt in personal and public domains of social existence which become intricately connected or implied in illicit practices around drugs.

Therefore, everyday actors who lattice these zones cast a gaze not only at the distant realities implied in the situation; they also subvert their analysis to proximate

spaces. There is a sense of a growing crisis at the everyday feel of situation. In other words, the modes how addiction related maladies become visible in social spaces such as schools, streets, parks, pubs, hospitals, community centres and so forth cause a stir amongst the locals.

If one such response to the situation is the ADF, the other is signified in the actions of RA-UF. There are vital differences as well as similarities between the two. Ibrahim Dawood, RA-UF's chief coordinator works voluntarily and has a one on one approach to all the cases that are brought to the organization, just like the ADF. RA-UF however does not believe in chemical de-toxification and considers that to use drugs to abstain from drugs is not a good option.

They rather focus on an individual's own capacity to bring himself back to, 'normalcy' and become drug free. RA-UF has its growing following and Muslims among the PIOs and Asians (Indian and coloured communities) tend to prefer its methodologies. The patients are put on no drug or chemicals to come out of addiction. This may have its own complications and negations but, families who agree to tackle the menace so, have no qualms or regrets. ADF and like -minded rehabilitation efforts including formal state agencies usually subscribe to one or the other kind of chemical detox.

With no fees involved, the foundation, which is an NGO, offers more than just drug rehabilitation. Through its programmes, it empowers individuals with necessary social skills to integrate back into their respective communities with a fresh and sober perspective. As one of its founders, Dawood recallshow in 1998, the decision was made, to create a programme where addicts and drug users can be assisted in fighting their addictions. "We could see the scourge was becoming increasingly out of control, so we decided to go and educate ourselves on addiction in order for us to, in some way, combat the scourge of drug abuse in our communities."¹³⁵

Currently the foundation mainly assists males, from various ages and different backgrounds, offering a programme not only targeted at rehabilitation, but offering counselling on a level which is far beyond the boundaries of the half-way house. It works with families and extended support systems around addicts.

¹³⁵ <http://jamiat.org.za/rauf-targets-addicts/>. Accessed 9.6.2014

The RA-UF¹³⁶ website states, “We also have as part of our skills development program trained a number of patients in different skills like plumbing, electrical, welding, tiling, block-making, motor mechanic, carpentry, block-man for meat and various others. We have succeeded in taking some of society’s write-offs and transformed them into humble, hardworking, respectable Muslims who have now learned a skill, which would assist them in life. Many of our brothers have gone back to society and are working in prominent businesses and as our program is totally Islamic they are busy reforming other people around them e.g. Five times Namaaz, etc.”

9.2 Alternative world views- PAGAD, the Durban Chapter:

Action groups such as the Cape Town initiated organization, ‘People against Gangsterism and Drugs’ (PAGAD) that arose from an Indian- Asian Muslim background. Its actions have been likened to vigilantes as it shot into prominence owing to its policy of confronting the drug lords directly. PAGAD began with the best of intentions, as a Cape Town citizens’ bid to battle against crime.

Elements within Muslim community predominantly in the Western Cape launched PAGAD out of frustration at the ineffectiveness of the police in dealing with the problems of crime, violence and drug abuse in many townships, (Peltzer, Shandir, Johnson and Phaswana-Mafuya: 2014). PAGAD, which also has a chapter in Durban, is accused of criminal activity. Vigilantism began peacefully in Cape Town, as residents patrolled neighborhoods to discourage drug dealers, many of whom appeared to enjoy impunity from a corrupt and under-funded police (BBC World Africa: 2000)¹³⁷.

Rafiq and Suleiman, my informants from the PAGAD chapter in Durban, explained that their organization is different and has a widespread community base too. There is another side to it, they insist. Many Muslim parents in Durban call the activists at home so that their errant children can be given information and lectures on de-addiction. Interestingly, PAGAD members narrated to me how every now and then, they are called into the, ‘drawing-rooms’ of Muslim families in the Durban. Families call in these members to dress down either first time users or those, who have been

¹³⁶ <http://rauf.co.za/home-2/>. Accessed March 21, 2013

¹³⁷ PAGAD: Vigilantes or terrorists? Wednesday, 13 September 2000, BBC World Africa. UK. Online: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/923701.stm>. Accessed 9.6.2014

at the habit repeatedly. The problem is that the Sugars epidemic is spreading faster than administrative or societal solutions to it. Parents and other caregivers know that.

At the time of its origin in Cape Town, it was a culmination of similar social fears and apprehensions. People as parents, leaders and youth were aware of the reach of drug dealers. Drug dealers usually owed allegiance to one or a number of criminal gangs, who would also control activities such as gun-running and prostitution in many of the townships surrounding Cape Town. A close sense of community and a shared moral stance, many times stemming from religious convictions against drugs, meant that the PAGAD neighborhood watch groups were strongest in predominantly Muslim areas.

PAGAD is still strongly associated with pro-active and at times fundamentalist Islamic ideas. My informants, however, denied the label and projected a secular attitude. Maintaining that PAGAD has social validity for those who call upon it, they elucidated how the organization is also involved in community upliftment efforts, social dialogue, besides charity such as free provision of food, clothes and medicines among victims of substance abuse¹³⁸.

Here it is significant to note that although the organization may have gone through various police cases for its antagonistic protest tactics, its work with people is well known among the state bureaucracies as police. My findings indicate that PAGAD undertakes door-to-door community work on the demand- side of the scourge just as it intervenes with a discordant watchfulness at the supply-side of the scourge.

The PAGAD members showed me places where they contribute and engage in charity such as in open kitchens. The root cause of the problem is not those who have become addicts and live on streets craving food. Those as PAGAD members put it, hide behind luxuriously corrupt practices are the real problem. Their aim is to protest against these, 'creatures' who ruin the moral-social fabric of society. They demand legitimate convictions and speedy dispensation of justice and are not afraid to confront the sellers and runners.

A.G., a core member of the Durban Chapter, volunteered to drive me around the city hotspots at night as well as during the day. I was shown a well -known under bridge

¹³⁸ Author's interaction and interviews with the PAGAD members in Durban during the period of January 20, 2014 to February 10, 2014.

in the city where elder addicts from Asian, Indian, Coloured communities gather in groups to take their specific 'doses'. A.G. clarified that it was not addicts that the PAGAD finds repugnant. It is the drug runners and lords. While the organisation undertakes charity operations for the addicts (by bringing warm, cooked food; medication; clothes etc. and leaving them under the bridge for the addicts), their stance towards the dealers is different. Once, recalled, A.G., PAGAD members forced a drug dealer to go the central Durban Mosque and confess his crime publicly.

Hence, we see that many kinds of community efforts have arisen to cement the efficiency –void between states, governments on the one hand and people on the other. The bureaucratic states that are running behind in techniques or in the willingness to perform, are running behind not only in comparison to the ever efficient and ever-growing powerful body of drug traffickers but also lag behind in social action, the kind that becomes visible through various organizations.

Though all kinds of people's action is not accepted as correct or endorsed by the society, yet the deafening silence of governments is at least broken by peoples' movements such as the ADF and / or other groups when they show their grit to stay awake in a challenging arena.

PART X: THEREFORE...

It is very informative to compare various viewpoints and practices against drug abuse, in the offing from different kinds of actors. Adopting a multi-actor based methodology (see discussions in Chapter II) and reading data so gained, together with peoples' self- gaze on the issues concerned, unshackles newer information on collective action. First, it affords us the opportunity to gaze into the ongoing processes of social change. Second, it is clear that among the ISAs, as among others, not everybody is concerned with substance abuse sociopathy. Yet the crisis and others, plan collective interventions around the issue, affect many. Third, in their self-analysis, one of the field in which the PIOs seem to have lost out and continue to face severe failures is related to drug affliction in their space and time. Fourth, this is not to negate the relevance of action campaigns, groups and community bases as spearheaded by organisations as the ADF, RA-UF or PAGAD.

Reasons and repertoires of collective action can be plenty fold as we see clearly. On the contrary, this is to understand how their notion of 'flopping' actually strengthen

the peoples' movements/social work against drugs. Next, views from diverse onlooker and supportive actors across the ambit help understand how deeply rooted social action is to social memories. The more they self-analyse and realize where they have come from, the more inspiring it becomes for them to manage challenges in their contemporary new South Africa.

Finally, as my own case study concerns explicitly to the ADF, I offer the conclusion that its work is more broadly appreciated. Perhaps this relates to how its repertoires tackle the demand as well as the supply side of the pandemic in eminent and acceptable non-antagonistic ways. With least controversy vis-a-vis the law of the land, avoidance of working with a restricted audience and discursive interventions to dialogue the state as well as alternative publics, the ADF stands out. An underlining significance of the movement is to read its landscape as a document of mixed memories- old and new, good and bad. With their fascinating sense of time and layers replete with values, which inform the genius of social space and place, community efforts such as that of the BTF in India and the ADF in South Africa cast newer insights on how social movements imagine.

9.1 Some Important observations: The movement is not against the state but rather a search for solutions despite its bureaucratic politics, lack of rehabilitation facilities tardy recognitions on the issue. The actors therefore value, frame and envisage a role for themselves- in their own space, to help alleviate the encumbrances faced by families, schools, youth, hospitals and neighbourhoods especially.

- Hence, the ADF, while it negotiates the state apparatus to press for policy changes/ right implementation, also holds a critical dialogue within its own micro context. It imparts an engaging, enabling and reflective gaze towards the social ills manifest in society as a cause for and results of drug abuse.
- Considering that Sugars is a second-generation synthetic drug passing through the Indian communities, after Mandrax in the 1980s and 1990s (see, Luthra Sinha, 2015), there is much to learn and collaborate on this account, between this social movement, the state and society.
- Motivated by a hope for building up a better place and space for the successive generations of their country, the movement searches for methods

of collaboration between the state and the communities.

- The movement encourages one to think that, given the changing profile of the communities and schools in Chatsworth, the malady has dangers of sweeping through and cutting across not only to newer generations of Indians but also to other communities.
- In this sense, the movement holds diachronic and synchronic messages, it is a move away from the unpleasant old and the unpleasant new. The movement participants imagine and strive to build a new society on the basis inter-connected past and present strengths.
- Consolidating fresher meanings, their collective social action helps them learn how to handle ongoing challenges of the new South Africa. Ridding the vicinity as much as the country of substance abuse and illicit drugs is the vision that labours through their social movement imaginations.
- The movement becomes in this sense, local and national at the same time, converting the space and time of Chatsworth into a unique as well as a common site of transition in the contemporary South Africa.

9.2 A comparative summing up of the two case studies

Broadly speaking, comparison is an approach often seen as a method of the explicit contrasting of two or more cases to explore parallels and differences. Frequently, these cases are compared with regards to a specific phenomenon, like revolution, state formation processes, particular policies or types of organisation, etc. More often than not, the main goal is to arrive at a typology based on the observed differences and similarities among cases, even though better understanding of singular cases does constitute a major purpose in many comparative studies. As comparative methods are generally reflexive, they should be clear 'why what is being compared with what, in what respect and with what aim', (see, Kocka 1996:197-8; Ragin:1991; Smelser:1976).

Any comparison is a construction in the sense that it discerns which elements or segments of social reality are to be related to one another and along what dimensions. It selects particular units and/or aspects rather than others, and

abstracts them from the context in which they are embedded indiscernibly. It, in other words, brings into fore what is otherwise hidden in the totality of social reality –a reality that in its totality appears as infinite, formless and chaotic. As a construction, comparison thus helps create an ordered perception of this reality, i.e. an organised way to see it in one way rather than in another alternative way/s. Researchers to establish a certain new order of things and/or to reinforce the old ones by a comparative approach.

In my tasks, I have kept up the previously mentioned considerations. However, in this endeavour I have taken recourse to various trans-disciplinary theories, literature and concepts. I am tempted quote Moore (1966) on comparative method, who remarks that it resembles a “ rough check on our theories and models, preventing us from going astray and simultaneously stimulating our theoretical imagination, which nonetheless is much needed for the elaboration of these theories and models”. In this sense, I have benefited from and utilized previous conceptions on social movements and collective action. At the same time I have extended some of these categories and meanings to include newer insights from the field.

As I have discussed under the sections on Concept Note and Introduction in Chapter I, my aim was to compare small sale grassroots collective and transformative action in India and South Africa. I have explored previous literature on collective social action, NSMs, imagination, buildup of discursive relations, public sphere and alternative public spheres to stabilize the template of my comparisons.

However, as the MSMs that I have taken up in this study have not been extensively written about as collective social endeavors, I chose to compare only two cases during my fieldwork. Moreover, my methodology being qualitative and multiple- actor oriented, it would have not been possible to study and interpret more than two case studies for the purpose of this theses.

The Pre-Comparative: Comparison is noteworthy as it lays open both significant similarities as well as differences to clear the grounds further understanding. Some pre-comparative features of the two social movements are related to the issues they pick and the broader contexts in which they operate. While both arise against crime, they starkly differ in the issues they pick up and fight for. Nevertheless, both arise from minority communities within their countries. This brings us to the next significant pre- comparative point. It is the Indian and South African context. Both countries

have histories of diverse social struggles and vibrant collective voices. While for India it was the struggle for independence against the British, for South Africa it was a fight against racial discrimination and apartheid.

In 1994, both India and South Africa witnessed meaningful political changes w.r.t. to the idea of people's power. While India formalized the expansion of grassroots politics/participation by its amending of the Panchayati Raj Act in that year, South Africa operationalized its new democracy. Both the transitions, one micro and the other macro were symbolic of an expanding political opportunity structure from a grassroots perspective. As both the MSMs studied here pertain to post-1994 period these above mentioned changes are significant as a pre-comparative given. Chief articulators of the anti-poaching and the anti-substance abuse movement frequently refer to these changes in their respective countries and how they opened up the world of people's visions and agency, (i.e., the willingness to enact their will).

The Post-Comparative: An analytical post-comparative look at both the case studies reveal that both are embedded in a contextual – place and space related politics of imagination and change that is replete with collective meanings, social memories and terms of identity. As social movement actors, while they carry their 'silted' (to use Connerton's term) memories and identities in the womb of their shared social action, at the same time they become makers of newer ones. In this sense transformative collective action is symbolic of change as much as it is of continuance of certain social givens and social practice imaginations.

Both the movements strive to insert themselves in mainstream political spheres to stir grassroots oriented policy making and collaborate discursively with the state. Similarly, the movement actors in both places want to assert their special identities, formulations and imaginations into a set of alternative publics who may or may not be agreeable. There is, in this sense, a juxtaposition of the discourse with the anti-discourse, which together hold these issue based discursive formations tightly together.

To contrast, compare and describe the actor's itinerant and evolving social practice imaginations, I forward inductive categories (developed during and after field-work) such as Philanthropic and Competitive imaginations, Internal Discursive Sphere and the External Discursive Sphere. Finally, I propose the idea of, 'Newer Social Movements' and 'Micro Social Movements' to comparatively examine the kinds of

social action these two cases become symbolic of.

Successful social movements: In order to compare independent of these two comparative stages, i.e., the pre and the post-comparative, a third component can be introduced. This relates to how successful social movements or successfully organized social movements generally have certain features in common.

Charles Tilly in his later collaborations with Doug McAdam and Sidney Tarrow illustrated four bases involved in collective action and the development of social movements: political opportunities, mobilising structures, collective action frames and repertoires of contention. For authors as Tilly, collective action sees people acting together in pursuit of their interests. Action is purposeful and calculated. Contenders continuously weigh expected costs against expected benefits (refer to Desai: 2004).

However since 1970s itself, there have been many ongoing debates on what does it take to build a strong social movement? Intellectuals as Goffman, Zald, McCarthy (1977a and b), Meyer, Gamson, Snow, Benford, Klandermans, Johnston, Ewick, Silbey, Polletta, and other academics, have opined that the some basic building blocks of an efficacious social movements are as follows, (read, Berlet: 2005 and 2007).

- A discontented group of politicized persons who share the perception that they have common grievances they want society to address.
- A powerful and lucid ideological vision linked to strategies and tactics that have some reasonable chance of successes.
- The recruitment of people into the movement through pre-existing social, political, and cultural networks.
- A core group of trusted, strategic leaders and local activists who effectively mobilize, organize, educate, and communicate with the politicized mass base.
- The efficient mobilization of resources that are available, or can be developed, to assist the movement to meet its goals.
- An institutional infrastructure integrating political coordination, research and policy think tanks, training centres, conferences, and alternative media.
- Political opportunities in the larger social and political scene that can be exploited by movement leaders and activists.

- The skilful framing of ideas and slogans for multiple audiences such as leaders, members, potential recruits, policymakers, and the public.
- An attractive movement culture that creates a sense of community through mass rituals, celebrations, music, drama, poetry, art, and narrative stories about past victories, current struggles, and future successes.
- The ability of recruits to craft a coherent and functional identity as a movement participant.

Many of the features listed above are visible in the successful way that the ADF and BTF unfold their politics and have already been discussed throughout the text in contextually relevant terms and headings. However my attention is drawn to the first point in the list mentioned above, viz., 'A discontented group of politicized persons who share the perception that they have common grievances they want society to address'. It is interesting to note that the chief articulators of both the MSMs have been student leaders in the past and so too, some of their other important members.

Having become disillusioned in the way the political parties function in their corresponding countries these participants decided to form voluntary, non-government organizations instead. Besides, in both India and South Africa, the MSM actors stated a number of times that no matter which party comes to power, the space for opposition's issues remains restricted and narrow, if at all. Already the party politics is such that once elected, the winning parties come back to 'talk' to their voters only during the next elections. Which party must the people approach then?

In such a climate, the local issues remain rudderless if the people themselves don't take action, is how they actors justify their pro-active roles. Their work towards making anti-poaching and anti-substance abuse as discursively organised endeavours can also be interpreted in the light of hegemonic party politics. Trends towards one party dominant styles of administration read together with restricted, unviable spaces for opposition parties in many regions open up a void where parties could very well go missing in action.

Considering that both India and South Africa have a long association with peoples' politics and participatory collective action, the ADF and the BTF have managed to carve a niche for themselves and fill up the chasms with a home-grown mode of organic social action.

To summarize my principal comparative findings, I reiterate the three main Comparative Statements I have forwarded through my work, below:

- **Comparative Statement I:** *When individuals from within (minority) communities with histories of common strengths and failings, experience a shared sense of crisis over similar everyday situations, they can become a springboard for many kinds of collective action. Viable micro social movements from India and South Africa, as discussed in my study, form a fitting example here. The contextual social movement imaginations of these publics may range from the philanthropic to the competitive. It is precisely this organically rooted dialectics which helps them gain functional grassroots solidarities, motives and gestures.*
- **Comparative Statement II:** *Through my qualitative observations and findings, my intention is to delineate how newer eras and newer changes bring on newer challenges and newer micro issues which may give rise to newer kinds of social movements in countries as India and South Africa. Those movements whose participants do not belong to or profess in entirety, the new Left traditions, but still grapple with newer contextual issues can give rise to such, 'Newer Social Movements'. I have suggested in the Chapter I, that activism portrayed by the BTF in Jodhpur/Rajasthan and the ADF in Durban/ KwaZulu Natal are two such Newer Social Movements.*
- **Comparative Statement III:** *Successful MSMs such as the ones spearheaded by the BTF in Jodhpur and ADF in Durban have the ability to cater to alternative publics through the use of competitive and philanthropic social movement imaginations. In the process they have the potential to construct alternative public spheres around alternative issues. A key to understanding such transformative social action rests in understanding two kinds of inter-connected and layered practice spheres associated with these movements. In this work, these twin spheres have been called as the 'Internal Discursive Sphere' and the 'External Discursive Sphere'.*

Chapter-V

CONCLUSION: OF MICRO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA, THEIR DISCURSIVE IMAGINATIONS AND THE MAKING OF ALTERNATIVE PUBLIC SPHERES

PART I: CONCLUSIVE NOTES

The MSMs as described in this work pertain to what, as I have suggested are 'Newer Social Movements' of India and South Africa- related yet distinct from social action typically conceived under 'New Social Movements'. MSMs are entities that can turn the wheel of social relations around newer issues and/or those hitherto lying dormant, as poaching and substance abuse. These action forms demonstrate how everyday spaces and practices between states and communities become discursive in meaningful collective political modes.

Successful MSMs are able to bring on meaningful collective political spheres by the discursive exercise of their philanthropic and competitive imaginations such that they not only create associates along their paths but also rivals and detractors.

In this sense, MSMs are kinds of Newer Social Movements which galvanize collective action on alternative issues among sets of variously involved, alternative publics. This turning of discourse by virtue of philanthropic and competitive social practice imaginations occurs through the making of viable internal and external discursive spheres around contextual issues. These issues form and signify the centre of concern for a set of collectively intervening actors. The anti-Poaching and anti-Substance abuse movement, as presented in my case studies are two such viable spheres of collective action in Jodhpur and Durban, respectively.

I reiterate for the reader how MSMs perform the role of Newer Social Movements in India and South Africa and gain participatory as well as supportive responses from the local publics. In order to organize themselves viably for upholding their grassroots agendas, they address the local using various kinds of communication modes and mediums. Language, expression, common values, scriptures, folk narratives and stories, visual art and oral traditions find an effective mix in MSM repertoires and resource use.

Aside from alternate means and modes of communication, MSMs impart collective

action discursivity, visibility and symbolism to alternate sites of action such as animal rescue centres, temples, police stations and day care centres. MSMs turn religious and cultural occasions into 'symbolic sites' for collective action discourse and articulation. Symbolic sites such as fairs and processions become a space for communicative information gathering and networking for both the social movements to connect with their publics and update them. Alternative publics meet in such places and welcome opportunities created by MSMs to debate and discuss issues of everyday crisis that they need resolved. Given that alternative issues such as poaching and substance abuse in local contexts fail to gain a mainstream public sphere traction, MSMs enliven an alternate public sphere around these. Their search for being relevant to their alternative publics leads them to explore alternate means of communication and sites of action.

The evolution and transformative spheres of action of these two MSMs show how non-mainstream issues (such as poaching, hunting, rescuing, substance abuse and rehabilitation) can not only become effective mediums of a determinative politics but also be projected in operative political spaces. The dialectics between states and communities over such non-mainstream and alternative issues no matter how micro it be, can nonetheless, lead to the construction alternative public spheres (as I have shown in Chapter III and Chapter IV). Even if these issues attain limited insertion status in the hierarchical and discriminatory mainstream public spheres of countries such as India and South Africa (refer to arguments in Chapter I and Chapter II), in their home and hearth or at their points of origin, they manage to conduct transformative politics with élan .

Similar to NSMs in terms of causes and kinds of repertoires, Newer Social Movements are different on a vital ground: Ideas of democratic rights to participate in processes that influence their ethnographic present empowers this Newer Social Movement politics but does not limit it. Instead, they wage a newer kind of issue-based politics in the Global South. Nonetheless, they have other basic social-economic and political goals that as citizens of their respective countries they are yet to achieve, unlike the publics of the NSMs.

Debates among citizens are as important as compared to those in the parliament. A people-to-people dialogue is crucial for voluntary and collective social action to be waged and recognised. Hence, public sphere acquires a critical resonance in

understanding the political processes that come alive in the two MSMs. Issues picked up by them are hard to fit in the parliaments, mainstream debates and the macro public sphere processes of their countries. Hence, it is to the alternative public sphere that they return, to keep their discourses alive. MSMs hope to address issues such as poaching and substance abuse that have created layered impacts across society. MSM politics and interventions is made possible by two kinds of imaginations- the philanthropic and the competitive, which in turn unfold over two kinds of discursive spheres, namely the IDS and the EDS.

Hence, I reiterate five Comparative and conclusive similarities of my case studies:

First, both the movements successfully convert hitherto mundane, everyday issues into spheres of involved, collective social action. This is done by catering to alternative issues important to alternative publics with whom the MSMs connect and collaborate. Using multiple means and methods aside from language and written texts, MSMs insert and employ shared value systems, beliefs, memories, terms, phrases, work traditions and imageries on common objects (of culture and tradition), spaces (such as temples rescue centres, hospitals and streets) become a carrier of MSM practices, symbolism and intentionality.

Second, these MSMs do so by becoming philanthropically viable at a ground level as well as by acquiring a competitive utility to dialogue the state. In other words, even if they continue to remain non-mainstream and micro they contribute by enriching alternative social and political spaces.

Third, by virtue of their everyday successes and struggles in these alternative social and political spaces, including their efforts to negotiate the life worlds of discourse and anti-discourse around the issues they come together for, both the movements portray the ability to construct and hold together an alternative public sphere politics.

Fourth, the alternative public sphere politics of MSMs as those managed by the BTF in Jodhpur and the ADF in Durban operates by creating layered discursive spheres around them. For an inductive convenience, these layers have been termed as the internal and the external discursive spheres of the movements.

Fifth, the activities undertaken and evident in these multi-layered, action spheres of the movements- the internal and the external discursive spheres- hold vital keys to

shared, socially practiced imaginations. I call these distinct and dialectical social movement imaginations as philanthropic and competitive imaginations.

The philanthropic and competitive social movement imaginations remain organically connected to issues on ground as much as they attempt to address the mainstream public sphere processes. In this way, social movement imaginations bind the involved grassroots publics to commonly experienced perceptions of repetitive, low key crisis and also steer them towards collective action in the various political spaces of their countries.

PART II: FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS: SOME SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES AND KEY AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

My research entailed an exploration of the discursive messages that micro social movements may hold as contextual fields of social practice imaginations. I focused on only a few aspects of the MSMs as per my research needs. However, while conducting the research, I realized that there is still a wide range of issues, which if studied can broaden the perspective on these two movements further.

I suggest that many more ways to examine the anti-poaching as well as anti-substance abuse movement are possible as well as required. Considering how two very similarly motivated and executed MSMs could form over strikingly different kinds of social issues across two different kinds of social settings, prompts me to suggest that much further work is required, not just of qualitative but also of a quantitative nature.

My findings and analysis are based, primarily on ethnographic, qualitative methods and issues as those were best suited for my own research questions (see, Punch, 1998: 244, on the relevance of research methods to research questions). Nonetheless, these two movements have emerged and continue to evolve from a sense of collectively felt crisis in the everyday sphere which pertains to situations of crime unfolding in their vicinities. Therefore, a quantitative database on patterns of crime amidst which these movements are situated and channelize their energies against, would complement the qualitative one greatly and go a long way to enrich the world of social understanding comprehensively.

Both approaches in tandem would make the task of policy makers, political leaders, bureaucracies, local leaders a bit more enlightened, about controlling substance

abuse and poaching in the contexts elaborated in this study. Similarly, it would render the tasks and experiences of individuals, families, social networks, communities and societies adversely affected by these kinds of crime a bit more legible for the larger state system and social whole, than it already is.

While the social movements organized by the ADF from Chatsworth-Durban in KwaZulu Natal and the BTF from Jodhpur-Bikaner in Rajasthan are doing their bit towards this end in terms of action around the causes, there remains an urgent need of more studies and sufficient database. In other words and to reiterate a point made in the earlier chapters, my research is but a micro endeavor at a limited qualitative analysis of the field. It was not possible for me to pick up all the issues which came to my notice and include them in this present discussion. Work of a different scale and specialization would be required to do justice to the rich terrains of the social movement discourses.

However, despite their rich contributions, both, the BTF and the ADF activists and support-bases are not going to be able to develop such studies or information alone. As active MSMs, they tread on the chapters of history 24/7 but seldom have respite to compile the 'moments', 'elements', 'floating signifiers' or 'nodal points' of their discourses into analytical data. Equally difficult for them is to table the 'bubbles' or 'seeds' of their protest politics into easily accessible reference points and quantitative data figures.

Meaning thereby, that as activists they rather carry this 'information on the move' in the womb of their trajectories, safely with them, even if they do not put it on paper, in black and white. Still, in my opinion and on a lighter note, the 'baby' of this motherly 'social movement-hood' must take birth! In other words, we as social scientists and researchers must carry on our bit and undertake further studies on these two issues. The onus on us, as academics, is to complement analytically and present systematically, the larger than life tasks these movements perform whilst they hold together the strained threads of their lifeworld.

Without the philanthropic and competitive contributions on the issues they fight against or the causes they uphold, our societies are likely to experience more troubled waters than what they already do on these fronts. Besides, the movement discourses also reveal an equally vast, conversely present and diffused world of an 'anti-discourse' alongside interesting newer kinds of collaborations. Together they

need to be understood in all their juxta-positional and diverse implications. Such an exercise can be beneficial both- for social movement praxis and, further conceptualizations on poaching in the Rajasthani and the Indian context as much as for substance abuse in the KwaZulu Natal and the larger South African realm.

Here I would like to reiterate that both themes picked up by the respective social movements against substance abuse and poaching entail significant differences and need to be understood in their own light instead of being overshadowed by the one-sided interpretations on collective action alone. My own work has focused on the shared threads of community social action/micro social movements and their transformative politics in India and South Africa. Yet there are many demarcating differences in the themes and context of the two movements which can be beneficially explored for a more complete account of the two. Hence, I demarcate further meaningful areas and questions for each case, below.

2.1 Further themes that can be explored vis-à-vis the anti-Poaching Movement of the Bishnois in Rajasthan:

- More details are needed on number of deaths in total, which Bishnoi Tiger Force refers to as Martyrs: what was done/ continues to be done for each such family or, in other words memorialization techniques post-martyrdom and how is the BTF involved in that. Either by way of making statues, keeping up social contacts with the families/villages concerned, issuing of certificates or campaigning for funds and bravery awards and so forth.
- Criminal details of incidents need to be culled together for finding patterns. In how many instances does an environmental crime relate to the 'grey' areas between poaching and hunting? How are both hunting and poaching viewed as well as followed up by BTF protest action?
- How do BTF activists retrieve information from police and court records, are FIRs (First Information Reports) in such cases lodged after or before/ with or without protest? How is each case handled legally post its FIR stage and what is status of such cases, if in court? How many actual convictions take place on an average?
- How many times and under what circumstances have legal procedures

been successfully initiated by the BTF, and how many penalizations have thus consequently occurred. This would help understand the history of BTF protest actions w.r.t. its awareness and relationship with court procedures from within the perspectives of its demand based politics such as marches, placard demonstrations, speeches, workshops, and their larger impact in society.

- Concrete data on poaching cases/crimes reported in Bishnoi areas or near Bhil and Ban Bawari areas in Western Rajasthan needs to be examined against data on rate of conviction and prevention measures, if any.
- Data base on commercial crimes w.r.t. poaching needs to be built up. How is supply flesh of prohibited species to restaurants possible and how much are private recreational/tourism bodies involved in 'poaching'? Is there an elite- hunter-poacher network for game? If yes, how does it operate? Emergence and evolution of Bishnoi rescue centres and the role of BTF would be an interesting subject to study. For instance, a record of number of animals received and cared on an average by each centre; details of infrastructure, finances, survival rates species thus rescued, kind of care provided in the BTF supported centres and their relationship/ gestures of collaboration with official veterinary units and vice-versa.
- Partnership of BTF with administrative agencies such as Police departments. More information is needed as to when and how does the BTF provide information on 'impending crime' or help prevent it? Which kind of resource base is used for such voluntary work/ collaboration with local administration?
- How do BTF volunteers help in case of feral dog attacks which account in a big way for 'non-human 'hunting down of endangered species'? What is the BTF strategy, experiences and suggestions on that?
- The representation, relationship and insertion strategies of the Bishnoi anti-poaching movement in the media (local, national or international: number of reports, you tube, opinions, videos, movies editorials (if any) is a vast area waiting to be tapped. This would help in trailing the social movement and media worlds beyond the clichéd representation of Bishnois as a militant

eco- religious sect, or being pre-colonial eco-warriors or the popular media generated images of Bishnoi women suckling fawns and so forth. More so, because the movement itself has evidently traversed, evolved and projected interests, extending beyond those 'customary' community concerns alone.

- What is relationship of the BTF with fellow organizations, institutions or individuals working on similar themes or other movement in general? In my field accounts, I did get a limited amount of information on this front. However, more work and data is required to study this interesting aspect deeply.
- Details on the financial resource base and needs of the movement to understand who helps the activists, when and how?
- Last but not the least, my research falls short of Bishnoi women voices. It was not possible for me to explore in detail this immensely important linkage in the resource base of the youth activists. Neither do the constraints of my current study permit me to share my preliminary interactions and limited data that I already have on the Bishnoi women at the villages of Lohavat, Budhnagar, Jhajiwal, Rotu and Districts of Phaloudi, Nokha, Mukkam and Churu¹³⁹.

2.2 Suggestions for more data base on the anti-Substance abuse movement of the Indian South Africans in Durban:

- Number and details of cases that the ADF receives each day, week and year: who brings them in and why the organisation receives such social trust at this preliminary 'walk- in' stage?
- Details of drug related crimes reported to ADF: how do chains of

¹³⁹ In these remote villages, I spent one day each for interacting specifically with the Bishnoi women. In cities of Bikaner and Jodhpur I spent a few passing moments with the women at homes. More ethnographic studies are needed on the role, sacrifice, motives and incentives of Bishnoi women. In remote villages and cities alike, women, while remaining in the background, support the activism of their men. Their courage to perform hard farm labour alone (though this can happen in many peasant communities across India) while letting their men chase justice against poaching in the desert is intriguing. Bishnoi activists move from site to site with zeal and satisfaction that their women stay back home to take care of families and fields. In many instances, as narrated to me, women even ring up their men to alert them over –impending crime/s- if by virtue of their community vigilance, they are 'passed' on such information by word of mouth.

incidents, information, feedback to and fro between the organization and community influence protest action politics?

- Role of ADF in checking local crime w.r.t. drug distribution networks: How many arrests/, legal procedures have been put into place successfully or otherwise and followed up, owing to the ADF pressure? What are the details of such cases?
- Concrete database on modes of acquisition of drugs by children/youth: who, when, how, and where, as narrated to the ADF or as in its records. Additionally, details of each case as per reason/s for addiction/ one time abuse - availability, affordability, peer pressure, exposure in family, broken home, violence/abuse, bullying, poverty. Such a research and data base could help acquire a precise social profile of addiction circumstances in Chatsworth and in broader context of ISAs in Durban.
- What is the concrete work that ADF's 'Smart clubs' are able to perform among schools and youth, and how? What are the relevant experiences such as successes, failures and further recommendations of this institution?
- How many schools get connected with ADF on an average and how do they contribute? In other words, what is role of schools, staff and which resources do they contribute?
- More information is required on the history of ADF protest actions: collective politics, marches, placard demonstrations, speeches and workshops. Also, the changes/ larger impact, if any, those actions have brought about among the alternative publics that the movement caters to.
- What is the ADF rehabilitation strategy as well as the related networking, sources, debates and challenges on that? Also, what kind of work does the ADF undertake with parents and caretakers with details of collective social wisdom gained and applied.
- What kind of partnership does the ADF enjoy with the government and what kind of voluntary / non-voluntary work it does on a daily basis with administrative organs of the state, if any.

- It would be interesting to examine the relationship of the ADF with fellow organizations, institutions or individuals working on similar themes (or otherwise) to see the larger support system, dead ends and challenges that the movement must reckon with.
- More information is needed on the financial resource base of the ADF and its anti-Substance abuse movement.
- Finally representation, relationship and insertion strategies of the ADF in the media (national international: i.e., the number of reports, you tube, opinions, videos, movies, editorials and interviews. This would help analyse connection of the anti-substance abuse with the media especially, beyond its clichéd- representation as a community based movement. True, the movement rises from the thresholds of the Durban based Indian South Africans, but what is the objective analysis of the media over the tasks that the ADF as a social movement performs?
- Last but not the least, accessing the world of the 'walk-ins can be an essential information base on the tasks performed by this MSM. Anonymous inclusion of voices of the involved parents and families vis-à-vis, ADF tasks and struggles would be greatly beneficial in understanding social networking and trust put in place by successful collective social action forums such as the ADF¹⁴⁰.

¹⁴⁰ From among such sources, I was able to interact with a few families, parents, children involved in rehabilitation procedures and those who have accompanied the ADF voluntarily. My database from such sources relates mainly to families and youth based in Chatsworth, Wentworth, Shallcross, Merebank Phoenix and Verulam. However, it is of a preliminary nature and would not be possible to share here owing to the sheer volume constraints of my thesis. Besides, much more work is needed with more families, to string a coherent account related to this dimension.

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Poachers, Nihal Chand Case: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KOAiDFq6-1A26>.2.2013 *Religion and ecological consciousness,* <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ITlxtHyYHeA>. 22.2.2013

III. Open ended Interviews and conversations with the actors from Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaipur, Rajasthan:

Ashok Bishnoi, Teacher, Jodhpur

B.R. Bhadu, Forest Department Officer, Jaipur. Activist and supporter of the BTF
Harsh Vardhan, Environmentalist, former WWF officer and supporter of the BTF, Jaipur.

Heeramal Bishnoi, Lohavat Village, Phaloudi, Rajasthan

Het Ram Bishnoi, Mukkam Temple Management staff, Nokha, Bikaner. Jaswant Singh Bishnoi, Politician from the BJP and former MP, Jodhpur. Madandan Charan, Forest official and key informant, Jodhpur

Mahipal Bishnoi, Advocate, Jodhpur High Court. Mula Ram Bishnoi, Scholar on Religion, Jodhpur

N.K. Bohra. Scientist at the AFRI, Jodhpur. Supports BTF partnership in formal conservation schemes

Nirmal Ghelot, Educator and Spectator Actor, Jodhpur

Poka Ram Bishnoi, Forest official and Key Informant, Jodhpur

Rajesh Agarwal, Journalist from Hindi Newspaper, 'Dainik Bhaskar' at Nokha Mandi, Bikaner.

Ram Narain Bishnoi, Forest Guard, Nokha Nursery, Bikaner. Ram Niwas Bishnoi, Chief spokesperson, BTF, Jodhpur.

Rampal Bhawad, leader of the BTF and key contact

Saraswati Bishnoi, Botanist from Bikaner and active in community matters. BTF Supporter.

Shivraj Bishnoi, Head of the ABJRS (a Bishnoi community- organization for the protection of wild-life) in Bikaner and spectator actor of the BTF.

Sona Ram Bishnoi. Scholar and author from the community. Veteran political worker

Surrendra Singh Shekhavat, Chief Conservator of Forests and key contact, Bikaner

Tejaram Bishnoi, Scholar and University lecturer, Hissar, Haryana. Supportive of the BTF

Vijay Lakshmi Bishnoi, Woman Politician from Congress Party, Jaipur.

Visitors, Villagers, Community headmen, forest guards and officials: in Jodhpur, Lohavat, Phaloudi, Pipasar, Jhangaroo, Mukkam, Jhajhival, Rotu and Nokha, Churu, .Shaunkho and Ra-Rod.

IV. Qualitative Data from Institutes and Offices in Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaipur, India:

Arid Forest Research India (AFRI), Jodhpur

Central Arid Zone Research Institute (CAZRI), Jodhpur Dainik Bhaskar Nokha Office in Bikaner

Indian Forest service offices in Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner. Indian National Congress Women's Headquarters, Jaipur.

Nokha Nursery, Nokha Thana, Nokha Police station, Nokha Tourism and District Forest Office, Bikaner

Police Headquarters in Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner;

Raksha NGO and Tourism and Wildlife Society of India, Jaipur

V. Informative Sites:

Bishnoi Temples/pilgrimage sites at Mukkam, Samratal Dhora, Pipasar, Jhangaroo and Guda watering hole and eco-village, Jodhpur.

Budhnagar Village, Jodhpur

Jhajiwaal village and Temple, Jodhpur Khejerli Memorial, Jodhpur

Lohavat, Tehsil Phaloudi, Jodhpur Nokha Mandi, Bikaner

Phaloudi, Jodhpur

Ra-Rod and Shounkho Village, Jodhpur outskirts Rotu and Lohavat Rescue Centres

Tal Chappad Sanctuary, Churu,

Villages of Martyrs Ganga Ram and Chaillu Singh Rajput.

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Ahmed from a Durban business house and supportive of the ADF networks

AVM. Veteran social worker at the 1860 Heritage Centre, Durban

B. Maharaj from 1860 Heritage Centre, social worker and onlooker actor Christopher, onlooker actor from Drakenburg Rehab Centre Cynthia and Tasleen at ADF.
Key informants

D. Shetty, Social crime Prevention Cell, Chatsworth Police David as ADF volunteer and motivational speaker Dawood from RA-UF

Dipen as key informant from Metro Transport

Ela Gandhi from Gandhi Trust Foundation, veteran activist, social worker and appreciator of the ADF

G. Angappan, key contact from Chatsowrth. Veteran anti-Apartheid activist from the Indian community and key participant in ADF strategies and campaigns

Gonny, Rafiq and Suleman: PAGAD members from the Durban Chapter. Key informants. Govender, a resident of Chatsworth

Jeten and Karen as key informants from Shallcross Joe, onlooker actor from Phoenix Khan, Rene and Clive. Teachers from Local Schools and ADF supporters.

Kisten, Indian liberation struggle participant and an erstwhile Robben Island prisoner now at the old age home at ABH;

Local Residents and families of Chatsworth, Unit 2 and Unit 5, Shallcross, Wentworth, Merebank, Phoenix and Verulam near Durban and in Dundee cum Glencoe

M.M from Metro Transport, key contact. Onlooker actor and endorser of anti-drug activism

Maggie Goveneder, MP from ANC and community activist, Durban Mathurs from Durban, onlooker actors and key contacts

Patients and former users – youth and children in the Rehab programmes of ADF and RA-UF

Rajish Lutchman, CEO of the ABH, veteran activist, concerned onlooker and key contact from Chatsworth.

RJ. Pillay from Chatsworth Youth Centre;

Roy Ramdev, lawyer from Dundee. Concerned onlooker and key contact.

Sam Pillay from the ADF; Chief articulator of the anti-drug movement and key informant

Steve Pillay, Principal. Meadowlands school. Chatsworth. Sunny, community activist and concerned onlooker actor.

Vikas, Karim, Neren and Mohammed- officers from Durban Police. Key Informants
Vivek M, from M. Transport and key informant for this research

VK Sharma from Indian Consulate in Durban. Key contact

IV. Institutions and Organisations, SA

1860 Heritage Centre, Durban ABH in Chatsworth and Glencoe Anti-Drug Forum,
Chatsworth Chatsworth Youth Centre Gandhi Trust Foundation

Natal Musuem, Pietermaritzburg Pietermaritzburg Railways

RK Khan Hospital, Chatsworth Sarvadharm Ashram, Chatsworth

Schools and Smart club members in Chatsworth Tamil Association Vivekanand
Ashram, Chatsworth

V. Informative Sites:

ABH in Chatsworth and Glencoe

Church Anti-Drug Programme,

Durban Events organised by Tamil
Association

Events organised in Glencoe, Dundee, and Pietermaritzburg

Gandhi Settlement, Phoenix

ISKON Temple, Chatsworth

Mosques in Durban and Phoenix

Natal Musuem, Petermartizburg
Pietermaritzburg Railways
RA-UF Rehabilitation Centre and
workshops Schools and Smart club events
in Chatsworth Temples in Shallcross and
Chatsworth Whonga Park

ANNEX-I

THE INDIAN WILDLIFE PROTECTION ACT, 1972

Wildlife Conservation: India's International Profile

India is a party to five major international conventions related to Wild Life conservation

- Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of wild fauna and flora (CITES)
- International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN)
- International Whaling Commission (IWC), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization-World Heritage Committee (UNESCO- WHC) and
- Convention on Migratory Species (CMS).

Domestic Law on Hunting-The Indian Wildlife Protection Act, 1972:

"The Indian Constitution gives ample provisions to protect the wildlife in its territory. Though there are many implied provisions on wildlife protection in the constitution like Art.21, Union , State and Concurrent list, the main Articles which specifically protects the wildlife are Art.48-A and Art. 51-A(g). Art. 48-A says that the state shall endeavour to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forest and wildlife of the country. Art. 51A (g) imposes fundamental duty on the every citizen of India to protect and improve the environment and have compassion for living creatures. The Wildlife Protection Act, 1972 is the major legislation which specifically enacted for the protection of the wildlife in India."
<http://www.legalserviceindia.com/articles/wlife.htm>

India enacted the Wildlife Protection Act on September 9, 1972 with the Government of Rajasthan making the Act applicable in the state vide G.S.R. 410 (E) dated September 1, 1972. 1972. The Act, (Section 2 (16), Wildlife Protection Act of 1972) describes hunting as an act: " *with its grammatical variations and cognate expressions, includes,*

- a. capturing, killing, poisoning, snaring, and trapping or any wild animal and every attempt to do so,*

*b. driving any wild animal for any of purposes specified in sub clause
c. injuring or destroying or taking any part of the body of any such animal, or in the case of wild birds or reptiles, damaging the eggs of such birds or reptiles, or disturbing the eggs or nests of such birds or reptiles; ...“*

National Board of Wildlife- Powers and Duties:

On a central level, a National Board of Wildlife is also constituted under this Act with the Prime Minister as its Chairperson with the aim to promote conservation and protection of wildlife in the country. The Act also enables the constitution of a State Board for Wildlife as well as appointment of Chief Wildlife Warden for each state. The Board, among other things, needs to advice (Section 8 (cc), Wildlife Protection Act of 1972, inserted by Act of 1991) the state government:

“ in relation to the measures to be taken for harmonizing the needs of the tribals and other dwellers of the forest with the protection and conservation of wildlife

Protected Areas and Wildlife:

Along with the creation of ‘Protected Areas’, the wildlife act also establishes the endangered-ness of an animal by the Schedules that accompany the Act. The Act has six schedules which contain list of animals which are considered under the Act. The animals mentioned under schedules I to IV are protected under the Act from the acts of hunting. How this list has been derived, what is the basis of classification and how are animal differentiated and allocated a schedule is not mentioned in the Act, (Section 9 prohibits hunting of animals specified under schedules I, II, III and IV). Further, Section 2(36) describes the term, ‘wild animal’ and Section 2(37) the term ‘wildlife’. “Wild animal” means any animal found wild in nature and includes any animal specified in Schedule I, Schedule II, Schedule, IV or Schedule V, wherever found.

The 2002 Amendment Act substituted "wild animal" with, "wild life" which includes any animal, aquatic or land vegetation that forms part of any habitat and means any animal specified in Schedules I to IV and found wild in nature. “Wildlife”, hence, includes any animal, bees butterflies, crustacean, fish and moths; and aquatic or land vegetation which forms part of any habitat.

Hunting under special Permission:

Chapter III of the Act focuses on hunting of wild animals and lays down certain exceptions where hunting of such animals is permitted. Certain conditions have been identified under which hunting of animals mentioned in Schedule I is permitted. The Chief Wildlife Warden can permit the hunting of an animal specified under Schedule I if s/he is satisfied the animal to be either dangerous to human life or considers the animal to be disable or diseased beyond recovery, (Section 11(1)). Also, if it concerns an animal specified under Schedules II, III or IV, if the Chief Wildlife Warden is satisfied that the said animal is a danger to life or property or is disabled or diseased beyond recovery. Such a permission is granted by an written order stating the reasons for hunting and thus permits any person to hunt such animal or cause such animal to be hunted.

As is clear, Section 9 prohibits hunting of animals specified under schedules I, II, III. However, Section 11 & 12 allow hunting of these animals under certain circumstances. Killing or wounding of a wild animal is also permitted if done for self-defense or for the protection of any other person provided that the person was not committing any act in contravention to the Act or rules or orders under this Act, (Section 11(2)). By the 2002 Amendment to the Act, an additional explanatory proviso was added which stated:

"Provided that no wild animal shall be ordered to be killed unless the Chief Wild Life Warden is satisfied that such animal cannot be captured, tranquilised or translocated:

Provided further that no such captured animal shall be kept in captivity unless the Chief Wild Life Warden is satisfied that such animal cannot be rehabilitated in the wild and the reasons for the same are recorded in writing."

The process or capture or translocation, as the case may be, of such animal shall be made in such manner as to cause minimum trauma to the said animal. The 2002 Amendment also added an explanatory clause stating: "For the purposes of clause (a), the process or capture or translocation, as the case may be, of such animal shall be made in such manner as to cause minimum trauma to the said animal."

The Chief Wildlife Warden also has the power to grant a permit to hunt a wild animal for educational purposes, scientific research as well as scientific management. Section 12 requires the permission to be in the form of a written order which specifies

the reasons for the permit and also requires payment of a prescribed fee. Under clause (bb) Scientific management, a permit can also be granted for translocation of any wild animal to an alternative suitable habitat, population management of wildlife (without killing or poisoning any wild animals). The permit can also be granted for collection of specimens for zoos, museums and similar institutions and also for derivation, collection or preparation of snake venom for manufacture of life saving drugs. Proviso to section 12 reads that the permit can be granted only with the prior permission of the Central Government in case of a wild animal under Schedule I and that of the State Government in case of any other wild animal (Section 12).

Chapter VI deals with prevention and detection of offenses and the penalties leviable. The Act empowers an authorized officer to stop and detain any person who is committing an act that requires a license; to inspect or search a vessel, vehicle, land or person as well as seize captive animal, wild animal, meat or trophy etc., (Section 50. Clause 8)

Penalties and Bail:

Section 51 (1) awards a punishment of imprisonment extendable to 3 years or fine up to twenty-five thousand Rupees or both if any person contravenes any provisions/rules/orders of/under the Act or violates the conditions that bind his permit. Provided that where the offence committed is in relation to any animal specified in Schedule I or Part II of Schedule II or meat of any such animal or animal article, trophy or uncured trophy derived from such animal or where the offence [relates to hunting in, or altering the boundaries of] a sanctuary or a National Park, such offence shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than [one year] but may extend to six years and also with fine which shall not be less than [five thousand rupees]

However, if the person commits a second or subsequent offense the term of imprisonment may extend to 6 years (and not be less than 2 years) and the amount of fine shall not be less than ten thousand Rupees. These punishments are not applicable to an offense committed under Chapter VA (Prohibition of trade or commerce in trophies, animal articles, etc. derived from certain animals) or Section 38 J (Prohibition of teasing animals in Zoo) of the Act

The court trying the offense may forfeit the animal/meat/trophy etc., the instrument used to capture/hunt the animal as well as the license or permit

acquired to do so. Such as forfeiture is an additional punishment to imprisonment or fine. The license given under Arms Act shall be cancelled and the person shall not be eligible to apply for a new license for a period of 5 years from the date of conviction, (Section 51(4)).

The conditions applicable when applying for bail are mentioned in Section 51 A:

"When any person accused of, the commission of any offence relating to Schedule I or Part II of Schedule I or offences relating to hunting inside the boundaries of National Park or wild life sanctuary or altering the boundaries of such parks and sanctuaries, is arrested under the provisions of the Act, then notwithstanding anything contained in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 no such person who had been previously convicted of an offence under this Act shall, be released on bail unless

(a) the Public Prosecutor has been given an opportunity of opposing the release on bail, and

(b) where the Public Prosecutor opposes the application, the Court is satisfied that there are reasonable grounds for believing that he is not guilty of such offence and that he is not likely to commit any offence while on bail"

If a person attempts or abets contravention to the provisions, rules or orders under this Act, he or she would be deemed to have contravened the act, (Section 52). However, the Act also provides an suspected person to reach a compromise by payment of a sum of money. The central government may by a notification empower an officer to accept such a payment.

Section 54 requires the officer to be Director of Wild Life Preservation or any other officer not below the rank of Assistant Director of Wild Life Preservation and in the case of a State Government in the similar manner, empower the Chief Wild Life Warden or any officer of a rank not below the rank of a Deputy Conservator of Forests

On making such a payment, the suspect shall be discharged if in custody and no further proceedings are to take place against him,(Section 54(2)). However, his/her license can be cancelled by the competent officer. The sum payable should not exceed twenty five thousand rupees and the proviso to the section reads:

"... that no offence, for which a minimum period of imprisonment has been prescribed in section 51, shall be compounded."

For offences relating to wild animals (or their parts and products) included

in schedule-I or part II of Schedule- II and those relating to hunting or altering the boundaries of a sanctuary or national park the punishment and penalty have been enhanced, the minimum imprisonment prescribed is three years which may extend to seven years, with a minimum fine of Rs. 10,000/-. For a subsequent offence of this nature, the term of imprisonment shall not be less than three years but may extend to seven years with a minimum fine of Rs. 25,000.

Also a new section (51 - A) has been inserted in the Act (By the amendment in year 2000), making certain conditions applicable while granting bail: 'When any person accused of the commission of any offence relating to Schedule I or Part II of Schedule II or offences relating to hunting inside the boundaries of National Park or Wildlife Sanctuary or altering the boundaries of such parks and sanctuaries, is arrested under the provisions of the Act, then notwithstanding anything contained in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973, no such person who had been previously convicted of an offence under this Act shall be released on bail unless -

(a) The Public Prosecutor has been given an opportunity of opposing the release on bail; and

(b) Where the Public Prosecutor opposes the application, the Court is satisfied that there are reasonable grounds for believing that he is not guilty of such offences and that he is not likely to commit any offence while on bail".

In order to improve the intelligence gathering in wildlife crime, the existing provision for rewarding the informers has been increased from 20% of the fine and composition money respectively to 50% in each case. In addition to this, a reward up to Rs. 10,000/- is also proposed to be given to the informants and others who provide assistance in detection of crime and apprehension of the offender.

At present, persons having ownership certificate in respect of Schedule I and Part II animals, can sell or gift such articles. This has been amended with a view to curb illegal trade, and thus no person can now acquire Schedule I or Part II of Schedule II animals, articles or trophies except by way of inheritance (except live elephants).

Stringent measures have also been proposed to forfeit the properties of hard core criminals who have already been convicted in the past for heinous wildlife crimes. These provisions are similar to the provisions of 'Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, 1985'. Provisions have also been made

empowering officials to evict encroachments from Protected Areas.

Section 50(5) reads:

“Nothing contained in section 360 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 (2 of 1974) or in the Probation of Offenders Act, 1958 (20 of 1958) shall apply to a person convicted of an offence with respect to hunting in a sanctuary or a National Park or of an offence against any provision of Chapter VA unless such person is under eighteen years of age.”

However, Section 56 does not bar the application of other laws provided it does not lead to double jeopardy. Also, interesting the Act does not presume innocence until proven guilty by stating that the onus to prove innocence lies on the accused(who is found to be in possession of an animal or its meat/trophy/ etc), (Section 57).

The official website of the Ministry of Environment & Forests states that the enactment of the 1972 Act is with *“the objective of effectively protecting the wild life of this country and to control poaching, smuggling and illegal trade in wildlife and its derivatives,”* (<http://www.envfor.nic.in/division/wildlife>).

Anti-Poaching Movements of the BTF and the Wildlife Protection Act:

- With respect to the BTF and its protest movements, a valid question in the light of this act would be regarding the role of the Central Board of wildlife (as discussed above) w.r.t both its powers and duties. As per both, it is supposed to harmonize the needs of tribal and forest dwelling communities, but such a relief measure in the shape of governmental interpretations to hunting and poaching is conspicuously absent.
- Moreover, the act does not attempt to define poaching in nuanced way (some implication of this have been taken up in my own study on Bishnois, Bhils and Ban Bawrias in Chapter III of this work) or differentiate between the acts of ‘hunting’ as a customary practice of certain communities and its entanglement with the practice of ‘poaching’- as per changing legal conventions and interpretation of law w.r.t to endangered species.
- Given the stress and strain over, ‘pro-active’ conservation of Bishnoi activists, it is interesting to recall that there can be many detractors, as

discussed in my case study. With respect to the activists' occasional standoffs with forest department and police in particular, it is not difficult to imagine why this happens. As per provisions of the Wildlife Act, 1972 and amendments to it, touching, transporting and handling of protected or threatened species all hold a nuanced meaning in law including an implication of its contravention. Besides, tensions arise further, if during such an attempt to save, a Bishnoi or a non-Bishnoi gets killed/injured.

- Finally, it is not just the Bishnois, but studies have indicated that an average of eight Rajasthan forestry personnel per year is killed and 30 are crippled for life in confrontations with poachers. According to Nature Club of Rajasthan founder Suraj Ziddi, many and perhaps most injured personnel may belong to the Bishnoi community, (see, Animal People Online: 1998, for more details on hunting, poaching and sustainable development debates in India). This point is noteworthy for understanding, how the networking between forest personnel and Bishnoi activists is also a reality, just as the stalemates are.
- Therefore there are more than one reasons, for the Indian Government to re- visit this act and establish mutually communicative relations with the communities that have been impacted owing to the provisions of this act.

ANNEX-II

ANTI-SUBSTANCE ABUSE LAWS AND USE OF DRUGS IN SA: AN OVERVIEW

International conventions: SA as signatory to treaties and conventions

- South Africa is a signatory to the 1961 UN Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, the 1972 Protocol (which amended the Single Convention), the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances and the 1988 UN Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.
- The country is also a signatory to both the African Union (AU) and Southern African Development Community (SADC) Drug Control Protocol. In addition, it is a signatory to and ratified the United Nations Convention on Transnational Organised Crime.
- The South African drug enforcement agencies co-operate and collaborate with similar agencies in the United Kingdom and the United States, notably the Defence Logistics Organisation (DLO), Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).
- Regionally the agencies co-operate and collaborate with similar agencies in SADC countries, specifically the South African Regional Police Chiefs Co- operation Organisation (SARPCCO). Nationally the departments in the Justice Crime Prevention and Security Cluster are involved in committees to combat drug trafficking, such as the Joint Operation and Intelligence committees (JOINTs) and Provincial Joint Operational and Intelligence committees (Provincial JOINTs). Crime Combating. Forum (CCF) structures at provincial cluster and station level are SAPS-specific structures that deal with operational crime combating matters between different SAPS disciplines at these levels.

Domestic Control of Illicit Drugs and South African Laws:

The control of illicit drugs in South Africa is organised and managed through legislation. The following Acts are of special concern:

- Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act (140 of 1992), provides for the prohibition of the use or possession of, or the dealing in, drugs and of certain acts

relating to the manufacture or supply of certain substances. It further provides for the obligation to report certain information to the police, and for the exercise of the powers of entry, search, seizure and detention in specified circumstances.

- Medicines and Related Substances Control Act (101 of 1965), provides for the registration of medicines and other medicinal products to ensure their safety for human and animal use, the establishment of a Medicines Control Council for the control of medicines and the scheduling of substances and medical devices. It provides transparency in the pricing of medicines. Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters Act (86 of 1992).
- Prevention and Treatment of Drug Dependency Act (20 of 1992), was amended to establish the Central Drug Authority in 1999. It makes provision for the development of programmes and regulates the establishment and management of treatment facilities.
- Prevention of and Treatment for Substance Abuse Act (70 of 2008), will replace Act 20 of 1992 once the regulations are developed and approved. Prevention of Organised Crime Act (121 of 1998), provides for the recovery of the proceeds of crime (irrespective of their source) as well as money laundering.
- Road Traffic Amendment Act (21 of 1998), which makes provision for the mandatory testing of vehicle drivers for drugs, in order to protect the public from the danger of drug abuse. The legally acceptable blood alcohol level has been reduced from 80 mg to 50 mg alcohol per 100 ml of blood. Tobacco Products Control Amendment Act (12 of 1999), which provides for the control of tobacco products, prohibition of smoking in public places, advertisement of tobacco products as well as sponsoring of events by the tobacco industry.

Social Aspects of Drugs in SA- Segregation and Crime in the Past:

From 1948 to 1991, under the Apartheid regime, the South African population was by law divided into four racial categories: Blacks, Whites, Coloured and Asian. These racial divisions with their attached labels continue to remain entrenched in various ways in the contemporary South Africa. The vast majority of the Black Africans were segregated into remote areas called Bantustans and Townships (in urban areas). Meagre South African government resources

supported housing, education, health, or social services in Black areas. Police, legal and administrative services were employed almost exclusively to maintain control over blacks, (Peltzer et.al. 2010).

Black on black crimes, significantly, illegal drug trade and use were rarely investigated in those areas owing to lack of mandate or state facilities in those areas. It is alleged that, despite the fact that the country was a signatory to treaties declaring the use of drugs such as Heroine, Cocaine, Cannabis as criminal offences, few efforts were made to check the prevalence as it suited the motives of the Apartheid government.

Some informative notes:

- **‘Dop System’ and Plants:** On the contrary, drugs were said to have been promoted in Black and Coloured areas as a tool of domination. White farmers used a, ‘dop system’whereby workers were paid in alcohol so as to keep their freedom struggles in check. The case of the Coloured community in western Cape is a case in point. Planting Dagga in the community spaces and facilitating the availability of other drugs was another strategy (Mbecke: 2015), to keep impoverished communities busy.
- **Ethnic tool of Domination:** Back in Apartheid days, freedom fighters were allegedly involved in illegal trafficking of drugs to finance their weapons supply. Meanwhile, there is evidence to indicate, the Apartheid government manufactured synthetic drugs as Methaqualone and Ecstasy. Mandrax (Methaqualone) abuse and trafficking became highly prevalent in the Durban Indian communities, (see Luthra Sinha: 2015 and 2016). The benefit was two pronged for the Government: It was strategic in ‘crowd control’ while at the same time justified the apartheid regime in the eyes of its defenders, (UNODCCP: 1999)
- **Taverns and Drug culture:** The allowance of taverns in their areas and free passage of drugs, added another dimension to the emerging patterns of use: people became accustomed and expectant of the money that drugs bought in. This source of revenue is proving difficult to dismantle even for the Democratic government. My own primary data indicates pretty much the same opinion: A Warrant Officer (Interview January 25, 2014)dealing with drug crimes in Durban states,“ Let’s admit, for those involved in trafficking, drugs is a very lucrative business and

that is one of the major challenges for our societies to solve”.

Some statistics and Contemporary challenges:

- **Statistics:** Fifteen percent of the country has a drug problem, as per CDA (2011). Further, the same study points out that one Rand in circulation out of four, is linked to substance abuse problem. The consumption of illicit substances in SA is twice the world norm (Mbecke, 2015: Chapter 7).
- **Corruption:** Undoubtedly, SA’s drug history has made current drugs control difficult. Besides, there are issues of corruption and inefficiency amongst police and SA’s criminal justice system in dealing with drug related cases
- **Community Based Response:** Certain ethnic groups are more likely to test positive for certain substances than others. The drug markets of South Africa are ethnically segmented, and interventions need to be tailored to each user group. In this aspect, my case study points out how the ADF is an organization which consolidates one such response by its collective actions.
- **Lack of community-wise Data:** It is acknowledged in official quarters too, that extensive research is required to fill the current gaps in drug-related information in South Africa. Studies are needed on, for example, the dynamics of drug use (especially the use of alcohol and cannabis) among different groups in different parts of the country; the economic costs of substance abuse for the country; the relationship between substance use/abuse and national issues (HIV and AIDS, TB, crime, youth development and poverty); and the impact of current government policies (e.g. regarding drug-affected driving and walking).

The ADF, supported by the Municipal government, has shifted into a new, improved premises since 2014. As it has also begun to get steady official recognition for its tasks, it is slowly expanding its focus beyond Durban and broader sets of communities. As per my interactions with the ADF, the Forum now strives to make formal records on the its walk-ins and rehabilitation cases. Given its vast information base and updates that it received through institutions such as schools and smart clubs, it can serve as an example of a community voices based data centre in

South Africa.

- **Need of a user-friendly national clearing house and database:** It is, furthermore, necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of community-based interventions and other existing drug abuse services as well as recommendations for policy change, which in turn will impact on planning. Cognisance should also be taken of the fact that drug-related research in South Africa has mostly addressed commercial/prescription substances and has tended to overlook the impact of the use of indigenous substances and combinations of substances, which generally affect a much larger number of people, notably those in rural and previously disadvantaged communities. In addition, a user-friendly national clearing house and database must be established. This should facilitate the dissemination and use of research on drug use/abuse and related information (NDMP: 2013-2017).

Crime, Criminalising measures Vs Decriminalising debates

Recent estimates specify that the use of illegal drugs in South Africa is twice the world norm and an analysis of existing academic and non-academic literature shows that in general, the so-called “war on drugs” tends to focus on criminalising measures. This would mean arresting and penalizing illicit drug use and its dealership, (Hodza, 2013). Statistics provided by the South African Community Epidemiology Network on Drug Use (SACENDU: 2011), on a 6-monthly basis shows that, the number of persons seeking help at drug rehabilitation centres throughout South Africa is escalating significantly towards pandemic proportions. Arrests and convictions of big fish, such as drug dealers, runners and lords have not risen in the same vein.

Many anti-substance voices across Durban, for instance, including the actors mentioned in this study, viz., ADF, PAGAD, RA-UF and community voices point to the same discrepancy, (Refer to the case study in Chapter IV of this work).

An increase in the relationship between illicit drugs and criminal behaviour is also evidenced by the number of drug-related crimes in South Africa that showed an increase by 140% from 52 900 in April 2004 to 151 000 in March 2011 (South African Police Service (SAPS) 2011. This is worrying for a country that is currently characterised by one of the highest rates of substance abuse in the world (Central Drug Authority, 2012), by extremely high rates of exposure to

interpersonal violence (Read, Hobkirk, Watt, Green, Beckham, Skinner & Meade, 2015: 167).

Just as an increase in criminalising measures is understood to be a good strategy, decriminalisation is the contradictory argument, offering reverse a side of the debate on drugs in SA, (for such an overview on Cannabis and Marijuana, see Minaar: 131- 166 and Khan:167-179, in Gopal and Luthra Sinha: 2016). According to SA's National Drug Master Plan, (2013 – 2017), the situation demands a manifold approach. Neither of the extremes may be sufficient to solve the problems on their own. Research organisations, community help endeavours, including faith based social actions, may together form a relevant platform for the government and experts to explore the issue further.

SA's National Drug Master Plan (NDMP): The (NDMP) 2013 – 2017 of South Africa was formulated by the Central Drug Authority in terms of the Prevention and Treatment of Drug Dependency Act (20 of 1992), as amended and approved by Parliament in the shape of Substance Abuse Act (70 of 2008), to meet the requirements of the international bodies concerned and at the same time the specific needs of South African communities, which sometimes differ from those of other countries.

At the 2nd Biennial Anti-Substance Abuse Summit in Durban, President Jacob Zuma pledged his support and the support of Parliament and national and provincial authorities to combating substance abuse in South Africa. As stated earlier, the plan indicated that a single approach such as criminalising or decriminalising substances or abusers will not solve the problem. Instead, a number of strategies should be applied in an integrated way to deal with the prevalence of “drugs”.

For purposes of the NDMP the term "drug" refers to illicit drugs as defined in the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act, 1992 (140 of 1992), commonly abused licit medicines both prescribed and non-prescribed, alcohol and tobacco, inhalants/volatile solvents and other as yet undefined dependence-forming substances. For convenience the terms "drug", "substance" (of abuse), "dependence-forming substance" and "alcohol and other drugs" (AOD) are considered interchangeable in the NDMP, (See, NDMP: 2013-2017. p.28).

A review of the NDMP 2006 – 2011 made it clear that the new NDMP would have to be changed in the following key respects:

- Devising solutions from the bottom up rather than from the top down
- Shifting from a national to a community approach to devising strategy (from one size fits all to a community-specific solution)
- Shifting from supply reduction to primary prevention in an integrated strategy
- Developing and applying evidence-based solutions wherever possible.
- Introducing a monitoring and evaluation (M&E) approach to the formulation of the results to be achieved, i.e. impact, outcomes, outputs and targets.

The first three points noted above, find visible relevance in the ADF's approach: As a community based movement it works pro-actively to manage the demand side of the problem. The ADF wants to effectively route out the 'need of a dealer' from the society. The movement conceives this as a vital element in its visions of making communities, 'Drug Free'. For this it spearheads early intervention programmes for preventing substance-abuse among the most susceptible section of society.

Key outcomes of review:

The key specific outcomes derived from a review of the NDMP 2006 – 2011 are described in the NDMP 2013 – 2017. In terms of the basic concepts of monitoring and evaluation (Public Service Commission of South Africa, 2008). These outcomes are listed below:

- Reduction of the bio-psycho-social and economic impact of substance abuse and related illnesses on the South African population
- Build on Ability of all people in South Africa to deal with problems related to substance abuse within communities
- Recreational facilities and diversion programmes that prevent vulnerable populations from becoming substance abusers/dependents
- Reduced availability of dependence-forming substances/drugs, including alcoholic Beverages
- Development and implementation of multi-disciplinary and multi-modal protocols and practices for integrated diagnosis and treatment of substance dependence and co-occurring disorders and for funding such diagnosis and treatment
- Harmonisation and enforcement of laws and policies to facilitate effective

governance of the supply chain with regard to alcohol and other drugs

- Creation of job opportunities in the field of combating substance abuse

The commonly recognised strategies applied in the NDMP 2013 – 2017 are: demand reduction, supply reduction and a localised version of harm reduction. The NDMP 2013-2017 concludes: “The new National Drug Master Plan 2013 – 2017 offers a balanced approach to collaboration on drug control and should help South Africa fight the scourge of substance abuse and set the country firmly on the road to creating a healthy nation”.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Ph.D. thesis entitled, "Micro Social Movements In India and South Africa: Of Twin Imaginations and Layered Discursivities", was carried out by me for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Anthropology and African Studies under the guidance and supervision of Professor Till Förster, Chair of Social Anthropology, University of Basel, Switzerland and Professor Madhulika Banerjee, Department of Political Science, University of Delhi, India.

I acknowledge with my signature that the comparative interpretations and terminologies put forth in this work are based on my fieldwork and reading of relevant literature. They are not published anywhere before, in the form of books, monographs or articles. All sources that I have consulted such as books, articles, websites, institutions, key informants and other actors are acknowledged duly in the text. All further details are listed under acknowledgments, references, and other sources. I certify herewith that all the pictures and figures used in the text belong to me, unless where specified. In both the cases and for all kinds of resources as mentioned above, due permissions have been taken from the concerned actors.

For the present thesis, which I am submitting to the University of Basel, Switzerland, no degree, diploma or distinction has been conferred on me before, either in this or in any other University or institution of learning.

Bobby Luthra Sinha In April, 2016

BOBBY LUTHRA SINHA**CURRICULUM VITAE**

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PART I**CURRENT ENGAGEMENTS**

From September, 2011 onward, I am registered full-time in the doctoral programme of the Seminar of Social Anthropology and Centre for African Studies at the University of Basel (UNIBAS) in Switzerland. My thesis, which I submit herewith, is a comparative analysis of Micro Social Movements (MSMs) and the evolution of protest action imagination in India and South Africa. As a PhD student at the UNIBAS, I taught in the spring semester of 2013 at the Centre for African Studies. I accomplished course-work and workshops as well as helped in the organization of various academic events at the University. I have made regular presentations in academic events in Basel and Zurich. I have co-convened a panel at an international congress during this period and also published five articles. Another three of my papers are under publication and to be out by autumn of 2016. I co-edited a Special Edition of the Journal *Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology* in 2015. All the above quoted details are mentioned below in Part II and Part III. As of now, I am a member of the Research Group on Political Transformations at the Chair of Social Anthropology in Basel. I also hold the honorary position of Co-Convener in the Scientific Committee on Migration at the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnographic Sciences (IUAES).

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

I began my professional life as a Research Associate at the Developing Countries Research Centre (DCRC), Delhi. Working at the DCRC, while still completing my training as a Political Scientist at the University of Delhi during 1994-1997, I began to

specialize on issues related to social movements, human rights, civil society and NGOs alongside the politics of developing countries. I worked part-time as India Projects Officer with the Minority Rights Group of London between 1996-1997. During 1995-98 I taught Political Science at two prestigious undergraduate colleges in the Delhi University in India. After a break owing to family processes, I returned to India and taught modules in NGO management and Spanish as a foreign language at various universities and higher education centres in India from 2005 through 2007. During this time I also worked as a free-lance Translator and Interpreter of Spanish for embassies, publication houses, and cultural organizations in India and Latin America. I edited two books which were translated from English to Spanish. All details are mentioned below in Part IV.

SPECIAL INTERESTS SOCIAL AND PROTEST MOVEMENTS, MIGRATION, INDIAN DIASPORA, ETHNOGRAPHIC AND COMPARATIVE METHODOLOGIES, QUALITATIVE AND COMMUNICATIVE FIELDWORK, HUMAN RIGHTS, MINORITIES, POLITICAL THEORY AND COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT, THEORIES OF CHANGE IN ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA.

Education PHD THESES SUBMITTED TO THE SEMINAR OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN APRIL 2016 AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BASEL IN SWITZERLAND

- Theses Title: Micro social Movements in India and South Africa: of Twin Imaginations and Layered Discursivities

M Phil University of Delhi India, Political Science, 1995

- Dissertation Title: *Revisiting the Indigenous with an Indigenous Vision: A case study of ecology movements in India and Brazil*

Masters University of Delhi India, Political Science, 1993

BA (Hons) University of Delhi India, Political Science, 1991

PART II

PUBLICATIONS AS PHD STUDENT AT UNIVERSITY OF BASEL CASB AND THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY: LIST OF ARTICLES, CHAPTERS AND E-CONTRIBUTIONS

- Guest-editor, with Dr.Nirmala Gopal from KwaZulu Natal, of a special volume of *Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology*. Special Edition No. 3/2015: Illicit Drugs: Local and International Realities. January 2016. See, http://reference.sabinet.co.za/sa_epublication/crim
- Article: Cross Border Migration as the Flip side of Patriarchy, poverty and Development in India and Nepal, in, *The Oriental Anthropologist*. Special Number on Migration, Migrants and Xenophobia. Guest Editor. Anand Singh.Vol.15. July-December, 2015. New Delhi. Pp.363-387.
- Article: The Indian-South African Bilateral Sphere: Of Mainstream Relations, Illicit Drug Trafficking and Peoples' Movements, in, *Alternation*. Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of the Arts and Humanities in Southern Africa. Special Edition No 15, 2015. ISSN 1023-1757. UKZN. Durban.
- Online Publication: *The Ubuntu Democracy and an Anti-Drug Movement*.2015 Universidad Nacional de Lomas de Zamora. Buneos Aires. Argentina.
See:<http://www.sociales.unlz.edu.ar/unicom/ColecionUniCom/A3N5TheUbunto.pdf>
<http://www.sociales.unlz.edu.ar/unicom/ColecionUniCom/A3N5-TheUbunto.pdf>
- Article: Social movements of the historical Indian Diaspora in South Africa: binding the 'home' and 'homeland' creatively? In, *Journal of Diaspora Studies*, Volume 7, Issue I, 2014. Taylor and Francis. Chapter 1, pp 1-17
- Book: Co-authored, with SuryakanthieChettie from the UKZN, of a chapter titled, 'Aryan Benevolent Home (ABH) - A peoples' movement for upholding the dignity of life and the right to age gracefully in, Desai, Ashwin and Goolam. Vahed (eds.) *Chatsworth-Making of a South African Township*. UKZN Press. KwaZulu Natal. 2013.

PART III

PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND UNIVERSITY PROGRAMMES

- Key Speaker: International Conference, Buenos Aires, Argentina: 2015. As key speaker, delivered a talk on the theme of '*Social Movements, Spaces and Methods*', in a conference titled, India: Knowledges, Diversities and Power. Perspectives from Latin America. Held between September 3- 4, 2015, it was organized under the auspices of thirteen National Universities. See, <http://jornadaindia.com.ar/programa/>
- Guest Speaker: CARI, Buenos Aires, Argentina: 2015: Was invited to be a guest speaker at the Argentine National Council for International Relations (CARI) on September 8, 2015. Gave a talk on, '*Diasporas in movement: immigrants from India in South Africa and Switzerland*'. See, official version on You Tube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1cSAPpxlC8I>.
- Panel Co-Convener and Paper Presenter: Bangkok, Thailand: 2015: Co-Convener of Panel P4-05 (Migration in the Context of Skills Transfer, Criminality and Political Reorientations) at the IUAES Inter-Congress held at Thamassat University between July 14-July 18, 2015 in Bangkok, Thailand. Also Presented paper titled, *International Migration as the flip side of poverty, patriarchy and development in India and Nepal*.
- Workshop Participant: Zurich, Switzerland: 2014: Participated as a speaker at a workshop on, 'Social Movements in Theory and Practice: Concepts and Experiences from Different Regional Contexts' organized by University Research Priority Program, (URPP) Asia and Europe Centre for African Studies Basel (CASB) in Zurich, on October 24–25, 2014. Presented a paper titled, *Accessing the silences of protest action in India and South Africa – before, after and beyond the public manifestation of collective action*. See, <http://www.asienundeuropa.uzh.ch/events/conferences/socialmovements/flyersocialmovements.pdf>
- Panel Speaker: IUAES, Chiba City, Japan: 2014: Presented paper titled, *In Defence of the endangered Black Buck: Bishnois of India raise the stakes for hunters and poachers*. Presented at the Inter-Congress of the International

Union for Anthropological and Ethnographic Sciences (IUAES) held between <http://www.nomadit.co.uk./iuaes/iuaes2014/panels.ph5?PanelID=2836>

- Paper Presenter: VAD, Germany, 2014: Presented on, *The Indian-South African Bilateral Sphere: of mainstream relations, illicit drug trafficking and peoples' movements*, at the VAD Congress on the Future of Africa, as held in the University of Bayreuth in Germany between June 11-14, 2014. See, http://www.vadev.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Abstracts/Abstract_VAD_Sinha.pdf f. 18.02.2015.
- Co-Presenter, University of Cape Town (UWC), South Africa: 2014: Made a presentation with Dr. Nirmala Gopal of UKZN, 'Of Mumbai Dons, Mandrax Munniammas and Maritime Relations between India and South Africa: A Journey Back into the Heady Decades of the 70s and 80s' at a conference on, Durban and Cape Town as Indian Ocean Port Cities: Reconsidering Southern African Studies from the Indian Ocean held between Sept 11-14, 2014 at the Centre for Humanities Research, University of Cape Town (UWC), Cape Town. See, <http://www.historicalstudies.uct.ac.za/hst/news/jsas-conference> http://www.historicalstudies.uct.ac.za/hst/news/jsas-conference_programme_-_sthash.BqDxm9TW.dpufprogramme#sthash.BqDxm9TW.dpuf http://www.historicalstudies.uct.ac.za/hst/news/jsas-conference_programme_-_sthash.BqDxm9TW.dpuf
- Workshop Organizer: 2013, University of Basel, Switzerland: 2013: Co-organized a workshop titled, *Social Movements and the Position of the researcher held between September 17 and September 18, 2013* in collaboration with colleagues from the Centre for African Studies (CASB) and the Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Basel, Switzerland. See link: <http://www.asienundeuropa.uzh.ch/events/conferences/researcher.html>
- Held a Module Course: On, '30 years of New Social Movements: A Comparative Analysis of Youth Movements in India and South Africa from 1960's to 1990's', at the University of La Plata, Argentina during the ALADAA Congress. August 13-17, 2013. See: http://aladaa.com.ar/2013/ALADAA_2013_PROGRAMA_COMPLETO.pdf
- Paper: UAES, Manchester, UK: 2013. Presented paper titled, 'Ugandan Asians in Switzerland move on: From Stateless ethnic refugees to proud Swiss

citizens', at the 17th IUAES Congress Manchester, UK, August, 5-10, 2013, <http://www.nomadit.co.uk/iuaes/iuaes2013/panels.php5?PanelID=1720>.

- Presentation on, '*From Community Consciousness to Protest Action: A Case Study of the Bishnoi Eco-Social Movements in India*' at the Mittwochs Colloquium, Ethnologisches Seminar, CASB, UNIBAS. November 11, 2012. See: <https://zasb.unibas.ch/de/veranstaltungen/veranstaltungsdetails/article/booby-luthra-sinha-from-community-consciousness-to-protest-action-a-case-study-of-the-bishnoi-eco-1///>

Honors and Awards

- Topped the Delhi University in Masters (MA Previous)
- Cleared MA (Previous) in Spanish with Distinction in International Cinema
- Awarded distinction in a Diploma course on Fund Raising and Network Building for NGOs, Amity University, India, 2005-2006
- Presented the, "Orden del Buzon" from the Museo Manoblanca of Buenos Aires, Argentina for Monograph, *Role of Museums in generating and encouraging New Social Movements*, 2004

Professional Experience 2013: Switzerland

Experience

Taught an Übung course at the Centre for African Studies (CASB), University of Basel, titled, 'Asian Minorities in Africa: the case of Ugandan and South African Indians', in the Spring Semester of 2013.

2005-2007: India

Freelance Translator, Interpreter from Spanish to English / English to Spanish

- Edited the Spanish version of two books named *Pranayam* and *Yog Sadhna* written by Swami Ramdev.

Lecturer in Spanish, NGO Management Courses at University of Delhi and Amity University

Conducted the Spanish certificate and Diploma courses of Spanish as a foreign language in Hindu College, College of Business Studies and Daulat Ram College, University of Delhi.

1999-2000, Mexico

Deputy Editor in the Mexican English Daily, "Mexico City Times

Visiting Fellow at "El Colegio de Mexico", for research on New Social Movements.

1995-1998, India

India Projects Officer with the Minority Rights Group, London

Coordinated projects and research on religious minorities, women and tribal people in India and South Asia. Did advocacy work and managed events.

Lecturer in Political Science at the Hindu College and Gargi College, Delhi University

- Taught International Relations, India's Foreign Policy.
- Comparative Government and Politics, Political Theory and Indian Political Thought.